

121

EDUCATION IN INDIA

PAST • PRESENT • FUTURE

VOL I

J. P. BANERJEE

A special attention was given to ancient and mediaeval periods in this edition as in the previous edition in the interest of B.A. (Hons), M.A. and B.Ed. students.

Additional matter has been accomodated in the treatment of the modern period with an eye to the projected new syllabus of B.Ed. course.

The previous edition was released before finalisation of National Education Policy, 1986. The previous edition practically went without detailed discussions on the policy. This was remedied in this edition.

The problem of administration and implementation is inseparably linked with policy. The success of policy depends largely on administrative implementation. These discussions have to be carried forward to the 2nd volume (now in press) to keep the present volume under control and handy.

A more detailed matter has been accomodated also for B.A. (pass) students. They are advised to concentrate upon pages 1-184, 207- 247, 297 to the end of the pages on modern period, and work out the special exercises provided for them at the end of the volume.

Unprecedented rise in production cost caused a rise in the book's price. Publishers could not help it.

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(Pass Course Students)

Education in India

Past : Present : Future

Education in Ancient India

CHAPTER I

VEDIC-BRAHMANIC EDUCATION

Introduction : The culture of a people is a superstructure built upon the solid foundation of the material conditions of life. A nation's system of education is an integral part of its culture and value system. Obviously, a system of education reflects the constituent forces of a nation's life. These are—(a) the racial character of the people, (b) the physical and geographical environment which provides nurture, (c) the philosophical ideology adhered to by the people and its evolution from phase to phase, (d) history and tradition, including political theories and beliefs, (e) religion and the Church, (f) population—its growth, mobility and group dynamics, (g) economic conditions including resources, modes of production, productive relationship, theories of economic investment, class conflict (h) social stratification, social values and forms, (i) political system including constitutional structure of the state.

In short, a system of education reflects the life of a nation, its character, its socio-political and economic conditions as well as aspirations. Moreover, the distinctive identity of the people, which we call 'national character' influences national culture and education.

The culture and education of a nation does not simply reflect the nation's past. It reflects the present values, demands and needs of life too. Moreover, it looks forward and shows the path to the future. Evidently, a system of education is not only a conserver and custodian of the nation's culture, it is also a corrector and creator of culture. Crises arise when there is a gap between static and decadent culture on the one hand and the dynamic demands of life on the other, between spiritual and material bases of life, between tradition and progress, between systems of values. Educational problems emerge through gaps and loopholes left by historical development of society and education. History solved many such problems and

simultaneously asked new questions. In fact, the roots of many of our current problems of education are to be discovered in the developmental history of education. This justifies the study of "history of education" in order that we may properly understand our current problems thereof.

True it is that every nation's system of education is typically its own. It reflects the nation's genius, her attempts to solve her own problems through her own system of education. But this is also true that no nation is an isolate in the present era of civilisation. There are common problems before all nations, as well as points of interaction and interconnection. Hence a present system of education simultaneously reflects the past, the impact of the present and the projected future.

This is particularly true of education in India. The solid foundation of Vedic-Brahmanic education had absorbed the influences of Buddhistic education by making necessary adjustments and reforms of itself. Islamic education meant infiltration of a new element which coexisted with Hindu education and culture. Western culture was a subsequent superimposition. The absorption, synthesis and change had not always been smooth and perfect, nor could education readily respond to the demands of each day. Hence arose our problems.

Our culture and education represents a continuity from the ancient through the mediaeval, to the current period. The conventional, conservative and feudal tenets got mixed up with the colonial pattern of under developed countries. At present, there is further interpolation of some educational features of industrial economy. Like our culture, our education has been a melting pot. With an objective of making a comprehensive study of our education, we should therefore start with a synoptic study of our ancient system of education.

A few factors that influenced ancient Indian education

- (1) It has been amply proved that our civilisation is indebted not to the Aryans alone, but to Non-Aryans alike. The two streams of Aryan and Non-Aryan culture combined to produce Indian culture.
- (2) The characteristics of Aryan and Non-Aryan achievements got synthesised. The Aryan emphasis upon spirituality got mixed up with the Non-Aryan achievements in arts, aesthetics, constructive excellence and emotional exuberance to produce a distinctive cultural

character of India. This character was reflected in ancient Indian education.

(3) Religious and philosophical thoughts in the ancient and mediaeval days were integrally mixed up in every country. In the case of India this was typically true. The concept of religion in ancient India was the sourcefount of all other concepts. The concepts and ideals of education were, therefore, vitally influenced by the religious concept. This led Prof. R. K. Mukherjee to observe, "One unique feature of ancient Indian civilization is that it has been shaped and moulded in course of its history more by religious influences than by political or economic considerations." We must

Religious factor note, however, that social and economic influences were almost equally powerful ; and that religion in ancient India was never a "dogma". It represented certain basic ways of life which would unite man with man. Religion meant a regulating principle which governed each sphere of life. That is why the humanitarian appeal of Vedic religion did not respect national and geographical boundaries. It became an absorbing cauldron with "humanity" as the crystallizing agent. With the growth of social contradictions, religion was made a dogmatic handmaid of traditionalism and conservatism.

(4) The geographical environment nurtures human nature and potentiality. People living in the plains develop a characteristic which differs from that of the people in oceanic regions or from that of hillsmen. The early Aryan settlements had developed in the deserts and rugged mountain regions of Central Asia and North-Western India. Gradually the settlements moved East and "Dhruva Madhyadesha", the heart of the Indian plains became the Aryan homeland. The "Doab" i.e. the Ganga-Jamuna valley watered by numerous rivers gave the agricultural Aryan settlements the advantages of a fertile soil. Nature's bounty relieved the people of the hard struggle for existence against barrenness. The thinkers and seers could now devote themselves to higher spiritual pursuits. Dr. Radha Krishnan observes, "For thinking minds to blossom, for arts and sciences to flourish, the first condition

Environmental factor

necessary is a settled society providing security and leisure." This came true of the Indo-Aryans. Their struggle against non-Aryans had ended in a synthesis. Their nomad life was transformed into settled agrarian life in an environment of plenty. Endowed with reasoning,

thinking and curiosity, the Rishis could now engage in search for Truth. The sylvan beauty and quiet grandeur helped their free thinking and speculative mind. The output was the Vedas, Vedangas, Aranyaka, culminating in the Upanishadas. Educational development went parallel with this literary development.

(5) The social system regulates the educational system. The early Aryans had established small colonies. Political stability and the rise of powerful kingdoms was an achievement of the Later Vedic stage. Social divisions became formalised in 'Varnasrama' and social values and norms became conventionalised. "Education according to Varna" became a principle. Social and philosophical factors Gradually, the caste divisions led to vocational differentiations. The result was the growth of vocational education. The system of education became stereotyped to fit in with the stereotyped society.

(6) Last to mention, but the most potent factor, however, was ancient Indian philosophy which we should discuss in greater details.

Ancient Indian Philosophy

Educational thinking in every country and in every age is unmistakably influenced by the philosophy of life of the people of the particular country and the particular age. In ancient India, the philosophy propounded by the Rishis controlled educational concepts and aims.

The One and Unique Supreme Being (Virata-Purusha) expressed Himself in manifold forms to enjoy the beauty of creation and to fulfil His purpose. The Unlimited and Immeasurable became limited and measurable. The Eternal and Abstract subjected Himself to sense perception. Man is but one of the manifold manifestations of the Supreme. Hence he is a part of the universal whole. By self-realisation and self-fulfilment can man contribute to the fulfilment of the universal purpose behind creation. This was the kernel of ancient India's philosophic thought. (Of course, divergent views were not lacking because there were various schools of philosophy viz Sankhya, Vaisheshika etc. Some of them like the Charvak school were non-conformist).

The One became many. He destroyed and created at will. The eternal cycle of birth, life and death kept the wheels of the Universe ceaselessly evolving. Man is subject to this cycle. He has to live a

limited earthly life, and die an inevitable death. If only he can control his passions and worldly senses, he may free himself from limitations and merge with the Unlimited,

The Indian Rishis opined that detachment and separation from the Universal is real death. Individuation means decay. Obviously the Rishis held that reunion with the Supreme is the ultimate aim of life. To find out the real meaning of existence, to conquer decay and death, to rise above decay and individuation by merger with the Absolute is the ultimate fulfilment of life.

Philosophy of Education

The philosophy of ancient Indian education was drawn from the basic philosophy of life as discussed above. The expression 'Veda' means knowledge. By acquiring and applying this knowledge may one attain the world of spirit and the Absolute. This theory of knowledge together with the accompanying values and modes of life constituted the basic elements of educational philosophy in ancient India. Self realisation would come through meditation; the eternal truth would be attained by Tapasya; and acquisition of ultimate knowledge by revelation would lead to Moksha. Hence real wisdom meant the knowledge of the ultimate. The ultimate aim of education was self-realisation, for realisation of the Absolute Self, by self-control and detachment from hedonistic life. To attain freedom and detachment of the mind from worldly bonds one must practise Yoga and meditation to control passions. This is Chitta-Britti-Nirodha. Self-realisation comes at such a stage. Hence Chitta-Britti-Nirodha may be termed as the Brahmanic philosophy of education.

Educational Concepts

The educational concepts were directly drawn from educational philosophy. Ignorance is bondage, and knowledge is deliverance. Education, therefore, means acquisition of truth and wisdom; illumination in the mental world to wipe out the darkness of ignorance: it leads the learner from the dungeon, through the path of light, to the land of eternal brilliance; it means freedom from bondage and captivity. It means salvation and bliss. And salvation is not attainable only by knowing the truth. By practice and application knowledge becomes wisdom, and wisdom is transformed into power. To explore the inner self by the power of meditation is education. Evidently, lifelong

effort for self-realisation and self-development was education in ancient Indian concept.

Aims of Education

The basic aim of Vedic education was self-sacrifice and salvation. The concept of *Three Debts* was the sourcefount of such aim. Man's incumbent duty was to attain freedom from debts to Parents, the Gods, and the Rishis by acquiring parenthood, by performing Yajna and by perpetuating the quest for knowledge. The performance of sacrifices would lead to self-realisation, through which man might realise the Universal which was Brahma. That was considered as Salvation.

Salvation as
ultimate aim

But the Vedic seer was not averse to the performance of worldly duties, because the worldly life as ordained by the Supreme was purposeful. The Supreme might be attained only after a meaningful journey across the stretch of temporal life. Hence they recognised the imperative duties of the individual. Education was explained variously as *Adhyayana*, *Siksha* and *Vinaya* because instruction, training and social motivation were integral parts of education.

The philosopher was conscious of social and civic duties. Hence he urged upon the pupil to fulfil his responsibilities as a son, a husband, a father and a social being. This was the basis of the *Chaturasram* scheme. The recognition of social duties led to the acceptance of political or military science, laws, medicine and vocational preparation as curricular subjects. Moral living was more valued than inert knowledge. Morality and self-purification came through *Brahmacharya*.

Social and
temporal aims

'Education for salvation' simultaneously with 'education for worldly living' led to bifurcation of curricular organisation. (*Knowledge for salvation*) was *Para Vidya*. (*Knowledge of worldly affairs*) was *Apara Vidya*. *Para Vidya* and *Apara Vidya* together made complete education.

Periodisation

The Vedic-Brahmanic age of education may be broadly divided into 3 phases on the basis of special characteristics caused by social and political changes.

The long period from about 2000 B.C. to 300 B.C. may be generally designated as the Vedic phase. This long phase may again be sub-

divided into Rg Vedic phase, Later Vedic phase and Sutra phase. Best contributions of the total period were the Vedas, Vedangas, Vedantas and Sutra literature.

The period from 300 B.C. to the post-Mourya days was the second phase. The impact of Buddhism infused a new element. Successive foreign invasions in the post-Mourya era also caused further changes in both Brahmanic and Buddhist education.

The period from the Sunga age to the downfall of Kanouj and the advent of Turko-Afghan power may be called the third phase. Resurgent Brahmanic education, its co-existence with Buddhist education, growth of factions within Buddhist fold, interaction between the two systems characterised this phase. Foreign travellers recorded nice accounts of education in this era. By the end of the Ancient period, the Buddhist system went into oblivion. The Hindu system continued through the Middle Ages.

Growth of a System of Education

The Vedic concept of life found expression in Vedic Mantra. The hymns of the conscious mind in praise of the Creator and for offering oblations, were the Mantras. In the ancient days, the spiritual, the temporal and the ceremonial aspects of life were mingled in one. Hence Mantra had three meanings—(spiritual knowledge), knowledge (of the objective truth) and knowledge of sacrificial rituals.

The institution of 'Sacrifice' (Yajna) was the centre of early Vedic social and religious life. Through hundreds of years of experience in life's struggle, the early Aryans developed the belief that the powerful elements of nature governed their life and determined their existence. Hence they deified the elements of nature like the Sky, the Sun, the Atmosphere, the Soil, Fire etc, and sang praises through hymns. These hymns were the Mantras, and the collections of hymns were the Samhitas. In the form of Yajna, they offered oblation in honour of the elements by uttering and singing propitiatory hymns. As was natural for the agrarian Aryans, the Sun received the greatest attention and was characterised in various ways. So also were Indra and Baruna. Occasionally the Aryan thinkers wanted to rise above the phenomenal reality and catch a glimpse of the God-Head. 'Agni' for sometime

was considered the "head of the deities". In course of the development of civilization, the hierarchy of Gods changed many a time.

The priests who performed the sacrifices moulded religion, philosophy, sciences and social organisation. They were the custodians of Mantras and Samhitas. With the progress of time and complex development of sacrificial rituals there was an inevitable job-division in the priestly order, leading to specialisation and hierarchy. The 'Ritvik' who uttered the 'Rik' (the sacrificial Vedic Hymns) became the 'Hota'. The Hota specialised in the Rg Veda. Simultaneously with 'Ahava' were sung some ritual songs, compiled in the Sama Veda. The priest who specialised in the musical Sama Veda was designated as 'Udgatri'. Compilation of the process of rituals accompanying the 'ahava' constituted the 'Yajurveda'. The priest who specialised in ritual formulae and practical guidance to manual work was designated as Adhvaryu.

It is clear then, that education was first general, and specialisation was a gradual and normal process of development. The three Vedas represented three fields of specialised learning and training. The complex sacrificial performance required coordination between Hota, Udgata and Adhvaryu. This gave rise to another field of specialisation represented by the Brahmana. The priest who specialised as coordinator was designated as Brahma. The evolution of Vedic literature did not stop here. The metaphysical tone given by the Rishis to the sacrificial rituals became the subject matter of the Aranyakas. The Aranyakas constituted a transition to Vedanta-Upanishadas, the highest stage of Brahmanic learning and the cream of ancient Indian culture.

The Vedas, Brahmana, Aranyakas, Vedantas were not the only subject-matter in Brahmanic learning. The Mantras had to be recited in correct rhythm, pronunciation, phonetical sound and in meaningful understanding, together with perfect rituals. This led to the development of six Vedangas—Siksha (phonetics), Chhanda (the science of rhyme and metre), Vyakarana (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Jyotisha (astrology), Kalpa (law and rituals). These 6 fields again became fields of specialisation.

Specialisation did not end here. Indian Geometry and Arithmetic developed in aid of perfect construction of the sacrificial dias. Astronomy helped the drawing up of time table for sacrifices. Anatomy and

Botany helped the perfect selection and performance, of 'Bali', and linguistics developed in aid of the perfect use of Vedic language. These fields of specialisation further expanded in course of time and thereby expanded the field of education.

The System of Education

The call of the Eternal had reached the Indian Rishis. With the removal of darkness before them, and with heavenly illumination, the Rishis realised that all men are children of the Eternal. Hence they called upon them all to attain that light of knowledge. Pupils responded and thronged to the preceptors. The cottage of each Guru became a residential school - the Gurukul. Students received the constant company of the Guru, who, in the absence of books was a human ocean of learning and an ideal character for the pupil to emulate. Succession of teachers and pupils ensured the continuation and expansion of knowledge. This explains the unbroken continuity of Indian Civilisation since then.

During residential pupilage the student had to live a controlled life determined by the institution of *Brahmacharya*. Education was a mode of life characterised by self-control. Hence equal emphasis was placed upon teaching, training and character building. Constant company of the teacher and fellow students guaranteed the attainment of these objectives.

All teachers were not ascetics. In fact, most of the Gurukuls were located in populated Janapadas. A cluster of Gurukuls was called an Agrahar Centre.

The daily life of the student was regulated by a round-the-clock time table and inviolable rules and regulations. There were no tuition fees. The student had to contribute his manual labour which in turn helped his physical and mental perfection, developed his social sense, as well as advanced the prosperity of the school. Instruction was individual, but school life was collective. Although away from his own family, the student did not live a life void of the finer touches of family life. The teacher was a father-substitute, a real friend, philosopher and guide. The teacher, a man not only of learning but also of character, imparted education for complete living.

The ancient *Gurukul* conformed to the pattern of ancient Indian education which again conformed to the ideals of life. This had ensured a long life for the Gurukul as an institution. Neither the Monastery of mediaeval Europe, nor the Buddhistic Vihara, and nor again the Asramik School of the present day is comparable with the Gurukul. The present efforts are but faint imitations of and an unsuccessful effort to revive the past.

A well defined and significant succession of rituals as well as rules of conduct and discipline controlled the academic and extra academic life of the pupils. Educational life began with Vidyarambha followed by Chudakarma rituals. Formal initiation and admission to the Gurukul was marked by the Upanayana ceremony. Upanayana being compulsory for all children of the three upper castes, education, by implication, was compulsory and universal in their respect. The period of studentship was by its nature a period of compulsory Brahmacharya. Relation between teacher and pupil was also regulated by a system of reciprocal duties and rights. In a system of education without tuition fees, there could be no question of commercial relationship between teacher and pupil. Obviously, the teacher enjoyed a high academic and social prestige.

Educational
Rituals

The curriculum was basically organised on the firm foundation of the Vedas, Vedangas and Vedanta in succession. Gradually, however, it acquired more masses and diverse interests including secular and popular studies. Specialisation came into vogue and differential

curricula were organised for the different castes.

Curricula

Teachers became specialised to feed the specialised schools. Professional and vocational education befitting the different castes was standardised. Moreover, theory and practice went together. There was no formal education for the Sudras and Vratyas. They received practical training in their family trade or profession as members of the family production units.

The Gurukul had its annual calender as also the daily time table. Working days, study hours, time and methods were prefixed. Natural calamities, inauspicious phenomenal signs or other reasonable grounds led to suspension of studies for the day.

Since knowledge had to be delivered by the mouth, received by the ear and preserved in memory, the art of recitation with proper accent, sound and pronunciation was perfected. Yet it was not simply learning

by rote in the ordinary sense of the term. Learning by heart without conceptual understanding was considered worthless. The truth had to be realised. This required concentrated thinking and meditation leading to revelation. Doubts were cleared by intelligent questions and answers. Moreover, wisdom was not a matter of intellect only. It required feeling and being. Hence, precondition to real wisdom was annihilation of doubts and worldly illusions, which could be attained through self-control, Yoga and Sannyasa. Evidently, Yoga was simultaneously the road to discipline, morality and absolute knowledge.

A student had to live this rigorous life for 12 years which was generally the period of formal studenthood. Of course informal studenthood was a lifelong process. In this case self-study was the method. The Samavartana (convocation) was held at the end of 12 years if the teacher thought that the student was fit for graduation.

Terminal Snatakas (Graduates) were of three types—(i) Vidya Snatakas i.e. those who had attained intellectual proficiency, (ii) Vrata Snatakas i.e. those who had attained perfection in practices and (iii) Vidya-Vrata Snatakas i.e. those who excelled in both theory and practice. The Snataka left the Gurukul, but acquired further intellectual proficiency by participating in debates, discussions and assemblies. Debating tours constituted the real termination of formal pupilage.

Salient Features and Estimate of Brahmanic Education

(a) Brahmanic education was a product of the religious, social, political, economic and environmental conditions of Vedic-Brahmanic Indian life. (b) The concepts of education represented a synthesis of spiritual and temporal needs as propounded by the thinkers of the day. (c) The ultimate aim of education was salvation and attainment of Truth by self-realisation. Hence emphasis was placed upon morality, self-confidence and self-control. On the other hand due emphasis was placed upon social skill and duties. The concept of 3 debts synthesised the demands of the spirit, the body, the mind and the society. (d) The system of education evolved round the institution of sacrifice. Varnasrama and Chaturasrama gave it a distinctive character. Educa-

tion was open to the three upper castes. Pre-school education was conducted by the parents. School education started at the age fixed for it. (e) Teacher's home was the school. Life long studentship was accepted as a matter of principle. The teacher enjoyed high esteem. Mutual rights and duties determined teacher-pupil relation. The curricula had close connection with Varnasrama. (f) School life was controlled by rituals, Brahmacharya, begging, discipline and principles of morality. The Samavartana meant termination of Brahmacharya and commencement of household life. (g) Sravana, Manana, Nididhyasana were the methods of learning ; Yoga was the supreme stage. Instruction was individualised, but debating and discussions were valued. (h) Women enjoyed educational privileges. (i) Gurukul Parishada, Asrama, Chatuspathi and Tol were the educational institutions. The preceptor was the final evaluator. There was no external examination. (j) The society and the state patronised education which was, in the main, free of tuition fees. State patronage did not mean state control. The teacher was the sole arbiter of things. (k) Due to the institution of Varnasrama education of the masses had suffered in the early phases. But gradually popular, practical and vocational education made itself felt in the total scheme.

True it is that Brahmanic education was stereotyped and determined by religious concepts and rituals. Casteism had made it narrow in some respects and conservatism was one of its features. Yet, there is no denying that like ancient Indian culture it had a great absorbing and synthesising capacity. It changed with changes in society and polity. In face of internal and external influence it adopted the twin

Synoptic estimate
of the Brahmanic
system

measures of absorption on the one hand, and conservative defence of the core of culture on the other hand. It met the spiritual, temporal and practical demands of life. In a Varnasramic society it responded to the social needs, although our modern thinking may decry Varnasrama. Succession of preceptors and disciples in the Gurukul system ensured the continuity of the system. It is undeniable that superior knowledge was attainable by a limited circle of elite. Yet, the strength of that hard core ensured its long life inspite of foreign impacts and internal upheavals. Moreover, the teacher being the sole determinant, political catastrophe could not mutilate the system.

Quantitative and qualitative variations in patronage, however, caused ebbs and flows.

In course of time, however, Hindu education lost many of its good features. The Gurukul institution, supremacy of the teacher, teacher-pupil relation, social role of education, 'free' education provided by the society, the concept of labour associated with Asrama, individual fulfilment, the educational privileges of women, spiritual and moral urge for education and similar other features had to be compromised to a great extent.

Such deterioration had its reasons too. The rise of Buddhism and external invasions caused the loss of many features. The advent of state-patronised Islamic culture and education caused a further crisis at a time when it enjoyed little state help. Yet, with its roots in the soil, the Hindu system of education co-existed with Islamic education all through the middle ages, although it had lost much of its vitality. Lastly, with the advent of a commercial economy in the modern era and the concomitant socio-political changes, and changes in ideology, there was little chance of its virile living any longer.

CHAPTER II

Buddhistic Education

Brahmanic education alone does not represent our educational heritage. A great role was played by the Buddhistic system of education too.

As Brahmanic education was a product of Brahmanic Philosophy, so was Buddhistic Education a product of Buddhistic Philosophy. The latter did not simply follow the former, nor was it a substitute. Buddhist education arose even when Hindu education had been enjoying its glory. Buddhism arose as a rebellious child of Hinduism, as a reforming doctrine, in protestation against glaring anomalies in Hindu faith and society. Buddhistic education co-existed with Hindu education for a pretty long period. With the resounding call of Triple Refuge affecting the whole of India, Buddhist system of education also became a mighty one. The two systems co-existed, competed, interacted and supplemented each other.

With the growth of complexities in the Hindu Scheme of socio-religious life, particularly the firm establishment of the caste system which kept religious rites out of bounds for the lower castes and poorer classes, an urge for reformation became

Rise of
Buddhism

growingly evident. Even a hundred years before the advent of the Buddha, there had arisen numerous reforming circles. By that time, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas had become socio-economically powerful castes. Absolute Brahmanic domination became a target of attack. These contradictions had to be settled. The Buddha showed the way by acknowledging equal rights to religious rites. Instead of the superiority of the ruler, the Veda or the Brahmin, he propagated the superiority of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. What was this Dharma? It was nothing absolutely new. The Buddha himself was reared in the Hindu society and instructed by Hindu preceptors. He did not claim to have propounded a new faith altogether. In fact, Buddhism arose in the Hindu socio-religious context as a reformist school of thought.

Buddhism, like Hinduism, believed in immortality of the soul.

Hinduism had in a thousand ways preached the removal of the veil of darkness and called for self-expression. Bondage of desires inhibited self-expression and self-fulfilment. The Buddha also thought likewise and showed the path to self-fulfilment. His method, however, was basically different.

As a reasoned answer to His search for the causes of bondage, decay, sorrow and death, the Buddha had the revelation that man can attain salvation only by realising his self and expressing his soul. Hence He called upon man to accept some injunctions and practise some *Shilas*. To abjure greed, envy, violence and luxury and the like were *Shilas*. Habitual practice of *Shilas* would remove the veil, and expose the pure inner spirit. The nature of this inner soul is kindness and love for everything in the universe. Hence, the basic doctrine of Buddhism was salvation from the cycles of birth, not by *Tyaga* only, but by service and love.

Basic tenets of
Buddhism

Buddhism's call was thus a straight and simple one. It reached the ordinary man who could practise the *Shilas*. Not to kill a living object, not to steal anything, not to tell a lie and similar other practices were *Shilas* which everyone had within his power to observe and practise and thereby attain salvation. In the place of ceremonial rites of Hindu *Karmayoga*, Buddhism now preached the goal of *Nirvan* by vanquishing sorrow and decay through the path of self development and self purification. Acceptance of *Shilas* and the *Eight Noble Paths* became easy for the common man. The *Kshatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas* became patrons of this reforming doctrine. By challenging the super-human origin of the *Vedas* and by claiming abolition of caste distinctions, Buddhism became a popular religion of the masses.

Yet, it is to be remembered that Buddhism had not arisen as a movement for social reforms. It had started as a movement for reforming the doctrines. But its simple theories, its antagonism to casteism and its universal appeal made it a popular faith. Social life was vitally affected by the movement. The momentum of mass popularity led to the rise of the *Mahayana* form of Buddhism. This social impact vitally affected the Buddhist system of education.

Social effect

As in Hindu thought, so in Buddhist thought salvation from this world and worldly life is the basic objective. Both the doctrines

admit of 4 *noble truths* that there is sorrow, cause of sorrow, end of sorrow and Nirvan (Moksha). But the basic difference between the two is that the Buddhists do not admit of any God. In the Hindu concept of life, salvation comes through successful completion of life's mission by discharging duties and responsibilities. This led to the Chaturasram scheme of life. But the sole aim of Buddhist life and education being the attainment of Nirvan, there is little value attached to family life. Monkhood is the desired end. Hence morality, service and disciplined Sangha life free from worldly bonds constituted the basic pillars of Buddhist education. Hindu Philosophy propounded reunion with the Absolute and freedom from cycles of birth, as ultimate aim of education. Buddhism also propounded the end of cycles of birth, the path being not reunion with God, but complete negation of desires, which meant Nirvan. This explains why in place of the preceptor's home, the Vihara became the Buddhist educational institution, for self control and meditation was better facilitated in Vihara life. The Viharas were the centres of the Orders of Monks. Monks trained up future monks. The trainee was subjected to the discipline of the Order (Sangham).

The student who took the vow of Triple Refuge was initiated through the *Pravajja* ceremony. This was the beginning of preparation for going out from worldliness to worldlessness. Students from all castes could seek *Pravajja*. Non-Brahmins could be teachers. The Samanera or Pavvajit had to observe ten rules of conduct and subject himself to ten injunctions.

Although the Vihara was open to all comers, there were certain restrictions to admission. Immoral, immodest, diseased or invalid persons, or employees of the State, soldiers, debtors and slaves were kept out. Even the eligible candidates had to secure parental consent. This was a device to save the Vihara from its degenerating into a refuge for escapists. It reflected a moral recognition of the purity of sacio-political institutions.

Teachers in the Viharas were of two categories. Instruction in the scriptures was imparted by the *Upadhyaya*. *Acharya* (or *Karmacharya*) was the guardian of moral life, a modern prototype of

which is the office of Prefect of Discipline. Paternal relation with both of them was enjoined. Apart from academic and spiritual training, the teachers were responsible also for the physical well being of the novice. A man of unblemished moral character, possessing unflinching faith in learning and salvation, free from bondage of vices and possessed of modesty and perseverance could be a teacher. The vital responsibilities carried on by the teachers were reciprocated with disciplinary rights which included expulsion of the unfit student. This, of course, did not mean arbitrary application of powers. There were well defined grounds of punishment. On the other hand, inspite of fidelity and reverence the student might leave the teacher if the latter did extreme wrongs particularly affecting the interest of the Sangh. In fact, the interest of the Sangh superseded everything.

Teacher's
position

Historically considered, small groups of pupils in the care of Upadhyayas were the Buddhist schools. In course of time, these small units were federated into bigger Sanghs. These were the Viharas. Thus, the Viharas were corporate bodies of teachers and students.

Fullfledged Buddhistic education was a contribution of the Viharas. Success of a federated organisation depended upon democratic administration. Interdependence, adjustment, discipline and 'middle path' in a monk's life were the cornerstones of success. Democratic teaching practices found expression in debating sessions and conferences of Vihara-chiefs. Highest knowledge might be acquired by attending such sessions. Moreover, the Viharas were self-sufficient organisations. Arts and crafts including vocational practices formed integral parts of education in the Vihara.

The significance of Vihara-centric education was education for monkhood. Moral purity and aversion to greed formed the basis of Vihara life. The method of the former was celibacy, and that of the latter was poverty and asceticism. Self imposed poverty was therefore an essential element. Begging was compulsory. Rules of begging, eating and drinking and even the diet chart were specifically ordained. Luxury was abjured.

Education for
monkhood

Moreover, 'service' was the greatest religious duty of the monk. There could be no question of indiscipline in a system of education guided by such principles of life. As in the Hindu system, so in the Buddhist system, education was synonymous with discipline.

Buddhist Education had started as education for monkhood. But,

as Buddhism acquired mass popularity, so did Buddhist education acquire a mass character. Education became ultimately organised at three levels—education of monks, education of family men and education of the masses. The curriculum for monk's

Evolution of the system

education was based upon Sutta, Dharma and Vinaya Pitakas. Gradually a part of Brahmanic learning and secular studies was incorporated. The 'Milinda Panho' throws light upon the extensiveness of the curriculum. It is evident from Jataka stories that with the adoption of diverse studies, there was the advent of election of subjects. Specialised colleges were brought into existence, as had happened at Taxila. There was a happy combination of scriptural and humanistic studies. Hieu-en-Tsang observed how the growth of the *Mahayana School* on the one hand, and Hindu resurgence on the other, made further changes in curricular organisation. The advent of multiple factions within the Buddhist fold brought about further changes, particularly the adoption of Lokayatas. Buddhist education no longer catered to the needs of the monk alone for scriptural instruction. Household men also depended upon the Vihara. For secular instruction, they depended even upon extra-Vihara agencies. In the long list of secular subjects medicine, law, arts and crafts, weaving and knitting etc. featured prominently. The 7 year medical course featured a combination of theory and practice. Taxila, Varanasi and Rajagriha were famous centres of medical education. Thus, Buddhistic education ultimately combined spiritual and temporal, as well as philosophic and practical aspects of life.

Non-monk students were known as *Upasaka* (or *Upasika*). Even they were not free from specified duties. To live a modest life, to abjure contact with criminals, poison, intoxicating drugs, weapons etc, was com-

Secular education

pulsory for them. There was a long list of their duties to monks, teachers, parents and offspring. Renunciation was no longer compulsory. Many monks also liked secular education. Monks were also permitted to go back to worldly life. The Viharas had to provide for the Day-Scholar, known as *Manava*. Thus the Viharas ultimately became centres of learning for all comers.

the Brahmanic system, education had been primarily meant for the three upper castes. But, the use of scripts and the arts of writing gradually facilitated the cause of mass elementary education. The popular appeal of Buddhism

furthered the cause of mass education. Education was now open to all castes, and teaching open to non-Buddhists. In the Buddhistic scheme, instruction started at 6+. Within 6 months thence the child had to complete his elementary course which was followed by more intensive practices in word and sentence making. By 8+ the child had to study the elementaries of Panini. For 3 years from 10+ the syllabus consisted of Shilas, Prose-writing, Jatakamala etc. Popular education included the five branches of study—i.e. Sabda, Silpa, Hetu, Chikitsa and Adhyatma Vidyas. The adoption of Prakrit as the medium of instruction advanced the cause of mass education. The Asokan edicts meant for the common people lead us to believe that popular education was widespread in the Buddhist system.

For the attainment of full monkhood, the novice had to pass through several stages, with which instructional methods were synchronised. At the first stage the basic method was recitation with emphasis upon rote, explanation, sermon and examination. Discussion was specially emphasised at the second stage, which was followed in the third stage by teacher-education. The last stage placed emphasis upon self-study. Fa-Hien records that inspite of emphasis upon oral teaching and rote learning, special importance was attached to rational thinking and precision as well as discussions and debating skill. Such methods could not be painful, tyrannous or mechanical.

The mass character of Buddhist education created the problem of medium of instruction. The Buddha had himself advised culture of the mother tongue. The *Prakrit* languages thereby acquired importance. Royal patronage made *Pali* an all-India language, and its claim for acceptance as medium of instruction was largely recognised. In the post-Sunga period, however, there was a reassertion of Sanskrit which made its way into the Viharas too. The two languages—Pali and Sanskrit were simultaneously cultured. Fa-Hien himself studied Sanskrit for three years and Hiuen-Tsang witnessed the importance of Sanskrit and Brahmanic learning. In the last stages of Buddhistic education, Sanskrit was largely accepted as the language of the elite, while Pali continued to be the language for popular education. Education of the monk still demanded 12 year residential pupilage which was terminated by the Upasampada ceremony conferring monkhood upon those who renounced the world.

Methods of
Teaching

Solution of
Language issue

Salient features and estimate of Buddhistic Education

(a) Buddhist education arose as a corrective and reforming movement. Buddhist philosophy determined education. Preparation for monkhood was the essence of education. The ultimate aim was to attain salvation by renunciation. (b) In the context of the denial of Vedic-Brahmanic supremacy and Varnasrama, the principle of universal education was largely adopted. (c) Although early education was a matter of the home, proper schooling was a prerogative of the Vihara. The teacher was the student's guide to salvation. Hence, the teacher's supremacy and his paternal role was recognised in this system too. (d) The early Buddhist curriculum consisted mainly of the scriptures, but gradually it acquired a secular bias. Popular education including practical, vocational and elementary education secured due prominence. (e) The Sangha Schools had distinctive rituals, laws and rules of conduct and discipline. Instruction was individual, but collective discussions were much valued. Prakrit as the medium of instruction helped the spread of education. Sanskrit was subsequently much valued. (i) The federated Vihara was the main institution. Education was 'free' of tuition fees. International appeal, more democratic organisation, humanism and the principle of service were important aspects of Buddhist education.

In the Pre-Christian era, Brahmanic education had a monopoly sway. In the first few centuries of the Christian era Buddhist education asserted itself. Since the 4th century A. D. again Hindu education was resurgent. For several centuries thereafter, the two systems co-existed, competed, inter-acted and supplemented each other. With Turko-Afghan invasion, Buddhistic system of education faced destruction, while Hindu education maintained its existence, although, with reduced splendour. Evidently, 'ancient Indian education' encompasses both Hindu and Buddhistic education. The two together made a whole pattern.

Although Buddhist education ceased to exist in India, its contributions cannot be overestimated.

In the Brahmanic era education had been monopolised by Brahmins.

Buddhistic education challenged that predominance, established education on a popular basis and made mass education a responsibility of the society. Education was now institutionalised. Five thousand Viharas spread the light of knowledge far and wide. The value of secular education was

Synoptic
estimate of the
Buddhist system

recognised. The adoption of the people's language solved the problem of medium and simultaneously carried education to the people.

Buddhist education was not simply an intellectual education. Its essence was service to humanity. With this humanist content it crossed the borders of India and transformed the Indian universities into international centres of learning. Cultural contact was made with Ceylon, Java, Bali, Sumatra, Combodia, Mongolia, Tibet and Central Asia. India secured an honoured place in international culture. Yet, in its country of origin, the system went out of existence, and traditional Hindu education continued to exist, although Buddhist education made a stable foothold in other countries. Obviously there were reasons behind this.

The rise of Buddhist education had affected Hindu education in two ways. The latter, on the one hand adopted defensive measures.

On the other hand it tried to assimilate and absorb the rival. Hindu religion was reformed. Saiva and Vaishnava faiths created a new impetus. Rituals were liberalised and Sanskrit language was reformed. As against this, many sects arose in the Buddhist camp. The fundamentals of Buddhism were to some extent compromised. Internecine conflicts weakened the Buddhist system of education. In the Hindu system, the preceptor was the custodian of knowledge. Succession of Gurus ensured the longevity of the Gurukul. In the Buddhist system, the mighty Viharas were centres of learning. With the destruction of a few Viharas, the total edifice crumbled down. The Hindu Gurukul was autocratically administered by the Guru, but the teacher-pupil relation was close and warm. The Buddhist Vihara had an element of democracy, but its administration under a sort of oligarchy was rather slack. The individual monk had no right to property, but the Vihara Sanghas possessed immense material resources. Protected life within the Viharas made them the refuge of worthlessness. The Sangh thus failed to solve that very problem for the solution of which it had been called into existence.

Lastly it must be said that the religion of godlessness, puritanism and penance was not easily graspable by the ordinary man. The ordinary man wanted satisfaction through ceremonials. Moreover, the Buddhist curriculum became a second edition of the Hindu curriculum, with the major exception that Vinoy and Tripitaka had replaced Veda-

Vedanta. Medicine and Logic had been two specialities of Buddhist education. These two were admitted into the Hindu curriculum. Hence, Buddhist education gradually forfeited its claim to separate existence. The traditional Hindu education continued thereafter through changes and reforms.

Buddhist education had arisen as a reform movement. Its impact was great. It infused an element of secularism and universalism in Indian education. It infused a democratic element too. It played its historic role thereby.

Comparison between Hindu and Buddhist systems

Buddhism was born in the womb of Hinduism, not with the mission of destroying the latter, but with the objective of reformation. It was a new light, not a completely new thing. It inherited many of the Hindu theories. Obviously it had similarities with and indebtedness to Hinduism. Yet, it was a reforming doctrine. Hence, it had vital differences too. Acceptance of the 4 noble truths, the imperishability of the soul, and the concepts of rebirth and salvation caused the similarities. Rejection of God, the Vedas, the domination of Brahmins, Varnasrama and worldly life caused the dissimilarities.

Sangha life in Buddhistic education was an adaptation of Asramik life. Monkhhood was similar to Sannyas. The creed of non-violence was common to both. Fasting, self-negation and begging were features of similarity. Buddhist education valued moral life just as the Rishis had considered morality more valuable than abstract knowledge. That is why the ways of life in the Asram School and the Vihara were similar. The concept of Nirvan was equivalent to the concept of Moksha, although the methods of attainment were different. Vidya-rambha was a common feature. Upanayana and Pravajja were comparable, although the detailed procedures were different. The life of a Brahmachari was comparable with the life of a Samanera. Both the systems provided "free" education. The concepts of self control and discipline were similar to each other.

Para and Aparā Vidya were combined in the Brahmanic scheme. Under the influence of Chaturasrama and Varnasrama professional and vocational education got a valued place. Hence spiritual and temporal aspects were gradually combined. Buddhist education was originally education for monkhood. But with the acquisition of a popular base,

secular education including professional and vocational was extensively incorporated. The differences in curricula were thus narrowed down. Both the systems enjoyed social patronage and royal help, but neither was subjected to state control. The teaching methods were also similar. And mention must be made of the similarity in teacher-pupil relation, although the democratic element in Buddhism liberalised the rights of the pupil. Such similarities inspired many scholars to observe that Buddhism was but a phase of Hinduism.

Dissimilarities again were equally natural. For doctrinal difference as discussed earlier, and for the rejection of Chaturasram, the aims of student life were different. While the Brahmachari was prepared for subsequent sramas of life, the Samanera was prepared for final renunciation. As a result, the ideas behind Samavartana and Upasampada were diametrically opposite. The Guru was the sole authority in conferring graduation, while monkhood was conferred by the Sangha.

As against Gurukul-based Brahmanic education, Buddhistic education was Sangh-based. Each Gurukul was a property of the Guru concerned. The Vihara belonged to the Sangh. In fact, the democratic element was more reflected in Buddhistic education than in the Hindu system. In the place of archaic Vedic Sanskrit the medium in Buddhist education was Prakrit, the language of the common man. Mass education was more indebted to the mass contact of Buddhism. Service being a principle of Buddhism, medicine and popular sciences received impetus in Buddhist education. On the other hand, Hindu education excelled in Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology. The scope of women's education which had been wide in Hindu system was narrowed down in the Buddhist system.

Buddhist education possessed some relatively liberal features viz. opposition to Varnasrama, a democratic base, recognition of the principle of universal education, more rational teacher-pupil relation, the concept of free discipline, secular mass education, acceptance of new subjects of study, collective residential school and Sangh society, mighty universities and international humanistic appeal. These were features of advancement. This explains why the Buddhistic system of education had existed as a competitor to Brahmanic education for several centuries.

We shall undertake a chronological-periodical discussion in a later section.

CHAPTER III

SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

(1) The Place of religion in ancient Indian education.

Education develops according to the genius of the people. The genius of India, like that of many ancient civilisations had a strong component of religious fervour, although it was undogmatic.

Religion according to Phyllis Doyle, is recognition of the transcendental, a communion with the Divine Entity. Evelyn Underhill considers it as worship in response to inner urge. Catherine Fletch holds that faith in religion is faith in good purpose, the feeling of beauty, delight and wonder. Swami Vivekananda calls it the expression of godliness inherent in man, an inward transformation of the self. Dr. Radhakrishnan also places emphasis upon the inner self and the undying soul of the individual believer.

These ideas closely resemble those of ancient Rishis. Their spiritual disquiet created an inner urge for a constant search for Truth. They discovered *four noble truths of life* and developed the concept of salvation. The principles of life which helped the attainment of salvation constituted Dharma i.e. Religion. Religion consists of regulating principles in each sphere of life. It is a total configuration implying morality, virtue and duty. True religion is, therefore, a force which unites man with man.

Religion is, therefore, a practice of life emanating from theory i.e. fundamental principles of life. Its perspective in ancient India was *Mukti*. The aim was merger with the Absolute to escape decay, for individuation meant decay and death. Hence, religious influence made education the education of the mind i.e. *Chitta Vritti Nirodha* to attain self fulfilment. The method was *Yoga*.

In the first phase, the Rishis discovered godliness in the elements of nature. They offered prayers and held yajnas to propitiate the Sun, Indra, Baruna, Agni. The hymns of prayer constituted the curriculum. Sacrificial rituals led to the development of Vedangas and allied sciences. And lastly, the Vedanta which contains the cream of Indian thought was also a product of metaphysical genius. But, at the root of everything was the Yajna, which was primarily religious in nature.

The terms Veda, Brahmana, Mantra, Ahava, Yajna, Bali, Jagat, Virata Purusha, Bhu-Bhuva-Sva were all conceptually religious.

Discipline in ancient Indian education had also a religious content. Attainment of the ultimate educational goal was possible through "*Tapa*" and "*Diksha*". It meant realisation through "*Samadhi*". Real knowledge meant knowledge of Atman attained by revelation. It presupposed annihilation of desire and illusion through '*Sannyasa*' and '*Yoga*'. Even the Epics placed emphasis upon moral steadfastness and detachment.

Buddhism which arose as a reformation of Brahmanism believed in atman, sorrow, deliverance and end of desire. Buddhism also believed in *Karma* and Rebirth. It too aimed at *Nirvan* through moral steadfastness and detachment. At the root of Buddhistic education were the religious thoughts propounded by Buddhism, specially the concept of Renunciation. It is, therefore, not unjustified to comment that 'One unique feature of ancient Indian civilisation is that it has been shaped and moulded in course of its history more by religious influences than by political or economic consideration'. It must, however, be noted that social and economic forces worked behind the religious facade.

(2) The element of geographical influence upon ancient Indian education.

The process of life upon earth or even simple existence is determined by the interaction of two factors—Man and Nature. Their relation developed through a process of struggle, victory, adjustment. Man has a double world—spiritual and material, the spiritual world depending upon material existence. Similarly, man has a double identity—body and soul. During struggle fore mere existence, the body dominates. Victory in this struggle makes the soul dominant. Only then can finer senses, tastes, imagination and undisturbed thinking flourish in creativity. History provides ample evidence of this process—The Periclean age. The Shakespearean (Elizabethan) age, Kalidasa in the Imperial age of India, and the culturally productive Mughul age. The same had occurred in Vedic-Brahmanic India.

There is no reference to stately cities inhabited by early Aryans. They lived a nomadic clan life. There were inner-clan and inter-clan conflicts. The *Bharatas* had to wage a bitter struggle with the *Yadus*.

The Battle of Ten Kings, with which the name of Sudash is associated was a culmination of this process. Simultaneously, the early Aryans had to measure strength in external conflicts with indigenous tribes of non Aryans. The struggle-packed life of early Aryans was lived in the early settlements built in the rugged Oxus region. Such an unsettled life could not produce the finer arts.

The centre of gravity of the Aryan settlements gradually moved to "Dhruva Madhyadesha". The geographical area eventually occupied by them was watered by noted rivers like Kabul, Swat, Kurram, Gomati, Sindhu, Vitasta, Chenub, Ravi, Bias, Sutlej, Saraswati, Drishadhyati, Ganga, Jamuna, Saraju. Thus, early *Aryan-India* comprised of the territory extending from East Afghanistan to Sapta Sindhu.

The Aryans, now organised in family, Kula, Varna lived in scattered villages stratified into Grama, Visa, Jana. They had no 'Nagara'. With agriculture (Krishti or Charsani) as their principal occupation, and with aniconic religion the Aryans, now settled in a territory watered by swift-flowing rivers and with abundant beauty of nature, could indulge in poesy. Their emotional hymns were the Rik. Family settlements produced family books ascribed to Viswamitra, Vamadeva, Bharadwaja, Vasistha etc. Apart from this development in language and thoughtful literature this was also the beginning of a scientific spirit characterised by a search for cosmic laws.

In the Later Vedic age, the focal point of Dhruva Madhyadesa shifted farther, from the Saraswati to the Gangetic Doab. From here Aryan influence spread to outlying provinces. The outcome was the *gatha* type of literature.

The existence of many states had made the existence of many gods imperative. With political concentration arose the concept of one god denoted variously as the Omnipotent and Omnipresent Prajapati, Brahma, Paramatma etc. With the rise of powerful kingdoms, the centre of Brahmanical education shifted from Kuru Panchal to Kosala-Videha. Politically settled conditions now produced social stability including social stratification. On the other hand, nature's bounty and royal patronage freed the sages from material worries. They indulged in speculation. The *Spirit* became their prime consideration. This produced the glory of the Upanishadas.

Sylvan schools were a special development in the Aranyaka period. Forest portions of the Brahmana point to the development of forest

life and the solitary little sylvan seats of learning to which we must chiefly ascribe the depths of speculation, the complete absorption of the mystic devotion by which the Rishis are so eminently distinguished. Metaphysical speculation had been carried on in the forests long before the names of Aranyaka or Upanishadas were thought of. But they were institutionalised now.

Six qualities were to be acquired in the hermitages. They were tranquillity (Sama), restraint (Dama), self-denial (Uparati), long suffering (Titiksha), collectedness (Samadhi) and faith (Sradhwa). All this depended upon intellectual training, moral preparation, atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

These developments justify the statement, "for thinking minds to blossom, for arts and sciences to flourish, the first condition necessary is settled society providing security and leisure."

This security was partly lost in the Sutra period which followed the Brahmanas. The rise of Buddhism and foreign invasions created the need for self defence and self preservation. This was sought through educational and social conservatism or through philosophical escapism. Panini refers to 3 types of philosophers—Astika (believer in life after death), Nastika (non-believer) and Daistika (rationalist, fatalist, pre-determinist).

This typical development caused firstly by settled and secure, and then by unsettled and insecure conditions of life justifies the observation made by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, as quoted above.

(3) Education in the Rq Vedic era

Rq. according to Max Muller is the most ancient of books. Yet, it represents not the dawn, but the meridian of Aryan culture. It is the foundation of Hindu thought, the basis of 'plain living—high thinking', a monument to higher art of living.

The Rq, however, evolved in a process which corresponds to the evolutionary history of ancient Indian culture. The compilation of 1017 hymns, as considered by Bloomfield, Macdonell, Winternitz, took hundreds of years. The evolution was from concrete to abstract. In the editorial device, a strict adherence to the words was observed. The typical editorial technique was '*Padapatha*' and '*Kramapatha*' which led to the foundation of linguistics or metrics, i.e. *Siksha*. The compilation ended with '*Anukramanis*'.

Six chosen Rishis were honoured with the revelation of Vedic knowledge. They were Gritsamada, Viswamitra, Vamadeva, Atri, Bharhdwaja and Vasistha. With them were added six 'Mandalas'. Later additions were groups of hymns contributed by other families, hymns of Rishi Kanva, Soma hymns and miscellaneous hymns. The Rg. thus became a compilation of 1028 hymns and 10580 verses.

The Rg Samhita itself indicates two stages of literary and editorial activities. The first was the age of creation when the Rishis produced the hymns. The second was the stage of preservation in the form of Samhita. The second phase comprised of criticism, compilation and codification "Tapas" was the method of learning. Direct realisation of Truth was possible through Tapas, which, as explained by Sayana, consisted of austerity, sacrifice and penance. The Munis who were seers of 'Truth beyond the senses' lived in a state of "Samadhi". The truth attained by them required preservation and transmission. This depended upon sons and students of the "seers". The method and extent of teaching naturally varied with the learner's capacities. Sayana refers to three grades of students—Mahaprajna, Madhyama prajna, Alpa prajna.

The first step in learning was recitation of the Text. Utterance was artificially regulated by metres. Seven metres evolved thereby. Correct recitation was essential. The alphabet evolved in aid of recitation. But, it was not merely rote learning. Contemplation and comprehension were considered more important.

Vedic Sanskrit evolved out of the secular, spoken language. It was the work of learned assemblies—Brahmana Sanghas. One hymn points out that the first step to education was cultivation of the Vernacular. Another hymn says that Sanskrit was hammered into shape by "assemblies". Such learned assemblies were held during sacrifices.

The small domestic school with residential pupils was the typical Rg Vedic institution. Brahmana Sanghas catered the highest type of learning. Yaska in Nirukta says that the teacher should avoid teaching isolated syllables. He should not teach pupils who possessed no knowledge of grammar, nor a non-residential pupil, nor one who was disqualified by lack of intelligence. Evidently, grammar had already evolved. And Brahmacharya which was a feature of residential pupilage was essential.

The prominent features of Rg Vedic education were—(a) Gurukul, (b) Moral fitness of pupils, (c) Brahmacharya as discipline,

(d) Paternal teacher-pupil relation which gave the teacher the inherent right to expel a pupil for non-fulfilment of duty.

Achievements of Rq Vedic education were tremendous. In the field of thinking and creativity the Rishis conceived of 33 Gods in 3 groups assigned to the three plains of the Universe, each of the 3 spheres being presided over by a deity who again was a manifestation of the Supreme Deity. This gradually led to the conception of a Supreme Being, the Absolute. In the field of scientific spirit, the Rishis developed a lively sense of immutable laws governing creation. They conceived of cosmic laws as roots of creation, operating regularly for all time. In the field of expressability, the Rishis developed the earliest stage of literary language.

Caste system was known to the Rq Vedic Rishis, but it was not rigid yet. Kshatriyas also became Rishis. Women were admitted to full religious rights and complete educational facilities. The non-Aryans and depressed classes were undergoing a process of assimilation. Yet, Rq. Vedic education was not for the masses. The Vedangas—Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda and Jyotisha, however, laid the early foundation of secular studies.

The ideal of life and education as evolved by the Vedic Rishis became the established ideal of the country. The scheme of education amply served the scheme of social and individual life. The entire social matrix was controlled by Vedic principles and Rq Vedic education was an inseparable part of that matrix.

(4) Education in the Later Vedic Period

The Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishadas are sources of knowledge about education in the Later Vedic era. Aitareya, Sankhayana, Tandya Brahmanas; Aitareya, Kaushitaki Aranyakas; Aitareya, Kaushitaki, Chhandogya, Brihadaranyaka, Mundaka and other Upanishads throw much light upon the state of education in Later Vedic era.

Variety of educational institutions was a typical feature of the time. Sakhas, Charanas, Parishads, Kulas, Gotras were now well organised. Panini knew of 24 Vedic Charanas. Satapatha Brahmana refers to Svadhyaya as a method of studying the Vedas to attain Brahmanavachasa. Yet, a student could not go without a teacher, as is explicit in Katha-Upanishad and Mundaka Upanishad. Aitareya, Chhandogya

and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads insist upon Upanayana as a mark of formal pupilage. But instruction without formal pupilage was also in vogue. King Asvapati instructed 6 Brahmanas. Yajnavalkya instructed Maitreyi. They were not formal pupils of these instructors. The father also acted as a teacher, as is borne out by the story of Uddalaka and his son Svetaketu Aruni.

Normally, however, the student was admitted after Upanayana. The period of studentship was 12 years in general cases. Begging, tending fire, tending cattle and studying at fixed hours were the external duties of pupils. Inner discipline through Pratyasana for overcoming passions was also enjoined. Acquisition of higher knowledge did not end with the termination of formal pupilage. Pursuit of knowledge was a life-long process. Gautama and Svetaketu Aruneya went together to king Pravahana Jaivali; Yajnavalkya instructed Maitreyi, Janaka, Gargi; Uddalaka Aruni went to Asvapati Kaikeya—all beyond the period of formal studentship.

The teacher's duties were now specified. He had to be more learned than the student. He must not conceal any part of knowledge desired and required by the pupil. He must teach heart and soul.

If a teacher failed to play his due part, the student might leave him in search of a better teacher. The teacher had to have a strong desire for pupils under him. Studentship was open to the first 3 castes. But teaching was no more a prerogative of the Brahmin. Some Kshatriyas acquired fame as teachers, whom Brahmins also approached for highest knowledge. King Janaka of Videha, King Ajatasatru of Kasi, King Pravahana Jaivali of Panchala, and King Asvapati Kaikeya were such Kshatriya teachers. Women also enjoyed educational rights and acquired fame for learning.

The subjects of study were now more numerous than they had been in the early Vedic period. Apart from Svadhyaya (*i.e.* Vedic study) there were Anusasana (Vedangas). Nyaya—Mimansa, Vakovakyam (theological discourses). Itihasa—Purana, Akshyana, Anvakshyana, Anuvakshyana, (explanation), Vyakshyan (commentaries), Gatha, Kshatra Vidya, Rasi (numbers), Nakshatra Vidya (Jyotish), Bhuta Vidya (demonology, magic, science of life), Sarpa Vidya, Daiva Vidya, Nidhi, Sutra (sacrificial rituals), Upani-

shad, Ekayana (Niti sastra), Brahma Vidya (Vedanga--Devajana Vidya), etc. forming a vast curriculum. In spite of varied subjects, the supremacy of Para Vidya was insisted upon. Without Para Vidya everything was but words. The methods of study now became more scientific. Doubts had to be cleared by question, cross-question and answer. The three stages of Sravana, Manana, Nididhyasana were elevated to basic pedagogic principles. Yoga was required for the attainment of higher knowledge. Meditation would ensure revelation. Renunciation would come at the ultimate stage through Sannyasa.

Indian culture and civilisation drew inspiration from the achievements and services of famous teachers of the later vedic era. Ajatsatru of Kashi, Gautama, Asvapati-Kaikeya, Aruneya Svetaketu, Uddalaka Aruni, Janaka, Dirgha Sravas, Pravahana Jaivali, Satyakama Jabala, Yajnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi were but a few of the galaxy of famous teachers of the time.

Three types of educational institutions were now firmly shaped—
 (1) The home of the teacher. (2) Debating circles and Parishads of which the most famous products are the Upanishads, (3) Conferences of learned men (very often convened and patronised by kings). The territorial area where Later Vedic education was best shaped comprised of Kuru, Panchal, Kosala, Videha. Kuru King Janamejaya, Panchala king Kraivya, Videha (Mithila) king Janaka, Ajatasatru of Kashi, and kings of Matsya (Jaipur region), Kosala (Ayodhya) were most famous patrons. Sacrifices were held at Kurukshetra, Naimisa, Videha and on the banks of Saraswati, Drishadvati and Yamuna. These seats of sacrifices, often visited by Rishis on occasions of sacrifice, gradually developed into seats of learning. Similarly the courts of patron kings of Kasi, Matsya, Kuru-Panchal, Kosala, Videha became centres of learning. Sylvan schools also began to develop in this era.

Although para vidya was still held supreme and the Brahmins got preference, organised education of other castes began in right earnest.

Education
and
occupation

Their education was determined mainly by occupation. Members of one family might adopt different occupations and thereby were fit for different types of education. A Rig Vedic hymn mentions of a father being a physician, the mother being a grinder of corn, the son being a poet. Kshatra Vidya, Nitisastra, Dhanurveda etc. were emphasised

in the education of Kshatriyas ; Agricultural education in the case of Vaisyas, and practical training in pasture, cattle rearing, arts and crafts in the case of Sudras.

Later Vedic Education showed a two fold path of (i) Karma and Dharma to preyas ; and (ii) Jnana to Atman. Inner life had to be controlled by Upasana, Yoga, Anubhuti, Moksha. Morality could come through annihilation of desires. The pupil must be santa, danta, uparata, and possessed of dama, daya, sradhwa, satyam. Through Yoga would come Maitri. Varnasrama and Chaturasrama constituted the scheme of social and individual life.

(5) Education as revealed in Sutra Literature.

From the Rg Vedic period knowledge developed in three distinctive phases:—(1) In the phase of Chhandas, the Rishis gave out their inspired thought. (2) The phase of Mantra was one of preservation. (3) The phase of Brahmana was that of systematisation and interpretation through commentaries. The Sutra followed the Brahmana.

By this time, internal upheavals and external invasions disturbed the tranquillity of Vedic life and educational system. Defensive measures required to be adopted for the preservation of accumulated knowledge. A mass of learning matter had already been acquired. But peaceful 12 year studenthood might not always be possible. Hence the need arose for simplified literature through summarisation. The Sutrakars were business like scientific students. In a popular style they retained the beauty and soul, but decimated the volume of literature. "Economy" was their battle cry. The outcome consisted of "*Smriti*" which included custom and law and was a common social possession, and "*Sruti*"—which included rituals and was a monopoly of the elite.

Sutra literature can be divided into many classes, viz Srauta Sutra (ritual for Yajamana), Grihya Sutra, Dharma Sutra, Sulva Sutra (religious practices) etc. Together with Sutra literature, there was a more extensive development and integration of the Six Vedangas. Supplementaries represented further literary development, viz Parishista (Supplements), Prayasa (manual), Paddhatis (Guides), Karikas (ritual), Anukramanis (Indices).

The allied subjects of Astronomy and Astrology further developed in this period. Basically religion still shaped literature, but secular studies were also recognised as Upa Vedas (Arthasastra, an example). Itibasa Puranas had already become the fifth Veda. Learning having

become specialised, Sutra Schools with specialist teachers was a natural growth. Asvalayana and Sankhyayana were examples of such specialisation.

The system of education was now stereotyped in a typical framework as a counterpoise to social upheavals. Vidyarambha at 5 years became almost universal, and was open to all castes. This was followed by Chuda Karma (tonsure) which was again followed by Upanayana (for all three upper castes, under different rules). The age of Upanayana was 8 years for Brahmins, 11 years for Kshatriyas and 12 years for Vaisyas. Age of Upanayana varied according to particular aims of education. Theoretically the age was fixed according to capacities, aptitudes and choice of studies. The time for Upanayana was also different (as Apastambha says). For the Brahmin child it was the Spring, for the Kshatriya it was the Summer, and for the Vaisya it was the Autumn. Criminals and Sudras were not eligible (although Boudhayana admits them). 'For the upper castes it was made compulsory. Defaulters were "Savitripatita", and Manu calls them "Aputra". They had to face ostracism, although redemption was possible by expiatory ceremonies and penances. Evidently, education was universal and compulsory for the three superior castes.

The student's uniform comprising Ajina, Vasa, Danda, Mekhala, Upavita now became formalised. Different uniforms were different symbols of wishes, desires and aims of education. Detailed rules were now drawn for the Upanayana ceremony. Rules were framed for student's life (including food, begging, service, duties, restrictions, studies, period of studentship, academic session, change of teacher etc). Similarly rules were framed in respect of the qualifications and duties of teachers (teachers' grades—Acharya, Upadhyaya; obligations of teachers, punishment, remuneration etc.)

The rule of oral teaching continued as the method. It was still completely independent of external aid in writing. Memory was particularly cultivated. But there was a personal touch in education. The teacher controlled the spread of knowledge which was thus insured against risks. The teacher's obligation was to conserve and spread knowledge as its custodian. His home was still the basic school. Oral teaching required 12 years for mastery of a subject. Hence, a student studied one subject as a rule. Teaching was individual.

Education under the Acharya was "free", although payment of fees for the Upadhyaya was not rare.

It was in this period that Educational Colonies developed in full strength and the Parishad as an institution of learning was firmly established. The Parishad was an academy of learned men. Lastly we should take note of the *Sutra Schools* which grew out of the original Vedic Schools or Charanas. In these schools of specialisation different subjects like Kalpa, Grammar, Nyaya, Jyotisha etc. were studied with specialised emphasis upon each.

The special features of education in Sutra period need be re-stated. The main aim of education was development of personality. Emphasis was still placed upon inner nature and character, and not merely upon intellect. Higher education was meant for the three upper castes. The Vedic tradition of Women's education continued. Women Rishis were called Brahmayadinis. (viz Ghosa, Lopamudra, Viswavara etc.) Initiation of girls was also formalised. Honorary teachers enjoyed academic freedom. Non-Brahmin teachers and men of learning were now not rare. (Janaka, Ajatasatru, Aswapati were examples). The three types of Snataka were now clearly distinguished. But in his farewell address during Samavartana, the teacher as usual said, "Apply thyself henceforth to other duties".

The Sutra period had established formalised education so firmly that its remnants continue to exist even today. The Vaidika sect of Brahmins reminds us of those specialists who carried a vast Vedic knowledge by heart, but could not perform sacrifices. The Srotriya sect represents those who were specialists in sacrifices i.e. Kriya. The Yajnikas were experts in Grihya Sutra. Similarly masters in the different 'Angas' like Law, Grammar, Astronomy etc. earned titles of 'Tirthas'.

In this connection we may refer also to some information that may be culled from Panini and Kautilya. *Panini* refers to 4 classes of literature—(i) Drishtam (seen or revealed), (ii) Proktam (enounced), (iii) Upajna (discovered) and (iv) Ordinary composition of ordinary writers on any subject. A class of commentaries may be added to this list

Katyayana and *Patanjali* add more types of literature viz Akshyana, Akshayikas, Itihasa-Purana etc. Charana, Gotra, Parishad and special schools are also mentioned by them. And *Kautilya* refers to Trayi (3 vedas) and specifically mentions Sankhya, Yoga and Lokayata.

(6) Education in the Epic Period

Punini refers to the Mahabharata and Yudhisthira. Patanjali mentions the character of the Epics. Kautilya refers to the fall of Ravana and Duryodhana. Evidently, the Epics had been existent in their days. In fact, it has been accepted on all hands that the Epics were shaped in a process, through a mode of editing.

The course of the literary development went parallel with the final formalisation of Hindu social structure on the basis of fixed principles and norms. Some prominent features of this development are worthy of note, viz (a) The growth of powerful kingdoms, leading ultimately to the rise of Empires, (b) concomitant importance of the Kshatriyas in social hierarchy, (c) stereotyped division of society into castes, (d) the rise of metropolitan and subsidiary towns (evident since the days of Kautilya and Megasthenes) and an urban influence upon culture, (e) urban life combined with caste structure led to the growth of varied vocations. Education in the Epic period conformed to these socio-political forms.

The principles underlying Varnasrama and Chaturasrama were now unequivocally enunciated. (1) Tender youth was the period fit for vigorous training and discipline, thereby purging impurities and imperfections. (2) Endowed with a sound mind and sound body the individual blossomed into manhood and was fit for household life. (3) With mature wisdom and moral steadfastness, he could, in the third stage, devote to collective life. (4) In the last stage of life, he could, with detachment and open mind towards the Universal and the Absolute, await the final end of a Cycle of Life. The first asrama was preparatory for the three subsequent asramas. This preparation was education. Hence content of education would vary according to ultimate ends. The ultimate ends being partly determined by Varnasrama and Varnasrama being now closely allied with vocational occupations, education became more practical and vocational than before.

The Mahabharata gives an account of the duties of different castes. For the Brahmin Brahmachari, for example, it enunciates four duties of studentship. (1) Parents only create the body, but the preceptor creates the spiritual entity. Hence it is the bounden duty of the student to emulate the teacher for spiritual salvation. The Preceptor is equivalent to parents. Hence the student must be devoted to him.

He must fulfil the preceptor's desire by all means—body, mind, speech.

(2) This devotion should extend even to the preceptor's wife and children. (3) The student must properly realise the benefits conferred by the preceptor. (4) Hence, the student must not leave preceptor's house without repaying debt.

Capacity to fulfil these duties could be acquired by (a) natural growth of mental powers, (b) contact with preceptor, (c) pupil's own endeavour, (d) discussions with fellow students.

Eligibility for education was now subject to strict conditions. The student must accept formal pupilage, take a vow and acquire purity of soul. Studies were selected in accordance with capacities of students. Ideal students were Uddalaka, Aruni, Kacha etc. Formal casteism led to the expansion of industrial and vocational education. Military and medical careers were now coveted. Industrial guilds and apprenticeship system were in vogue. Contemporary literature refers to 64 arts and vocational pursuits.

The growth of hermitages was a special phenomenon of this period. A fullfledged Asrama had several departments viz. Agnisthana (place of worship), Brahmasthana (place of study), Vishnusthana (place for teaching political science), Mohendrasthana (military), Vivasvatasthana (astronomy), Somasthana (botany), Garudasthana (transport and conveyance), Kartikeyasthana (military organisation). It is claimed that Kulapati Sanaka's asrama in Naimisharanya had as many as 10,000 students studying in various departments. Gorgeous sacrifices became an order of the day. Janmejaya and Janaka performed such sacrifices. Rishis assembled on these occasions. Sometimes Kings visited the sylvanic asramas which received royal patronage.

Education of the Kshatriyas in accordance with their occupation was now highly organised. The Pandavas studied all the Vedas, various Sastras, Niti, Itihasa-Purana, Archery and other types of military arts. Drona taught them Danurveda in all its branches. Arjuna taught Abhimanyu and other princes on the same lines. Apart from studying family laws, word sciences, music, fine arts, legends etc. the princes had to acquire mastery in riding elephant and horse, and driving the chariot. The Mahabharata also refers to Sabdasastra, Yuktisastra, Ayurveda, Nataka, Kavya etc. Educational institutions were conducted by private citizens too. The Rishis, however, led the

field. Rishi Varadyaja's asrama at Prayag, the biggest of the day was equipped with harmyas, prasadas, toranas and chhatrasalas.

Education of women was still extensive. Rishi Astavakra is known to have conversed with Brahmacharinis. Wife of Gargya and daughter of Sandilya showed excellent learning. King Janaka had philosophical discourses with Brahmacharinis.

A typical urban culture was a special contribution of the time. Ayodhya was noted for its Vedic schools. There was no illiteracy among Brahmins of the city. There were associations of Brahmacharis (Mekhalinama Maha Sangha). They resided either in asramas or in licensed lodging houses. Extension lectures were often organised. Debates were conducted by Lokayatas. It is supposed that Ladies' Club (Badhu Sangha) also existed. Dramatic society (Nataka Sangha) was surely in existence.

Thus, variegated development of education was the contribution of the Epic Age.

(7) Foreigners' account of Education in India

India was fortunate in having been visited in the ancient days by foreign travellers from different countries of the world. Many of them left records of facts and their own impressions about life and culture in ancient India. Many of the accounts, however, do not contain masses of organised facts throwing light particularly on education.

The accounts left by Chinese Travellers, however, form an exception. With the expansion of Buddhism to the Far East, a regular connection was established between India and China. Chinese scholars were naturally motivated to embark upon pilgrimages to the land of Buddhism's origin with the threefold object of (i) visiting holy places connected with the life and activities of the Buddha; (ii) receiving first hand instruction in the scriptures from renowned masters of the day and (iii) collecting originals or making copies of the most essential and rare scriptures. They, therefore, travelled from end to end of the country, visited and got admitted to famous seats of learning. Their first hand reports based upon their direct personal knowledge is obviously of first rate importance.

Fa-Hien on Education in 5th Century. A. D.

Fa-Hien was one of a company of Chinese scholars who had left for India to collect Vinaya Texts. From Udyana (Swat) to Tamralipti he

found innumerable monasteries. He counted as many as 500 Hinayana Sangharama. Mahayana schools were flourishing in the Panjab. Viharas were abundant in Mathura. On the banks of the Yamuna there were 20 monasteries with 3000 monks. 700 monks were lodged in the Purushapura Vihar. Kubja (Kanouj) had 2 Hinayana monasteries. Sravasti which originally had a university with 98 Viharas was still in a flourishing state. Amrapali's Vihara at Vaisali and Jivaka's Vihara at Rajagriha were still active. Fa-Hien also mentions Sankasya, Kusanagar, Pataliputra, Gaya, Benares, Kausambi, Champa, and Tamralipti (Tamluk) etc. as places where existed populated Sangharams. These Viharas were maintained mainly by the laity—kings and merchant-princes. The visitor refers to copper plates regarding endowments of real property and grants for recurring expenses.

Oral teaching was still the rule. But Fa-Hien witnessed the use of manuscripts at Pataliputra and Tamralipti (where Mahayana was flourishing). The traveller copied the Vinaya, Sarvastivada rules in Gatha, Sanjuktabhidharama Hridaya Sastra in Gatha, Sutras, Parinirvan Vaipulya Sutra, Mahasamghika Abhidharma etc. Sanskrit was now a popular subject of study. Under the impact of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, stupas were consecrated in honour of teachers and texts. Every Vihara had an assembly hall to hold debates and discussions which were highly educative. Non-Buddhist scholars were innumerable. Fa-Hien refers to 96 sorts of Vidyas to widen the scope of education and to provide for all comers. The Gupta Emperors were at the helm of a Hindu resurgence. Together with the Buddhist ideal of 'Service', the Brahmanic ideal of 'worship' now featured as important objectives of education.

Fa-Hien stayed in India from 399 to 414 A.D. Credit goes to him for the opening up of a process of inward-outward flow of teachers and students which continued thenceforth for 1000 years.

Jataka Reference

Fa-Hien's account corroborates Jataka stories. It is said in a Jataka story that 'Prince Brahmadatta of Benares went to Taxila, a great centre of learning with a thousand coins as teacher's fee. Parents eagerly sent their sons to such distant places, not knowing if they could see them again. Taxila was a centre of higher learning where students were generally admitted at 16 years. Tuition fees

(generally in gold) could be paid in advance or by physical labour in lieu thereof or after graduation. The fees were not grabbed by the teacher for his personal gains. They were spent to maintain the residential institutions. Some of the scholars also enjoyed state scholarships. There were Day-Scholars also. Prince Junha of Benares was one. Householders were also accepted as students. The roll strength in a college could reach the maximum of 500. With the exception of Chandalas, varied types of students were accepted. Obviously, there was freedom in choice of schools, and democracy in learning and discipline. Of course there were communal colleges also, for particular varnas. Teaching was conducted by shifts. Cock-crowling was a call to study. Trained Tittiri (bird) was used in aid of recitation. Writing was in vogue. Theory and practice went together. There was specialisation in science, arts and crafts. Special schools existed at Taxila for medicine, law and military science, and at Benaras for musical science. Formal education really ended with debating tours. In fact, the Jataka account of Taxila was a representative account of all the then famous seats of learning.

Hiu-en-Tsang on Education in 7th Century, A. D.

Hiu-en-Tsang stayed in India from 629 to 645 A. D. He witnessed the co-existence of Buddhist and Brahmanic learning (in Deva Temples), and also Hinayana and Mahayana education in monasteries. Resurgent Brahmanism made Hiuen to designate India as a Brahmana Country. Yet, there were many sects amongst the Hindus. Study of the Vedas was widely in vogue. Oral teaching was generally the practice although thought provoking questions inhibited simple rote. Studenthood continued as long as 30+. State and people held learning in high esteem. Scholars were not wanting who pursued learning for the sake of learning. Finished scholars left the world to serve the world.

Hiu-en-Tsang found innumerable monasteries throughout India, from Bamian in Central Asia to Tamralipti and Karnasuvarna in Bengal. There were many Viharas in the North-Western regions i.e. Gandhar, Pushkalavati, Purushapura, Taxila, Kashmir. There were Viharas in Nagarkot, Kapilavastu, Nepal and Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan regions. With Kanyakubja, Ayodhya, Prayag, Varanasi, Sarnath etc. the present U. P. did not lag behind. Gaya, Nalanda,

Munghyr led the field in Bihar. Samatat, Tamralipti and Raktamrittika Vihara in Karnasuvarna attracted pilgrims to Bengal. And there were monasteries at Jalandhar and Multan in the Panjab; Andhra and Vengi, Vezwada, the Chola country, Konkan in the south; Maharastra, Barooch, Malwa, Valabhi, Surat, Ujjain in western India; Chitore in Rajasthan; Sind on the western borders and Kamrup in the east. Thus, there was a network of monasteries covering the length and breadth of India. Excluding the dilapidated and deserted ones, there were 5000 monasteries in working conditions with a resident strength of 107930 Hinayana monks and 124200 Mahayana monks. The strength of Hinayana and Mahayana sects was thus almost even. This total strength of 212130 monks was devoted to the cause of education.

These monasteries produced some of the greatest leaders of Buddhism viz. Bhadanta of Kashmir, Chandravarma of Jalandhar, Viryasena of Kanyakubja, Prajnabhadra near Nalanda etc. Bhikkus from Ceylon acquired erudition at Kanchipuram.

Syllabus for higher education was suited to the particular sect. Of course there was interdenominational study as well as non-scriptural study. Rote method still dominated. But understanding, expounding and debating capacities were fostered by rewards for which the scholars were classified in grades. Compulsory manual work was controlled by Karmadana. Exemptions were allowed on the ground of superior intellectual attainments. Spiritual exercise was sect-based. Mark of respect was bestowed for success in public examination before an assembly of monks. Public assemblies of Monks helped the interchange of ideas. Dinnaga, Sbilabhadra, Gunamati, Dharmapala etc. acquired fame by defeating formidable rivals at such assemblies.

The account given above is that of higher education. Hiu-en-Tsang himself gives an account of primary education. The texts for primary education were (i) Siddham (Sanskrit alphabet and words), (ii) at 7+ the great Sutras of the 5 sciences e.g. Vyakarana, Silpasthana Vidya. Chikitsa, Hetu (logic), Adhyatma Vidya (inner self).

I-Tsing's Supplementary Account

I-Tsing who arrived in 672 A. D. supplemented Hiu-en Tsang. He covered a lesser area than Hiu-en had done. He, however, earned a meticulous knowledge of Sanskrit and Grammar. The popularity of

Brahmanism and Sanskrit caused the traveller to designate India as a Brahmana Rastra and Sanskrit as a Brahmana Language.

I-Tsing gives a more detailed account of elementary general education. Six months were spent for Siddhirastu (alphabet and syllables). For 8 months from 8+ the child learnt Panini's Sutras which were followed by Dhatu. From 10+ he studied Khilas for 2 years. At about 15+ he studied Jayaditya and Kasikabritti which were followed by Composition, Logic, Metaphysics, Jatakamala and Nagarjuna. Lastly came the 5 Vidyas.

This elementary education was followed by bifurcated higher studies—(i) Religion, (ii) Grammar which comprised Mahabhasya, Bhartrihari Sastras, Bhartrihari Vakyapadiya and Bhartrihari Veda. He who completed this total course became a Bahu Sruta. Instruction was imparted according to academic age and experience. The Upasaka was promoted to the status of a Pravrajita and thence to Sramanera. Full ordination was held at 20+. After completion of studies and adoption of the Mahasilas, the scholar became an Upasampanna. Further studies in Pratimoksha, Vinaya, Sastras and Sutras, however, continued endlessly. Monks were compulsorily to study Matricheta, Buddhacharita Kavya of Asvaghosa, Yoga and Logic etc. Monks were graded according to academic attainments in the ascending order of Sramanera, Bhikku, Sthavira and Bahusruta. Privileges were graded according to ranks. I-Tsing also names Nalanda and Valabhi as the most successful monasteries of the time. Monks could change their allegiance from one to another monastery if they liked. Routine life was controlled by a device of measuring time, with 'Vela Chakra'. Every monastery maintained a register. Self Govt. was the accepted mode of administration. In addition to Debating Halls, the royal courts very often provided for intellectual tournaments. The maxim for the teacher was, "Rather be a butcher than be a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught." The Sangharams also provided education of Brahmacharis and Manavas (white robed household students). Thus the country was placed above creed, and culture above church.

I-Tsing visited India only 27 years after Hiu-en-Tsang had left. Things could not have basically changed in the intervening period. Hence, the accounts of Hiu-en-Tsang and I-Tsing together give a total picture of 7th Century education in India.

(8) Education of Women in ancient India

The Vedic age is specially credited with the freedom it had granted to women. This was a notable element of early Aryan civilisation. Women participated in sacrificial rituals. They enjoyed the privilege of receiving education. Even Vedic knowledge was not out of bounds for them. Wives of Rishis were partners with their husbands in spiritual activities. Their daughters received education on equal terms with other residential pupils. Learned women were called Rishikas or Brahnavadinis. Vedic India produced a host of such luminaries as Romasha, Lopa, Apala, Kadru, Viswabara, Sabitri, Devjani, Maitreyee, Gargi. Samhitas were compiled by women.

Girls were given the privilege of passing through the Upanayana ceremony. Girls could become Ritviks. The Sama Veda refers to the names of Shikata, Nibabori etc. It occurs in Banabhatta's Kadambari that the appearance of Mahasweta became bright and her body pure after her sacred thread ceremony. Rg Veda refers to the marriage of educated girls. Educated daughters were considered as assets. Learned grooms were sought for educated brides. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishada refers to the urge for education of girls. Sama and Yajurvedas refer to Brahmacharya of virgins. The Taittareya Upanishada shows that married women enjoyed the right to participate in learned discourses. Women erudite in Mantra were called Mantradrik or Ritvika. Kunti, Draupadi, Kausalya, Tara etc were Ritvikas. The Upanishadas also refer to women teachers like Sulava, Prathiteyee, Maitreyee, Karshakatshni. It occurs in Bhababhuti's Uttara Ramcharita that Atreyee discussed Vedanta with Laba and Kusha. Sulava instructed King Janaka in Yoga, Samadhi and Moksha. Women were no inferior as expert authors of the sastras. Katkrishna's work on Mimamsa, Arthasastra of Apishali, Grammar of Karshakatshni are examples. Yajnavalkya's wife was famous for her erudition. Yajnavalka himself held learned debates with Gargi at King Janaka's court.

Due to internal social upheavals and external invasions, the freedom of women is known to have been undermined to some extent in the last phase of Pre-Christian and early phase of Christian era. But the whole field of Smriti literature was still open to them. There is reference in Sruta Sutra and Grihya Sutra that women could utter mantras. Jaimini's Purvamimamsa shows that women enjoyed equal sacrificial rights with men. Hemadri refers to Vidya and Dharmaniti

being mastered by women. Madhavacharya refers to Upanayana at 8 years.

The tradition continued unabated to the Epic age. Astavakra held discourses with Brahmacharinis. Daughters of Sandilya and Gargya were learned Brahmacharinis. Bhikshuni Sulava's learned discussions with king Janaka is worth noting. Sramani Savari was another example of women's erudition. Chitrangada was a genius in military arts. Subhadra was an expert chariot driver. Even in Panini era women specialists in Kath Upanishad were known as Kathi. Experts in Kalapa were Kalapi. Patanjali refers to women teachers as Youdamedha and students as Youdamedhi. In a later age, the debate between Sankaracharya and Mandana Misra was adjudged by Mandana Misra's wife Udaybharati. In the field of military expertise, a woman spear-thrower was called Saktini. The lower part of Bishpala, wounded in battle, was amputated and an iron limb fixed, thus runs the claim. The court of Maurya Chandra Gupta had women guards. Draupadi, Savitri, Pramila etc. were learned ladies. Culinary arts, fine arts and music were special fields for women. This tradition of music and dance continued in a degenerated form in the middle ages in the Debadasi system.

Knitting, spinning, weaving etc were special fields for women's work. Vatsyana's Kamasutra refers to 64 arts in which women were experts. Painting, elocution, composition of poems, dice-playing, garland stitching, manicuring were some of these fields.

Women's education enjoyed fortune till the days of Manu's injunction. Girls used to be married at 16/17 years. Married young women were called Sadyobodhu. They lived a family life and continued their studies. But women's education declined after Manu's injunctions. Manu said—Marriage was equivalent to reading the Veda, service to husband was equivalent to Asramic life, household work was equivalent to evening prayer. Manu issued the injunction that girlhood should be under authority of father, marital life under command of husband and old age under authority of son.

Because of its very nature, Buddhism in its early days had not paid attention to the educational privileges of women. Celebacy and renunciation being an essential element of Buddhistic education, there was a sharp decline in the extent of women's education. In fact, women had not been considered as equal to men. They were rather shunned.

Upon pleadings from Ananda and Mahaprajapati, the Buddha relented and permitted the acceptance of women students. But they were placed under special regulations and limitations in separate Viharas. The female sramani could not be alone with the teacher while taking lessons. They had to live a restricted life for several years to be eligible for initiation into the status of Bhikshuni. Yet, Buddhist India produced a galaxy of learned women like Amrapali of Vaisali, Supriya of Varanasi, Uppala etc. There were famous women teachers too, viz-Mahaprajapati, Sujata, Soma, Anupama, Khema, Kisha. They also created literature still known as Therigatha. But the rise of towns and Sresthis had an adverse effect upon the broad education of the day. Many women of cultural talent had to turn public dancers. This sensuous degeneration evidently tarnished India's brilliant tradition in women's education, specially in the fine arts.

(9) Professional and vocational Education

The combination of Para Vidya and Aparā Vidya constituted the wholeness of ancient Indian education. The Rishis were conscious of worldly duties. They placed emphasis upon creation of "wealth". Cattle-breeding had been held in high esteem in the earliest days. With the growth of urban life and social complexities concomitant with caste-divisions analogous with vocational specialisation, the importance of secular studies obviously increased. Sixtyfour arts were known to the ancient Hindus. With the rise of powerful monarchies, some professions and careers acquired added importance.

Ayurveda was one such professions. Formalised Ayurvedic study was open to all with requisite qualifications. Quickness of understanding, clearness of vision, keenness of intelligence, presence of mind, morality, capacity of basic studies, professional aptitudes and some grounding in the Sastras were considered as essential qualifications for admission. The training was both theoretical and practical. Acquaintance with indigenous flora for the preparation of drugs was emphasised. Charaka, Sasrut, Jivaka were products of this educative process.

Military career was similarly open to all, although the intake was mainly from amongst the Kshatriyas. The Upanayaya ceremony for military education was separately codified. Each entrant had to adopt one particular weapon as symbol. For the Brahmin it was the bow,

for the Kshatriya it was the sword, for the Vaisya the spear, and for the Sudra the club. The initiation ceremony was known as '*Chhurika Bandhana*'. The teacher had to be expert in as many as 7 weapons. Brahmin teachers also taught the theories and practices of military science. Acharya Drona may be cited as an example.

Professional education of the Vaisyas was mainly of the commercial type. Apart from studying certain scriptures and texts, they had particularly to be well versed in accounting, weights and measures, nature, quality and use value of the articles of merchandise, the genuineness and values of stones and jewels. They were expected to be acquainted with topography and transport as well as multiple languages and dialects.

Training for manual and industrial production was well organised. There was a twofold development in this field. Apprenticeship was extensively in vogue. The residential trainee had to take an oath of fidelity and loyalty while the master accepted the responsibility of training and maintaining the student. It, therefore, resembled the Gurukul system, each family secretly preserving its "trick of trade". The second line of development was the growth of guilds. There is ample literary evidence of the existence of Krishi Sangh, Gopalak Sangh, Vanik Sangh, Silpi Sangh, Karigar Sangh, Nartaka Sangh and the like.

The ancient Hindus were conversant with 64 arts. Pali literature refers to 18 arts. The Arthasastra of Kautilya gives an elaborate account of the various arts and crafts viz. weaving and spinning, mineral and metal industries, sandal, wool, wood and silk industries, irrigated agriculture etc. Evidently, simple division of labour had advanced far in that period.

Although the fundamental aim in Buddhistic education was renunciation, the impact of the secular demands of life could not be denied. Hence, education in the arts and crafts continued and flourished also in the Buddhistic system. Nalanda is known to have a department of Arts. The names of Dhiman and Bitpal are associated with it. Architecture in the form of Stupas, Chaityas and Viharas was a special contribution of this era. It was during the Gupta and subsequent eras that Indian arts and architecture influenced the whole of South-East Asia.

(10) Curricular development in ancient Indian education.

The curriculum reflects the aims of education. Such studies and activities are included in the curriculum as are considered contributory to the attainment of objectives. It was natural that the curriculum in the early Vedic stage would be dominated by Vedic scriptures which were spiritual in nature, and were supposed to illumine the vision of the student. At the same time, there is no denying that the curriculum has a close relation with social life and social needs, because all education must be socially purposive. Ancient Indian curriculum represents the combination of both these factors.

Education in the earliest phase was cosmic in nature. Through long years of practical experience, the early Aryans developed a system of knowledge embodied in their sacrificial hymns (Mantras) which they uttered during sacrifices in oblatory propitiation addressed to the mighty elements of nature who were determinants of human existence. These mantras were compiled in Samhitas—Rik, Sama, Yaju, Atharva. The Samhitas constituted the early Vedic curriculum. With the gradual rise of the Vedangas (Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha), the learning matter further expanded. The Aranyaka was similarly included in course of time.

The field of learning further branched out in the Later Vedic phase. Subsidiary subjects like Astronomy, Astrology, Botany, Geometry, Higher Mathematics etc. became separately integrated. Simultaneously, the Upanishadas acquired a final shape, thereby expanding the curricular limits.

The Sutra period followed the three earlier periods in order—Chhanda, Mantra, Brahmana. Extensive Smriti and Sruti literature was the special contribution of this period. Grihya, Srauta, Dharma, Sulva Sutras became independent subjects of study. Supplementaries i.e. Parisista, Prayasa, Paddhati, Karika, Anukramani further widened the field of knowledge. The growth of Sutra literature led to a concomitant growth of commentaries i.e. *Vashya* literature (viz. "Patanjali's Mahabhasya"). Secular studies were simultaneously formalised as *Upa Vedas*. A special contribution of this age of specialisation was the rise of specialised Sutra schools and teachers.

Industrial, vocational and professional education received special emphasis in the Epic period. Reference to the different departments

of a fullfledged Asrama, e. g. Political Science, Military Science, Astronomy, Botony, Transport etc. shows that education, by that time, was departmentalised on the basis of curricular contents.

Education of the Kshatriyas was also a prominent feature of this period. The Pandavas studied all the Vedas, various Sastras, Niti, Itihasa—Purana, Family laws, General laws, Nyaya, Writing, Painting and exercises in jumping, swimming, elephant-horse-chariot riding etc. The Mahabharata also refers to Sabdasashtra Yuktisashtra, Ayurveda, Nataka, Kavya etc. Similarly, the education of the Vaisya received a special impetus in this period. It is a matter of conjecture how wide the curriculum had become in course of its evolution, by the accumulation of new contents at every stage.

The full-fledged Brahmanic curriculum consisted of the 3 Vedas, 6 Vedangas, Brahmana, Vedanta Upanishadas, Vakovakya, Itihasa-Purana, Akhyana, Anvakhyana, Vyakhyana, Gatha, Kshatra Vidya, Rashi, Nakshatra Vidya, Bhuta Vidya, Sarpa Vidya, Daiva Vidya, Brahma Vidya, Devajana Vidya, Nidhi, Sutra and various arts and crafts. From this vast panorama, there was election for the different castes in different phases of development. Standardisation of knowledge was attained to a great extent, as is evident from the three expressions—Alpaprajna, Madhyamaprajna, Mahaprajna. Similarly, the standard of graduation was assessed at three levels—Vidya Snataka, Vrata Snataka, Vidya-Vrata Snataka.

Buddhistic curriculum, like Brahmanic curriculum, had started with scriptures—Tripitakas (Sutta, Dharma, Vinaya) as its core. Buddhistic education had basically been designed as education for renunciation. But Buddhistic education had to coexist with Brahmanic education by competition. Buddhist scholars had to defend their faith in public debates against Brahmanic challenge. Hence they required to know much of Brahmanic learning-matter also. Brahmanic subjects of study were thus gradually included in the Buddhistic curriculum. Milinda Panho throws much light upon the then Buddhistic curriculum which consisted of Tripitakas, the 4 Vedas, Itihasa, Lexicography, Prosody, Phonetics, Grammar, Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine, Panini etc. The 5 Vidyas—Sabda, Silpasthana, Chikitsa, Hetu, Philosophy received honoured place in Buddhistic curriculum.

Buddhistic education did not remain simply an antagonistic

competitor of Brahmanic education. Co-existence caused supplementation to each other. Two systems in the same body-politic responding to varied social demands became inter-related through interpolation of subject content. With the growth of mass popularity, Buddhistic education acquired a secular bias and incorporated secular subjects. Hindu resurgence caused a re-assertion of modified Sanskrit which now secured a proper place in Buddhistic education. The story of Nagarjuna's education shows how a scholar could master both the fields of learning. Brahmanic scholarship could be followed by Buddhistic scholarship.

The non-sectarian and comprehensive general education in the glorious days of Buddhism included Hindu and Bouddha philosophy Medicine, Law, Polity, Jatakamala etc. Thus, everything from Philosophy to Grammar and fine arts found place in Buddhistic curriculum.

(11) Para and Aparā Vidya

Although in general terms the Vedas are considered to have constituted Para Vidya and other studies contributing towards a successful material life constituted Aparā Vidya, the ancient Rishis did not accept even the Vedas as Para Vidya.

Probahana, son of King Jibala says that Rik, Sama, Yaju, Atharva, Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana and such other studies are but Aparā Vidya. Only that which imparts direct knowledge of the Brahma i.e. Pure and unadulterated Brahma Vidya alone is Para Vidya. In Kathopanishada Yama says, "The Spirit cannot be attained by a study of the Vedas. Even vast knowledge or genius cannot expound it." In Mundakopanishada Angira says, "There are two classes of knowledge, Para Vidya and Aparā Vidya. Rik, Sama, Yaju, Atharva Vedas, Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha and everything like them belong to the category of Aparā Vidya. Only that is Para Vidya which causes the attainment of the Parama Purusa'. Uddalak also did not consider that Vedic knowledge was Para Vidya. Only pure and heavenly knowledge was Para Vidya.

In Chhandogya Upanishada, Narada says to Sanatakumara that he had mastered the four Vedas, the fifth veda (i.e. Itihasa Purana), Grammar, Mathematics, the Vedangas, soil science, military science, magic the arts, logic, ethics, astronomy, fine arts and crafts etc.

He had become a master of Mantras i.e. a learned man. Yet he could not know his self. One who has knowledge of the Supreme, may have knowledge of his own self. Such a person rises above agony caused by a sense of non-fulfilment. Sanatakumars said that Narada's knowledge consisted of some symbols of objects, not real and complete knowledge.

Sanata kumara then defines a hierarchy of knowledge. Speech is superior to symbolic words. The mind is superior to speech. The greatest power of the mind is imagination. The first stage is mental proposition, which is followed by thought; speech is accordingly controlled; then comes execution of work. Evidently, 'Chitta' is superior to mind and its proposition. Dhyana is superior to Chitta, because Dayana means concentration, the highest power of Chitta. From maturity of Dhyana comes Scientific and specialised knowledge which leads to mental and spiritual strength, only which may attain the Supreme. He who has knowledge of the Supreme is "Ativadi". Everything other than knowledge of the Supreme is changeable and perishable.

(12) The Gurukul

"As the aim of education, So is the school" may be accepted as a dictum. Salvation, illumination and enlightenment constituted the basic aim of education in ancient India. But education was also deliberately designed instruction, influence and training with immediate objectives. Hence education meant Siksha (learning to recite), Adhyayana (going near the teacher), Vinaya (living out in a particular way). Although the ultimate aim of education was merger with the Universal through "self realisation", yet proximate aims were (i) inculcation of social and civic duties through hospitality and charitability (so that a sense of dependence upon society might develop), and (ii) character formation through instruction, training, hero worship and emulation of persons possessed of ideal character. This was impossible in any Day School. Ancient India, therefore, developed a typical system of residential pupilage at teacher's house. This was the Gurukul system.

Gurukul meant residence in teacher's house for education after Upanayana till the Samavartana. This was the period of Antevashin. The spirit of 'Gurukul' was implied in the Upanayana system itself.

Gurukuls were not always situated in forests. In the majority of

cases they were in villages and towns because majority of teachers were household dwellers. But in any case they were situated in secluded surroundings. Clusters of Gurukuls developed in certain localities. These were the "Agrahara" settlements. The Gurukul admitted students only after a stage of their maturity. Evidently they were institutions of higher learning, not elementary 3 Rs. alone. Residential studentship was a matter of rule. Yet, local students were not always required to lodge.

The Gurukul implied the recognition of the value of habit, routine, imitation, sympathy and suggestion. By emulation of the elderly scholars, the younger learners developed an association with the school. Belongingness to the school's tradition ensured the growth of an esprit de corps. Discipline was a natural phenomenon of such a life. The student had to contribute his labour to keep the Gurukul going. This was inherent in the concept of "Asrama". Instruction was individualised and education was free of tuition charges. (Upon completion of education the student could pay homage to the Guru).

Such a system of schooling meant the teacher's position of high esteem and authority. He was the father-substitute for the pupils. He had to be an embodiment of intellectual and spiritual ideals. He alone determined the admission of students, and he alone was the final examiner and judge. Obviously he was guided by the Laws of Duty. The teacher had to be spiritually qualified and well versed. He had to adopt the pupil and lead him to light. He looked after the necessary comfort of the pupil and he was the sole arbiter, rewarder and punisher.

The student, on his part, had to be similarly guided by laws of duty. He had to beg, keep the sacred fire burning and tend the cattle. To sleep in day time was illegal for him. He had to rise earlier and go to bed later than the preceptor did. His hours of study were fixed. Serving the teacher was his incumbent duty. Above all, he had to observe Brahmacharya.

Each a school-life ensured character-formation through direct, personal and continuous contact between teacher and pupil. The negative factors of family life were eliminated. Yet it was not a negation of family life, because the student, in the "antevasin" period,

belonged to the Guru's family. The personal angularities of pampered children were toned down in the collective life in Gurukul. The student was thus socialised and transformed into a complete man.

The Gurukul cannot be compared with the monasteries of mediaeval Europe, nor with the Buddhist Viharas. While the Vihara prepared the student for final renunciation, the Brahmanic Gurukul sent the student back to society. It is not even comparable with modern Gurukul or Asramic institutions built upon traditional patterns. The Hindu Gurukul conformed to Hindu scheme of life. It served a distinctive purpose and therefore lived long.

(13) Teacher-pupil Relation in Ancient India

Much importance was attached to the Alma mater in ancient India because of the very concept and aim of education. The teacher's role was to lead the pupil from darkness, removing the cover of the lamp of learning, thus letting out the light. The teacher caused the intellectual rebirth of the pupil. Hence he was held in high esteem. He was the spiritual and intellectual father. (The Upanishadas are replete with stories of devotion. The case of Ekalavya may also be cited. Jaina and Buddhist stories tell the same tale).

This reverence was natural, because—(i) teaching was oral and direct, (ii) for spiritual salvation the pupil had to depend absolutely upon the path-finding teacher, (iii) professional teaching was imparted under personal guidance, and (iv) pupil's practical apprenticeship was widely in vogue.

This reverence was institutionalised through Upanayana, Gurukul, Samavartana, and concept of life-long studentship.

The teacher required no special professional training other than what he received through the monitorial system and public debates. But he had to be highly qualified with an ideal character, patience, impartiality, sound knowledge and life-long study. For his professional efficiency he was required to have fluent delivery, ready wit, capacity to instantaneously expound intricate problems. He had to possess the capacity to inspire his pupil. Moreover, the teacher had to abide by an unwritten professional code. He accepted no regular fees (although a meagre honorarium was not illegal or immoral). He had to give the pupil all he knew and confess his shortcomings. Hence he was held in high esteem.

A list of teacher's duties would be very long indeed. He was associated with his pupil in filial relation. Being the pupil's spiritual father, he had immense moral responsibility. His extra-academic duties were many. Particularly he was the guardian of the student's health, habit and conduct. He maintained the student and nursed him in his ailment. He could not look for any fixed income. The income came from sacrifices and gifts.

Non-commercial teachership endowed the teacher with inherent rights regarding absolute control of the institution, including admission, expulsion and punishment. The teacher determined the curriculum, syllabus and methods of teaching. He was the sole examiner and judge of the student's proficiency.

On the pupil's side, there were corresponding duties. He had to observe the decorum and rules of conduct. The student's daily life included morning rituals, prayers, begging and studying at fixed hours. In the evening, the student had to take physical exercises. Students of practical subjects had to spend much time in workshops.

The student could not progress in knowledge without rendering service. The pupil had to get up and salute the teacher whenever the two met. He had always to take a lower seat. Personal service to the teacher was compulsory. Service extended also to the teacher's home, the Asrama or the whole Tapovana. Rules of discipline had to be strictly adhered to. The student could not backbite the teacher although he could correct the teacher if the latter was in fault. Only in extreme cases could he revolt and leave the teacher. The duties, however, did not hamper studies, because the relation was direct, cordial and intimate. The relation continued in after-life. The student frequently called on the teacher who paid return visits.

In Buddhistic education this relationship continued in the main. All monks had to beg. Novices (Samanera) had to do menial work. The student had to rise early, prepare and serve the teacher's meal, wash his bowl, and accompany him in his begging round. He had to follow the teacher at a particular distance and could not talk or do anything unless asked by the teacher.

The teacher in his turn had to help the pupil intellectually and spiritually. He had to supply the necessities. But he had the right to expel the pupil for lack of shame, reverence, devotion, morals and

respect for the Upadhyaya. But some changes in the relationship occurred due to the democratic element in Buddhistic education. The student now enjoyed the right to criticise or even revolt if the teacher left the Sangh or inspired the pupil to do immoral or irreligious things. Moreover, extreme punishment upon the pupil could now be awarded by the Chapter (i.e. Vihara Council). Thus, the change was from monarchical to oligarchical administration.

On the whole, Teacher-Pupil relation, in both the systems was direct, cordial and intimate. It served the scheme and system of education admirably.

(14) Teacher and Pupil as referred to in the Upanishadas

Upanishadic stories speak eloquently of the position of the Guru in the scheme of education. The story of Satyakama tells over and again that the satisfaction of the Guru brings salvation and light. The Taittiriya says, "Tapasya is Brahma and Guru is Acharya. The Brahma himself is the preceptor of the devoted Tapasvi. Brahma unfolds Himself to such a devotee."

Uddalak says to Swetaketu, "No theoretical dogma comes to clear understanding and beyond doubts unless the student places absolute reliance upon devotion to the Acharya. Devotion, like a loving mother, shields the Brahmachari from all evils and dangers." 'Place absolute reliance upon me'—is a great dictum.

Uddalak says, "He who gets the Acharya's blessings, comes to know the truth. The Acharya is a great theoretician, the kindest Guru. With his blessings the blind seekers of truth find knowledge of the self and attain salvation."

Hiranyanabha, the Prince of Kosala, had approached Rishi Sukeshha with some queries. Without hiding his own limitations the latter approached Rishi Pippalada. The son of a king and the son of a Rishi were equal seekers of the Brahma. After receiving knowledge of the Brahma from Pippalada, his disciples said, "You ferried us across the river of ignorance. You are our father!" Similarly, Narada received the knowledge of the Brahma from Sanatakumara. By previous tapasya Narada had freed himself of anger and jealousy. Sanata kumara helped him to see light beyond the limits of darkness.

On the other side of the shield there is ample testimony of devoted pupilage. The story of Jabala Satyakama and Rishi Goutama esta-

blishes the victory of "Truth". The lesson is, "He who is unflinching to truth is Brahmin. Character is greater than gotra." (Uttisthata, Jagrata, Prapya Baran Nibodhata—is a memorable lesson for all students in all the ages).

The Chhandogya defines the vidyarthi as "Samitpani". Indra had to perform Brahmacharya for 101 years. In fact, the first and foremost duty of the disciple was the observance of Brahmacharya. The body, the senses, even the mind were but vehicles of the spirit. The method to attain that spirit was Brahmacharya. There were three recognised paths to the acquisition of knowledge—strict brahmacharya and prolonged devotion, the presentation of huge wealth and cattle to the preceptor as "pronami"; repaying knowledge by impartation of knowledge. The pupil unflinchingly followed anyone of these paths.

In the Chhandogya again Uddalak says to Swetaketu, "The best time to attain knowledge of the Brahma by devotion and concentrated meditation of the Brahma is adolescence. He who attains this knowledge is really learned and wise. The Rishis only are learned and wise." In fact, birth in a Brahmin family did not make one a Brahmin in those days. On the contrary, people castigated one who, inspite of being a Brahmin's son, was devoid of the knowledge of the Vedas or of the practice of brahmacharya. He was called a "Brahmabandhu." A Dwijabandhu or Brahmabandhu was a Brahmin by birth, not by qualities or performances. He was almost as outcaste as a Sudra.

Santa Kumara says to Narada, "Manana is impossible without Sraddha. Without devotion there can be no Sraddha. Unflinching performance of duties only may bring about concentrated devotion. It is not sufficient to remember the precepts of the teacher, they must be translated into practice, and life must be lived accordingly. Only then will come success. To perform duty, one must find pleasure in the performance of duties. Only the "unlimited" brings happiness, the limited cannot. (Bhumaiba Sukham, Nalpe Sukhamasti). Unlimited and eternal happiness should be the aim of life. The unlimited is above decay; the limited is earthly and subject to decay, destruction and death. He who strives to attain the Spirit in this fashion may ultimately attain it."

The pupils in ancient India strove to attain the Brahma in this fashion and lived a life accordingly.

So keen was the pupils' urge for knowledge that they even submitted to Kshatriya Preceptors for Brahma Vidya. Swetaketu was the son of Gautama who was the son of Aruna. Swetaketu had acquired knowledge of the Vedas, but failed to acquire Brahma Vidya. Probahana, son of King Jibala unreservedly imparted that knowledge to him. In fact, Gautama was the first Rishi, who, for the sake of knowledge submitted to Kshatriya Preceptors. Five Rishis had received knowledge of the Atma and Brahma from King Aswapati.

Uddalaka son of Aruna failed to give right answers to some queries and unhesitatingly went King Aswapati as a student. Similar is the story of Balaki and King Ajatasatru of Kashi.

Serious learners were not reluctant to learn from Nari Rishis, all of whom even did not belong to upper castes. Devisukta was the creation of Bak. Female preceptors became Brahma Vadinis and Veda Vadinis and were invited to debates. The story of Gargi stands testimony to the truth that they interpreted Atma and pupils devotedly received lessons from them.

(15) Methods of Teaching

The method of teaching is a direct outcome of the aim of education, the type of school and the learning matter. The content of Brahmanic learning consisted mainly of Mantra. Mantras had to be recited with correct pronunciation and accent. Hence recitation was the fundamental method in Brahmanic education. In fact, effective recitation developed as a fine art.

But, recitation did not mean simple rote. The Rishis placed special emphasis upon comprehension. Any recitation without understanding the inner meaning of Rik was equivalent to Aparavidya. The inner meaning was explained by the teacher through series of intelligent answers to questions raised by the student. Lastly self study and concentrated meditation constituted the best method of acquiring inner knowledge.

But acquisition of knowledge was not enough. Inner spiritual insight of the Absolute could be acquired only through revelation. Revelation was possible only when desires and illusions ended. Suppression of desire came through Sannyas and Yoga. The learner had to conquer his passions by chastity, austerity, poverty and penance.

In the Vedic-Brahmanic system, even in the matter of methods of

teaching and learning, great stress was placed upon Brahmacharya. In the Brihadaranyaka it is said that there could be no knowledge without power, and no power or energy without Brahmacharya. Chhandogya also speaks in the same vein. Jabala Satyakama says to Gosruti;—"Pran is above speech, (Vakya), eyes, ears, mind and sex. Practise sanjama of Prana. Through Dhyana and Samadhi comes knowledge of self," Yama says to Nachiketa, "the body (Sarira) is the chariot, Atma the charioteer, Buddhi the driver, Mana the bridle and the senses the horses." Evidently—"Mind is greater than the senses, Buddhi is greater than mind, Prakriti is greater than Buddhi, Purusha is greater than Prakriti". In the Taittiriya, Bhrigu (son of Baruna) says, "to attain the Brahma, one must seek with Mana (i.e. Dhyana), Prana (i.e. Aradhana) and Sarira (i.e. Tapasya)". Reference may again be made to Yama who says, "The spiritual cannot be attained with the temporal. One must try to attain the desired end rather than be satisfied with what is easily achievable. The journey to the end demands self control through Daya Dana, Danyat.

Teaching in the *Buddhistic system* too, was individualised. Each Saman had to choose an Acharya (of 10 years experience). Learning by heart, in the form of rote, prevailed in this system too. But new elements were introduced in the form of reading, explanation, sermons and examinations. The students were encouraged to compose poems. Fa Hien refers to the value attached to rational thinking. The system was so organised that in course of receiving education, the learner acquired teaching ability too. This process was facilitated by discussions very often held. Self study was the ultimate stage in the process of education. Preaching Bhikkus had to defend their faith against onslaughts from banner-holders of other faiths. Hence, the exercise of debating capacity was specially attended to. Honour was bestowed upon one that could vanquish the opponent. Expert debaters and talkers were classified and honoured accordingly. Seminars and conferences of the Rectors of Viharas were often held. Learned assemblies were patronised by kings. Hiu-en-Tsang refers to such assemblies at Prayag under the patronage of Harshavardhan. Education of a Buddhist student ended with an educational and debating tour. Evidently, the methods of Buddhist education were not mechanical, nor tyrannous.

(16) Yoga as a method of learning

The ancient Rishis believed in an eternal moral order and four noble truths that (i) there was suffering, (ii) there was cause of suffering, (iii) there was cessation of suffering, (iv) there was the ultimate certainty of salvation.

Ignorance was one of the causes of suffering because it meant bondage. Hence knowledge meant freedom. Knowledge of the ultimate might be acquired only by continued and concentrated contemplative meditation. Concentration was ensured by self control. Self control meant control of impulses, and observance of Sanjama. The technique was Yoga.

'Tapas' meant annihilation of desires, for direct realisation of truth through renunciation, sacrifices and penances. The process was Brahmacharya, during which the learner had to practise *Gravana*, *Manana*, *Nididhyasana*. Evidently, higher knowledge was attainable through renunciation and meditation. Knowledge of Atman came by revelation through Yoga. The pre-requisites were (i) annihilation of desires and (ii) annihilation of illusions. This came through *Sannyasa* i.e. casting off. Yoga meant withdrawal of organs from objects of sense and concentrating them on inner self, to free oneself from plurality and to secure union with Atman.

The system is a consequence of the doctrine of the Upanishadas in which the highest end is knowledge of self and identity with Atman. To attain that end, the Yogi had purposely to dissolve the ties with the illusory world of phenomena (*Samsara*) and practise self concentration (Yoga). Thus, *Sannyasa* and Yoga were remarkable inventions of the genius of the Indian people. The first sought to suppress desire, the second was based on the consciousness of plurality and the desire for self-realisation.

Kathopanishada defines the terms Atman, *Sarira*, *Buddhi*, *Manas*, *Indriya*. Atma rides in the chariot of *Sarira*. *Buddhi* is the driver. *Indriyas* are the horses, *Manas* the reins. Hence, *Indriyas*, out of control are like vicious horses. According to this analysis, therefore, higher than the senses are the objects of senses; higher than this is *Manas*; then higher is *Buddhi*; and still higher is the great Self. 'Katha' explains Yoga as control of senses and Yogi as "Apramatta". *Brihadaranyaka* explains Yoga as *santa*, *danta*, *uparata*, *titiksha*,

samahita. "Chhandogva" explains Pratyahara as the resting of all senses in 'Atman'. "Maitra" refers to 'Sadanga Yoga' viz. Asana. Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dhyana. Dharana and Samadhi.

In post-Vedic times, Yoga was developed and elaborated into a formal system by Patanjali (ref : Patanjali's Yoga Sutra.) The system implies several angas e.g. external practices, (i) Yama (discipline), (ii) Niyama (self restraint), (iii) Asana (sitting), (iv) Pranayama (regulation of breath), (v) Pratyahara (suppression), (vi) Dharana (concentration of attention), (vii) Samadhi (absorption).

Chitta is 'Samsara'. If chitta is fixed on Brahma, a man is free from bondage. (This is the essence of chitta britti nirodha). The Yogi requires lightness of body, freedom from diseases, serenity of mind, radiant countenance and pleasant voice. Yoga should be undertaken in congenial environment, clear level spot free from pebbles, fire and gravel, by the side of water and other prerequisites, not offensive to the eye, i.e. a hidden retreat. This concept led to the growth of sylvan asramas.

(17) Concept of Brahma

The ancient Rishis strove for the attainment of Brahma. Their concept of Brahma is also awe-inspiring. The Vedas refer to Him as Prajapati i.e. Creator. The Puranas refer to Him as Pitamata i.e. original father. Rishi Goutama says to Jebala Satyakama that the Brahma is the supreme self of bliss and consciousness. He is superior to Agni, Vayu, Surya and Prana. Yama says to Nachiketa that the Supreme Self is smaller than an atom, larger than the largest. He is beyond the limits of sound, touch or vision. He is the original, the eternal and the endless. He is Atma. Bhrigu, son of Rishi Baruna, says in Taittiriya, "Food (Anna) is Brahma, Meditation is Brahma, Prana (vital force) is Brahma, Mana (consciousness) is Brahma, and Ananda (bliss) is Brahma. Yajnavalkya says, "He sees, cannot be seen ; hears, cannot be heard ; thinks, cannot be thought ; knows, cannot be known. He is the invisible and indestructible sourcefount of the Universe. Knowledge of Him is supreme". The same idea occurs also in Astaddhyae.

Aswapati says to Uddalak, son of Rishi Aruna, "Atma is not the earth, nor the sun, nor the air, nor the sky, nor water. The celestial world is His head, sun and moon His eyes, the different quarters of

the globe are His ears, the Vedas His speech ; Vayu His "prana", the Universe His heart, the earth His legs. He is the inner spirit and core of every object. This core of the heart is dearer than a son, richer than wealth. Knowledge of Atma is more valuable than Dana, Dhyana, Yajna, Vrata—this is the essence of the conversation between Raja and Raikha.

In Chhandogya Upanishada Uddalak says to Swetaketu, "You are He. (Tattvamashi). You are Brahma. Atma is Brahma. Atma is Truth, Brahma, Unique, Indivisible, Blissful. There is death for the body, not for the Atma. The future tree with all its branches exists in the invisible and minutest seed. This invisible origin is "power". The physique, the senses and the mind are but vehicles of Atma. Swarupa is Paramatma.

(18) Educational Rituals

The aim of life was salvation and merger with the Universal. The aim of education was acquisition of knowledge of the Universal as well as of the true self (atman). But mere knowing was not enough for Moksha. It required knowing, doing and being, all together. Evidently it meant an art of living in practice. These spiritually-based practices were institutionalised in the form of educational rituals.

The rituals were nothing additional to education. The process of education was a process of well defined rituals one after another. The Rishis admitted the importance of mother's role and the purity of her married life. Several ceremonies were to be observed in this respect. Care of the child started from *Garbhadhana* i.e. in its embryonic stage. This was prenatal education. *Yatakarma* and *Annaprasana* followed the child's birth. This was postnatal education. The mother was properly instructed at every stage.

The beginning of home education was heralded by the *Vidyarambha* ceremony at 5 yrs. It was open to all castes and was a family function. Allowances were sanctioned in respect of age limits. For the Brahmin child, the range was 5-8 yrs. For the Kshatriya it was 8-11 yrs, for the Vaisya 12+. The child prayed for blessings of elders and Gods. The *Chuda Karma* (tonsure) followed immediately. Then came the most important ritual—Upanayana.

Upanayana meant taking a pupil to teacher. Its origin was prehistoric. The Rik Veda pre-supposed it and the Atharva Veda

describes it in details. Originally it was performed during commencement of Vedic studies. Upto 400 B. C. it was not obligatory. This educational function as a bodily ritual, primarily for purification of body, was gradually transformed with a spiritual flavour. Moreover, with the establishment of a stereotyped structure of society and social values, Upanayana became obligatory and was stereotyped.

The three upper castes were eligible for this ritual. Those unfit by character and birth were kept out. The general age limit was 8 to 12 yrs. But age allowances were extensively granted for children of different castes. For the Brahmins it was 8 to 12 yrs., for the Kshatriyas 11 to 22 yrs, for the Vaisyas 12—24 yrs. The age limit varied according to the particular aim of education. Moreover, the age was fixed according to the supposed capacity, aptitude and choice of studies. The time for the ceremony was similarly different. For the Brahmin it was the Spring, for the Kshatriya it was the Summer and for the Vaisya, the Autumn. Defaulters were considered Savitripatit. For them, Manu prescribes ostracism. Redemption was possible by expiatory ceremony and penances. It signifies that the ceremony was compulsory for the 3 castes and it was observed in all seriousness.

Through Upanayana, the student became a twice-born (Dwija),—the first birth having been physical, the second being spiritual. Derivatively "Upa+ni" meant introduction by the teacher, of the pupil, to Brahmacharya, by contact with Guru, Vrata, Veda, Yama, Niyama and Devatas. With fire in hand, the pupil approached the Guru and begged for acceptance as student. Hence the pupil was called "Samitpani". He was then led to the sacred fire for offering "Samidh." This part of the ritual, connected with the sacred fire, signified brilliance prayed for. The teacher then presented the pupil to the deities for protection from harm, disease, death. The pupil then accepted a Brahmachari's uniform consisting of Ajina, Kaupina, Vasa (lower garment), Mekhala (girdle) and Upavita (symbolising the 3 Vedas) etc., and held a Danda (signifying firm determination to undertake a long journey towards ultimate knowledge). There were different uniforms symbolising different wishes and desires (particularly pertaining to the different castes).

Thus dressed, the pupil stood on a stone signifying steadfastness.

This was called *Asmarohan*. In this posture he surrendered to the teacher who accepted him as a disciple. Uttering Savitri Mantra (Gayatri) the teacher offered prayer to the Sun. This was followed by formal investiture with staff which meant that the pupil would be a careful watch dog to guard the Vedas. Now the teacher addressed the student, the essence of the address being, "Thou art a Brahmachari. Be religious and persevering. Do not sleep by day. Learn the Vedas under the teacher. Follow thy teacher at every footstep. Remove anger and untruth. Do not commit excesses in bathing, dressing and eating. Give up scandal, covetousness, greed, envy, fear and sorrow. Get up early and devote thyself to meditation. Do not take meat, wine or punjent things."

The teacher announced the rules and regulations of student life viz, begging, nature of permissible food, services, duties, restrictions, studies and courses, period of studentship etc. On the 4th day, after ceremonial begging, was held the Medhajanana ceremony (spiritual rebirth) and Savitri Vrata. The teacher asked the student to follow him and his works, to concentrate his thought upon the teacher, to respect him and assured him that the pupil's heart was impregnated with the teacher's spirit. Thus ended the initiation ceremony.

The ritual had a tremendous significance. It was the beginning of a new epoch in life characterised by dignity, decorum, discipline. The student became a self-reliant traveller to the realm of knowledge. He undertook an arduous and life long journey to be covered with Divine help. The teacher wanted him to have a personality as that of Indra and an intelligence flaming as God Fire.

School life in different phases synchronised with different rituals. The *Upakarma* (Sravani) was held on the fullmoon day of Sravana. This was the function to inaugurate a session. Progress made in the preceding year was reviewed and work ahead assessed. *Utsarjana* ceremony was held on the full moon day of Pous. It was annual dispersal or closure ceremony.

The *Samavartana* was the convocation ceremony. Brahmanic education classified Snatakas as Vidya Snataka (versed in Scriptures). Vrata Snataka (versed in practical work). Vidya-Vrata Snataka (i.e. in both theory and practice). On the scheduled date, the snataka had to confine himself indoors till midday, lest the morning sun should feel

inferior to the lustre and brilliance of the student. Then the student renounced his girdle and dress and bathed in scented water. Richly dressed, the student offered Guru-Dakshina and prayed that he might be liked by all. The teacher made a speech, the essence of which was, "Speak the truth and practise virtue. Do not neglect duty and do not swerve from truth, virtue, welfare. Do not neglect what is good. Do not neglect study and teaching or duties to God, parents and teachers. Worship mother, father, teacher and guest as God. Learn modesty, duty, wisdom and reason. Be pure in mind and body. And above all repay the Three Debts."

The teacher then defined the responsibilities of the student in the subsequent phases of life. The teacher performed a Yajna and prayed that the pupil had many students to ensure continuity of knowledge. Verbally certifying the proficiency of the student, the teacher presented him before learned Pandits.

The significance of rituals was *not neglected in Buddhist education too*. Like the Brahmanic system, the Buddhistic system also was characterised by educational rituals.

Pravajja, equivalent to Upanayana, was initiation to studenthood. The student had to leave behind everything connected with his previous home life. The *Pravajja* was the first step of "going forth" for the ultimate "going out of worldliness." The ceremony was open to all castes, signifying equality and fraternity in the great Ocean of Buddhist Brotherhood. There were, however, some restrictions connected with age of the entrant, parental sanction, physical and moral defects. Criminals, matricides or shameless candidates were rejected. Similarly rejected were those in important state service or against whom legal proceedings were pending. The *Pravajja* initiated a period of novitiate. The pupil approached an Upadhyaya and reverently prayed for guidance in his journey to spiritual life. He recited his vow of Triple Refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha. Teacher then accepted him as a student. The Sangha organisation developed on the basis of such cooperative union of teachers and pupils. No one without formal pupilage was admitted to the Sangha. The Sangha did not, as a collective entity, undertake teaching responsibility which had to be carried on by an individual teacher. He was responsible for the intellectual, physical and moral well being of the pupil.

Sangha life meant preparation for complete renunciation. Hence Pravajja meant complete surrender of the self, with the ultimate objective of "going out". All signs of worldly life had to be left behind. Pupils from all the castes were admitted to the Sangha. There was no injunction that the teachers were to be Brahmins only.

After Pravajja, the pupil became Samanera or Pravajit i. e. novice. He had to be clad in saffron uniform and abide by the educational commandments. He had to take a vow to abstain from telling a lie, drinking liquor, taking a thing which was not a gift, impure practices, untimely feed, participating in songs and dances, using garland, scent, and ornaments, using a high seat, accepting gold and silver. This Buddhist version of the life of a novice resembled Hindu Brahmacharya. *Upasampada* was equivalent of Hindu Samavartan. This was the function to terminate 12 year education. The philosophies behind Samavartan and Upasampada were, however, different. The former was termination of formal education for entry into the second cycle of Chaturasrama i.e. family life, while the latter was termination of formal education for admission into the order of Monks.

While admission through Pravajja was determined by the single Upadhyaya—Acharya, the conferment of monkhood was a prerogative of the Sangha as a whole. The Upasampada ritual was performed before the entire Sangha. Special assemblies were convened. An individual teacher presented the student before the house and prayed for Upasampada. The student himself announced absolute submission to the Order. He had to face a volley of questions. The house gave a verdict and the eligible candidate was declared a graduate. From then was calculated his spiritual age.

The Snataka then received a sermon that he must depend on his begging bowl, must wear rags, sleep under the shade of trees and use cow's urine as medicine. The snataka was simultaneously placed under 4 injunctions that he must shun sexual relations, hate stealing, abstain from homicide, and abstain from boasting of super-human powers. Thus, Upasampada had a rational basis free from mysticism.

(19) Brahmacharya

The Brahmanic system was organised on the basis of some universal aims, practices and rituals. The students had to practise a particular art of living. The total configuration of practices and

rituals during studenthood was Brahmacharya. The curriculum and length of study might change ; but the system, methods and modes of discipline did not. In fact, the Rishis propounded an immutable art of life which was Brahmacharya.

The Brihadaranyaka says that there could be no power or energy without Brahmacharya, and no knowledge without power. Jabala Satyakama says to Gosruti that knowledge of self may come through Dhyana and Samadhi. From the story of Goutama and Jabala Satyakama we come to know that Character was more valued than Gotra and one who unflinchingly followed "truth" was a Brahmin. When such a genuine Brahmin attained the Atma (through Dhyana, Aradhana and Tapasya), even wealth, son or heaven seemed insignificant for him and he could give up the minutest desire for the greatest worldly happiness.

Rabindranath (in 'Siksha Samasya') gives a nice analysis of what Brahmacharya was. It did not simply mean austerity. People of the material wordly life are prone to be misguided by the illusory allurements of pleasure. They may be pestered with ideas and urges to distract them from calm and serene restfulness of mind. For a normal and natural development of manhood and human qualities, immature perversion and tense excitement of extraneous luxury and unholy stimulus must be guarded against. Evidently, regulated and disciplined life was the essence of Brahmacharya.

Brahmacharya started with Upanayana which meant a second birth. The first birth was bodily, the second birth was spiritual. After Upanayana, the Brahmin became internally and externally a new man. To build his new life, he had to observe certain rules *i.e.* Vinaya. The regulations were both physical and spiritual. Physical Vinaya came through austere living, daily work, begging etc. Spiritual Vinaya came through Srama (self control), Tapa (austerity), Diksha (regulated life) and unconcernedness. External Vinaya *i.e.* physical discipline prepared the spiritual field and created a condition of mind essential for knowledge of the Brahma. A lifelong effort to acquire sense control, self control, calmness and purity in living was a precondition for ultimate knowledge. The Upanishadas emphasised upon moral steadfastness. Those who were santa, dānta, uparata and who acquired dama, dāna, daya, sraddhā, satya were only fit for

ultimate knowledge. The concept of an eternal truth was the core of education. Hence Brahmacharya was equivalent to education. All students had to observe it compulsorily, women not excepted.

During Brahmacharya, the student had to observe celibacy and moral chastity, and had to shun comfort and luxury. Use of scents and garlands, umbrella or shoes, dancing and rivelling, lying and backbiting had to be shunned. He had to be free from desire, anger, greed, lust, violence, hatred and the like. Vinaya and self control constituted his aims and means.

(20) Discipline

The Rishis conceived of education as illumination, freedom, salvation and unity with Atman. Hence, self culture and self realisation constituted the basic aim of education. In the narrow sense, education meant deliberately designed instruction, training and influence. Vinaya meant living out in a particular way.

The chief aim being realisation of the fundamental truths of life and solution of the problem of death by merging the individual self in the Universal to avoid change, decay and dissolution, the Rishis formulated a corresponding scheme of life and values. The student could go to the depths by 'manana' and 'nididhyasana'. The ideal self was attainable through 'manana', the social self through 'bidhi'. The educational atmosphere was, therefore, full of self application, meditation, Yoga and Tapasya. The whole scheme was formalised through Upanayana, Gurukul, teacher-pupil relation, sanjama and hermitage. The outcome was discipline of body, mind, intellect and spirit. Even in the Epic Age, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana upheld moral and social virtues. Military education was disciplinary education. In fact, the total concept of Brahmanic education was equivalent to the concept of discipline. Problems of discipline could not therefore arise.

This tradition continued in Buddhistic education too. The ideal was Nirvan. Through Pravajja, the student became a Samanera. He had to take the vow of Triple Refuge. He had to observe certain restrictions bearing upon morality. The student's daily life was well regulated. He had to beg in accordance with specific rules. Not more than 3 meals a day could be permissible. The dietary list was symbolic of austerity and purity. Individual luxury was decried.

Service, sacrifice, moral purity formed the cornerstone of education for Nirvan.

Evidently, Buddhistic education was also disciplinary education. It meant an absorbed way of life attained through renunciation. Hence, problems of discipline could not arise in Buddhistic education either.

(21) The Role of Society and State

Society and State could not be unconcerned of an education which was integrated with social life and activities. True it is that there was no State System of education in ancient India. The teacher was all powerful in determining the curricula and syllabi, methods of teaching, admission, standardisation and evaluation. But the society and the State came forward to maintain the system of education which benefited the society. Monarchs like Janaka and Parikshit or Kings of Kashi-Kosola-Videha and subsequently the Mourya, Kushan, Gupta and Pala sovereigns, Kings of Kanouj and the Deccan were great patrons of learning. They provided scholarships and pensions. They convened debating assemblies, granted rent-free land, and appointed learned men as Amatyas and Ministers. The richer sections of society including the Sresthis followed in the wake of monarchs. Even the poorest citizen contributed his mite and filled the begging bowl of the Brahmachari. This extensive patronage made education "free", the teacher's burden being borne by the society.

The Buddhistic Viharas were maintained by gifts from kings, courtiers, sresthis and the common people. Many copper plates refer to gifts of land. Local people tilled the landed estate of the Vihar. Moreover, learned persons were appointed royal officers. Kings organised assemblies and debates at their courts. The victorious debaters were amply rewarded. Pundits were classified according to erudition and honoured accordingly. This extensive patronage contributed to the growth of mighty Universities in Buddhistic India.

(22) Centres of Learning

In the Early Vedic era, the centres of learning had developed in the North-West frontier regions *i.e.* Gandhar-Puru area. In course of time, due to the migration of the focal point of culture to the Madhyadesha, the centres of learning also shifted. Sacrificial centres

became centres of learning. With the rise of monarchy, the royal courts also witnessed the assembly of Pundits. The capital towns of Kashi, Videha, Koshala, Panchala, Madra and Ayodhya thus became centres of learning. With the expansion of Aryan culture to the Deccan, the temples and pilgrim centres in Chalukya, Pallava, Rashtrakuta and Chola kingdoms became centres of learning. Institutions were attached to temples which were abundant in the South. On the other hand, institutions of all-India importance grew up at Varanasi, Mithila, Nadia etc.

Sacred *Varanasi* attracted pilgrims from all parts of India. Learned men could not but visit the place. Many of them settled here and conducted Tols and Chatuspathis. Gradually Varanasi became a centre of learning where, as Hiu-en-Tsang says, many schools of thought co-existed.

Mithila, during King Janaka, developed as a centre of Brahmanic learning. Learned men from Kuru and Panchal assembled there. The fame of Mithila lived long. This was the centre of educational activities of Jagaddhara, Pakshadhara, Vasudeva and Gangesh Upadhyay. Mithila was a great centre of Nyaya Philosophy. On the other hand, Vidyapati was a poet from Mithila. Emperor Akbar made a huge endowment to Raghunandan Rai for his erudition. The recipient, in his turn, transferred the title as homage to Mahesh Thakur, his Guru. This was the origin of the Darbhanga Raj family. Students from all parts of India thronged to Mithilan schools of Nyaya Philosophy. This fame continued till the end of the 16th Century. Gradually, however, with the rise of *Nadia* as a centre of Nyaya learning, the prestige of Mithila had declined.

The Buddhistic seats of learning also evolved to greatness. In the early phases, the places associated with the activities of the Buddha had been important. The Viharas at Venuvana, Rajagriha, Sravasti, Vaisali, Kapilavastu were important. Importance was gradually acquired by Taxila, Sarnath, Vallavi, Purushpura, Magadh and Gaya.

Buddhist education had received mighty royal patronage. Educational centres developed in the metropolitan cities. The influence of Indian education spread far and wide, across the seas and beyond mountains. During the Gupta era, the two systems coexisted. Buddhistic Viharas received consistent royal patronage. This tradition

led the Hindu Kings of the Deccan, in the post-Gupta era, to offer patronage to Buddhistic learning too. In northern India, the institutions like Nalanda and Vikramsila universities represented the mighty achievements of the day.

(23) Educational Institutions

The basic institution of learning in Vedic era was the *Gurukul*. Each Gurukul was self-sufficient and independent. Men of learning from different Gurukuls sometimes assembled to discuss vital issues. This was the *Brahmana-Sangha*. Thus developed the system of debates, discussions, seminars and learned circles.

In the early phases, the Guru delivered oral lessons. In course of time, students began editing and codifying the viewpoints of teachers. Differences crept into the edited versions. These differences led to the growth of *Sakha*, *Charana*, *Kula*, *Gotra* and similar circles. These were brotherhoods determined by educational principles. *Kula* and *Gotra* were not originally determined by lineage or blood. Belongingness to a particular school of thought led by a particular guru created this close relationship and members were considered sons of the same father.

The Aranyaka period followed the Veda-Brahmana periods. In the settled condition of life under the influence of philosophical spiritualism, the genius of the Rishis led to the establishment of *Tapovans* as that of Kulapati Sanaka in the Naimisha forest with 10 thousand students, and that of Rishi Bharadwaja at Prayaga.

Another very important institution was the *Parishad*—which literally meant “collective sitting”. It was a debating circle or society of learned men from the discussions of which advanced students might gain a lot. Different monarchs convened such Parishads to seek the verdict of the Elite on vital and debatable problems. According to Gautama, 4 Pundits well versed in the Vedas, 3 persons representing the three Asramas of life and 3 Experts in law, constituted a Parishad. Vasistha also gives a similar opinion. Manu, however, placed more emphasis upon the qualities of persons forming a Parishad than the numbers. In fact, persons well versed in the Vedas, Sruti, Smriti, Kalpa etc, might get a place on the Parishad. The meeting of such experts endeavoured to offer answers to problems placed before it. Wider conferences of Rishis were not unknown in Ancient India.

We have, in these days, some professional bodies or elite circles e.g. Bangiya Sanskrita Parishad or Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. These institutions are but faint imitations of the ancient Parishad, for they do not perform such duties as the Parishad had once done.

In the Sutra period, the need for specialisation led to the growth of *Sutra Schools*. A further development of the Sutra School was the *Chatuspathi* with which we are acquainted even to-day. Institutions which provided four specialised courses were Chatuspathis. Grammar, Kalpa, Purana and Philosophy were generally offered as fields of specialisation. From Chatuspathi again developed the *Tol*. There were three main types of Tol. Subjects offered in the first type were Vyakarana, Kavya and Purana. Those in the second type were Kalpa and Purana. In the third type were offered Philosophy and Nyaya.

Educational colonies developed in the places where Parishads were frequently called. Different types of Schools and Chatuspathis grew up there. Famous teachers attracted students from all over India to these places. These corporate colonies of teachers and students were the ancient Indian *Universities*. These were not federated bodies with self perpetuating rules and regulations. Many teachers in varied disciplines inhabiting a particular locality facilitated the student body to receive highest learning in subjects of choice. In the opinion of Gautama and Manu, a settlement of 10 teachers might be designated as a University. Vasistha reduced the number to four. Of course, the number was not a serious problem, because famous seats of learning attracted many persons of erudition. These Universities organised seminars to solve social problems placed before them. Thus a link existed between the Common man and the University.

The *Buddhist Universities*, however, represented a new element. The large Viharas meant for residential pupilage of prospective monks were the Buddhist Universities. The Sangh concept dominated here. They were federated bodies guided by distinctive rules and regulations as well as controlled by an organised hierarchy.

(24) University of Taxila

Taxila University had originated in the Brahmanic era and existed till the Buddhist era, thereby enjoying a long life. Moreover, it had functioned as a link between the two systems of education. Situated in the capital of ancient Gandhara, this University experienced a

chequered career as is evident from archaeological discoveries at three places near Rawalpindi. It had been located on the path treaded by foreign invaders viz. the Persians, the Greeks & Bactrians, the Sakas and Kushans etc. The fate of the city of Taxila determined to a great extent the fate of the University. Foreign scripts, arts and literature also influenced it since it lay on the foreigners' road to the heart of India.

Taxila University was no federated collective body. Men of erudition had assembled here, and they attracted students from far and wide. Each teacher and each school had the right of self determination. There was no external examination in the manner of the public examinations of today, nor any external certification. Yet, it was famous for its standard of learning. Prosenjit, Jivaka, Panini and Kautilya were products of Taxila. In fact, the fame of teachers and students created the fame of Taxila.

Taxila was a centre of highest learning. Students were admitted at about 16+, after they had attained a particular standard of education. Generally the pupils resided with the teachers. But well-to-do students might make their own arrangements. There were licensed hostels also. A system of tuition fees was in vogue in some of the schools. But very often rich citizens provided their maintenance and tuition. Excepting the Chandala, there was little discrimination on the grounds of caste, class and wealth. Whatever the origin, all students had to observe strict discipline and principles of controlled life.

The Taxila curricula included the three Vedas, various sciences and arts, vocational subjects. Astronomy, astrology, commerce, agriculture, accountancy, the art of magic, hunting, archery, snake charming, medicine, dancing, and drawing were popular fields of interest. Abstract learning was sought to be combined with practical efficiency. Some specialised schools existed separately for Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Formal instruction was terminated with an educational tour.

The fame of Taxila continued unabated till the Kushan era whereafter it declined. Fa Hien had seen very little of importance here. The subsequent Hun troubles caused further damage. Hiu-en-Tsang found no signs of its glory or life in the 7th century.

(25) Nalanda

Nalanda was a typical Buddhist University, and most famous by its nature and its role. Jaina and Buddhist literary works refer to Nalanda. The original Vihara is said to have been built by Emperor Asoka at the birth place of Sariputta. Hiu-en-Tsang recorded an eye-witness account of what Nalanda had been. Archaeological relics have been discovered seven miles to the north of Rajgir.

Although originally founded by Asoka, the university attained its highest glory in the era of Mahayan Buddhism. Nourished by the donations of 500 Śresthis, the institution lived a long life encompassing the Gupta and Harsha eras, reaching upto the Pala period. The dimension of the physical plant can be imagined from an account of I-Tsing who had seen 200 villages on the walled campus of the University.

Wide roads stretched from the gates to the university buildings. Around the main building, there were multistoreyed buildings and temples raising their pinnacles high into the sky. On the campus were flower beds and lotus ponds. But the simple life of the students stood in contradistinction to this external grandeur. Education was free. Four essential requisites of life—food, clothings, bedding and medicine were provided free of cost.

Nalanda was a centre for Post-graduate specialisation. The age for admission was 20 years. If juniors were admitted, they had to attend preparatory courses for several years. Admission was selective. Only those who successfully completed the admission test conducted by the Dwarapandit, were admitted. As low as 20 per cent of the aspirants came out successful. In spite of this stiff testing, students from India and abroad thronged to Nalanda because a scholar from Nalanda enjoyed a high academic prestige in after-life. 1500 teachers took classes with 8500 students in different rooms in as many as 100 subjects, all through the day in accordance with a time table.

Nalanda curricula consisted of Brahmanic and Buddhistic scriptures, religious and popular works, Arts and Sciences alike, combining theory with practice. The curriculum included the 4 Vedas, Buddhist Scriptures, Philosophy, Hetu, Sabda, Medicine, Linguistics, Law, Astronomy, Sankhya, Sanskrit and Panini etc. Discussions and debates were important elements of teaching technology. Self

study was much valued. Three great libraries—Ratnadadhi, Ratnasagara and Ratnaranjaka housed in 3 buildings facilitated self study.

Education at Nalanda was no doubt religion-based. But, by that time Buddhism had acquired a new character. The impact of Hinduism also influenced this character. A new school of art led by Bitpal and Dhiman was a special achievement. This art form continued in the Pala era. A school of literature was also born. Education at Nalanda was not academic and bookish only. It was creative.

The fame of teachers created the fame of Nalanda. Hiu-en-Tsang himself refers to Dharmapala, Gunamati, Jinamitra and Shilabhadra. The teachers enjoyed different titles in accordance with the criteria of erudition and responsibility. The *kulapati* was the head of the institution. But the administrative pattern was democratic. Students themselves solved their problems of discipline. In fact the adjusted and corporate life of teachers and pupils from different places and different groups brought a real glory to Nalanda. This synthesis had attracted pupils from beyond Indian borders. From China had come Fa Hien, Hiu-en-Tsang, Tao Hi, I-Tsing etc. and Tao Ling from Korea. Students had come from Ceylon, Sumatra, Java and Tibet. This international appeal had inspired Kumarajiva, Gunavarman, Paramartha and others to undertake Dharmayatra in China, Tibet and other lands.

I-Tsing had witnessed the glory of Nalanda. But the glory waned from the last part of the 8th Century inspite of patronage from Tibet and the kings of Gauda. With the decline of Pala power, Nalanda also declined and decayed. When internal life was weakened by factionalism and intra-group rivalries, the last minstrel was sung by Bakhtiyar Khalji and other invaders.

(26) Vikramsila

Vikramsila Mahavihara enjoyed the patronage of the Pala kings. Emperor Dharmapala had founded this university in Northern Bihar on the bank of the Ganga, near Bhagalpore. At the centre of the campus inside a massive surrounding wall stood the Mahabodhi temple. Around it were 53 smaller temples and 54 other buildings. There were 108 wardens for this total number of 108 units of building. In addition, there were teaching, nonteaching and supervisory staff viz

Acharya, Upacharya, Upadhyaya, work-supervisors and executive personnel.

The administration of the Vihara vested in a management committee composed of teachers. The famous Pala kings were patrons simultaneously of Nalanda and Vikramsila. King Dharmapala was the Acharya for both of them. It may be assumed that the managers of Vikramsila helped the management of Nalanda. Interchange of teachers and students was a regular practice. Dipankar Sreejnan and Abhoykar Gupta had worked as professors at both the universities.

On the campus of Vikramsila there were six colleges around Jnanabhawan. The six colleges had one door each facing the Jnanabhawan, with Dwarapandita as keeper. On the two sides of the main gate the portraits of Nagaryuna and Dipankara were painted in murals. The most learned teacher was selected as Kulapati. During Dharmapala, this office was held by Buddhajnanapada. Of course, the most famous of the Kulapatis of Vikramsila was Dipankar Sreejnan Atisha. Here also the preceptors constituted the real glory of the university. Jnanapada, Probhakaramati, Jnanasrimitra, Atisha were but a few of them. Even today, the Tibetans respect these holy names for the spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

Nothing is definitely known of the curricula at Vikramsila because it was so thoroughly destroyed as to leave no material evidence. It may be assumed that the curricula, rules and regulations closely resembled those at Nalanda.

We are fortunate to have discovered the relics of Nalanda. We are equally unfortunate in getting none of Vikramsila. It is recorded in Tabaqut-i-Nasari that the invading Turko-Afghan armies took this walled university for a fort-town. They demolished the structure and put the inhabitants to sword. The few that could escape this carnage sought refuge in Tibet. None was found to decipher the few manuscripts that could be salvaged out of the debris. It was subsequently learnt that the destroyed edifices had constituted a mighty university. Vikramsila was destroyed. Yet Vikramsila continued to live a long life in the history of Tibet.

Other Universities

A short account of Valabhi and Jagaddala may also be attempted. *Valabhi University* was located in the capital of the Maitraka kings of Western India, and acquired high reputation between 475 and 775 A.D. Its first benefaction had come from Princess Dudda, daughter of King Dhruva I. A second remarkable benefaction came from King Dharasena in 580 A.D. Both Hiu-en-Tsang and I-Tsing testify to the glory of this Buddhist University with 100 Sangharams, 6000 Priests and varied curricular subjects. Sthiramati and Gunamati were famous scholars attached to this University. This centre of learning also offered secular subjects, and scholars from here were easily recruited for state services. Valabhi had attained so much glory that during the visits of the above named Chinese pilgrims it was a rival of Nalanda.

Jagaddala Mahavihara in Bengal was founded by Pala King Rampala (1084-1130 A.D.) at Ramavati, his capital town built at the confluence of Ganga and Karatoya. Famous scholars attached to this University were Bibhuti Chandra, Danaśila, Subhakarā, Mokshakaragupta etc. This university was not blessed with a long life. It was swept away by Turko-Afghan invasion in 1203 A.D.

Mention may also be made of Somepore Vihara, remains of which have been excavated at Paharpur in Rajshahi (Bangladesh). Remains have been found of a walled Vihara with yards and temples. The number of rooms (so far discovered) was 117. The remains of another big establishment have been found at Mainamati, flanked by the Lalmai Hills near Comilla in Bangladesh. These relics abundantly prove that mighty educational institutions had sprung up also in ancient Bengal.

(27) Nadia

Nadia was the youngest of the ancient Indian Universities. Even as a small entity it had attracted the attention of the Pala Kings although its real glory was attained in the post Buddha period, particularly when Nadia became a capital of Luxman Sena. Poet Joydev of 'Geeta Govind' fame, Dhoyee, the author of Pavanaduta, poet Umapati or lawgiver Sulapani were associated with Nadia. Luxmanasens's minister himself was a man of great erudition.

The fame of Nadia as a centre of Hindu learning continued even through the days of Sultani and Badshahi. In fact, the decline of Nalanda and Vikramsila enhanced the importance of Nadia. Previously learners from Bengal had to visit Mithila for highest type of Nyaya learning. Raghunath Siromani of Nadia turned the scale by vanquishing the Pundits of Mithila. By the end of the 15th Century, Basudev Sarbabhouma founded the Nadia School of Philosophy. Graduation degrees were awarded from Nadia independently. Scholars from here were renowned for debating skill and original researches. Gadadhar Bhattacharya, the famous debater was a graduate from Nadia. The legendary Ramnath (Buno Ramnath) was a teacher here.

Nadia witnessed the growth of many schools of thought. Reghunandan's Smriti School, Krishnananda Agamvagish's School of Tantrism, Ramsundar Vidyanidhi's School of Astronomy were but a few of them.

The glory of Nadia continued undiminished till the end of the 18th Century. In the said century the activities of the University were dispersed at 3 centres—Navadwip, Santipur and Gopalpara. In the last part of the 18th Century, Navadwip alone could claim the glory of having 400 students and 150 teachers. Post Graduate instruction was imparted in the Chatuspathis of Navadwip. Discussion and debating circles were still active. Even today Navadwip enjoys a tradition of Sanskrit learning and has a few Tols, although not in a state of prosperity.

As mentioned above fullfledged Tols existed in Nadia till the 18th/19th Century. The Bengali word for Tol was Chaupari or Chaubari. In terms of significance it was Chatuspad i.e. centre for the culture of the four Vedas.

Every tol was a single teacher institution. The tol excelled in that particular discipline in which the teacher was erudite. This fame attracted students from near and far. Most attractive disciplines were Smriti and Nyaya. Pandits in Nyaya enjoyed an all India renown. In fact, like the University of Paris in medieval Europe where scholars converged from all over the continent, Nadia attracted scholars from every part of India.

Prof. Wilson found 500—600 students in the tols of Nadia in 1829. In 1867, this number came down to 150.

In the middle of the 19th Century, Brajanath Vidyaratna's tol had 17 students—(four of them from Nadia, and the rest from Dacca, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Pabna, Jessore and Rajshahi).

Madhusudan Nyayaratna's tol had 10 students, (3 local and 7 external).

Of the 4 students in Shivanath Vidya-Vachaspati's tol, one had come from Midnapore.

Prosanna Chandra Tarkaratna's tol had students from Mithila, Delhi, Puri and Madras.

There were pandits who did not own tols, but were famous for their erudition viz-Lalmohan Vidyabhusan, a pandit in Smriti, Umacharan Tarkaratna, Suryakanta Vidyalkar and Raghumani Tarka Panchanan—all pandits in Nyaya.

Studies in Smriti required 8 years and Nyaya required 10 years. There were no fixed routines for study. The teacher took classes with individual students whenever it was possible in the morning or in the evening. The teacher himself awarded degrees which were highly valued in society.

There were no summer or puja holidays. The Nyaya tols were closed from Rathyatra day to Rashpurnima day. Smriti tols were closed from the month of Bhadra to the month of Kartick. There was a two-week closure for Saraswati puja. And there were other calender or ceremonial holidays.

External students enjoyed residential pupilage in the teacher's house, free of cost. Finances came from two sources—(1) Zaminders maintained the tols founded by themselves—by grants of money or land. (2) Tols owned by teachers depended upon receipts from priestly functions performed by teachers and students or rewards from debating sessions.

Crisis began to be apparent from the last part of the 18th century when English education began to catch social imagination. In 1787, the Board of Revenue asked the District Collector to make a grant of Rs. 100 p.m. for students. After a short gap, this system was revived in 1830. The Raja of Nadia also helped the tols. The then D. P. I. Mr. W. S. Atkinson and the Principal, Sanskrit College observed that

the tols of Nadia were in high esteem of external students, although local students had began to turn towards English education under the lure of material gains. Some of the tols had to start a culture of English. English was introduced in the Sanskrit College curriculum. This was severely criticised by Samachar Darpan. But demand for English continued to grow. Prof Wilson's advice was (i) Reward for Sanskrit learning, and (ii) Introduction of Mathematics, History, Geography, Western Logic in Sanskrit Institutions. But the inevitable happened and English education became triumphant.

South India

Southern Indian was specially fortunate in having colleges endowed by Temple Charities. South India, with an abundance of temples had also an abundance of schools. Numerous inscriptions and copper plates found distributed in the territories of the Pallava, Chalukya. Rashtrakuta and Chola kingdoms speak amply of royal donations and public benefactions for education. As a matter of example we may refer to a few of them.

(1) A big college at *Salotgi* (in Bijapur district) founded by Narayana, a minister of Rashtrakuta Krishna III had as many as 27 hostels and more than 300 acres of land endowment. It was the local custom that every householder donated a few coins on ceremonial occasions, the rates being 5 coins at marriage ceremony, $2\frac{1}{2}$ coins at Upanayana and $1\frac{1}{2}$ coins at Chudakarma. (2) There was a Pallava College with 190 students and 12 teachers for imparting lessons in the Vedas and 7 teachers for the Sutra department. (3) Respectable colleges existed at *Tiruvorraiyur* and also at *Malkapuram* (Guntur District). (4) King Bhoja of Malwa founded one big college at his capital *Dharā*. Belugum in Mysore was also a famous seat of learning. Under royal and social patronage there developed throughout Southern India learned settlements of Chaturvedis, Trivedis, Bhattas, Kramavids, Vajapeyins etc. In fact, every Matha (temple) could boast of a school attached to it and maintained mainly from the earnings of the matha itself.

This tradition still continues in the South. It is worthy of note in this connection that the famous Tirupati temple maintains a full fledged University—the Venkatawsaram University,

(28) Kautilya and Megasthenes on Education and culture

That education was held in high esteem in the last three centuries before Christ is amply reflected in 'Indika' of Megasthenes and 'Arthashastra' of Chanakya-Kautilya. Megasthenes had been a Greek Ambassador at the Mauryan Court (Pataliputra). He recorded what he had seen and heard. He could not verify every item of information. Obviously some hearsay got mixed up with facts. On the whole, however, Indika tallies with Arthashastra with the exception of some details. Historians have differences on the question of Kautilya's chronology. There is, however, unanimity on the point that his advent occurred in the Maurya period. Kautilya was a law giver and socio-political philosopher. Many aspects of Arthashastra may, therefore, refer to what 'should be,' more than what 'was'. Yet on the whole, Megasthenes and Kautilya corroborate each other and they together throw some light on the socio-cultural life in the period concerned.

That education was highly valued is borne out by Chanakya Slokas, Mahabharata, Hitopadesha, Panchatantra etc. A few of them may be cited—(English rendering of the meaning done by the author).

(1) Even royal position cannot equal that of a learned man : the king is honoured in his own kingdom, the learned is honoured everywhere.

(2) High lineage is ineffective without learning ; even the Gods honour the learned one even though born in a lowly state.

(3) The moon ornaments the night...the king ornaments the kingdom ; learning ornaments everyone.

(4) The parents who do not care for the education of the offspring are enemies of the offspring. The unlettered boy is despised in learned assemblies.

(5) There is no greater friend than learning, no worse enemy than disease.

(6) Learn even from the lowly.

(7) Bookish learning and accumulation of wealth come to no help in times of emergency.

Arthashastra says, "Youngmen are impressionable. Whatever is taught, they accept as Sastra. Hence teach righteousness and deter them from vice. Princes should be graded as intelligent and capable, indolent and perverse, according to their response to teaching".

Schools are not particularly mentioned, but the practice of reading and writing was extensive in those days. It may be assumed that monastic schools existed in numbers. There was, therefore, a general spirit of enlightenment. It is gathered from Jaina and Buddhist records that Chanakya had Chandragupta I, (founder of the Mourya Empire) educated at Taxila which had been an important centre of learning in those days, giving lessons in the Vedas, Sippas, Law, Medicine, Military Science etc. One school had 101 Princes, and a military academy had 103 princes as students. It was here that Chandragupta had meeting with Alexander the Great.

Kautilya gives an account of King's education. In his opinion, under a good preceptor the course should be heavy. The first requisite is discipline comprising qualities like (a) desire for learning, (b) cultivation of truth, (c) grasping what is learnt, (d) retaining what is learnt, (e) knowledge of ways and means to achieve (in practice) the truth learnt, (f) capacity to draw inferences, (g) capacity to participate in deliberations. "It is the disciplined mind only that can be educated."

The course consisted of Mathematics, Literature (3 Vedas, Philosophy, Economics, Political Science), Military Training, History, Dharma Sastra, Arthasastra, Dandaniti etc. The learner must practise complete control of passions and should always seek the association of elders to increase knowledge. Although this course is prescribed for the Prince, it throws valuable light on the state of education in those days.

Till the time of Kautilya there had been four schools of political thought and seven recognised authors. Kautilya established a near monopoly in this field. The Vidyas consisted of Philosophy and Trayi i.e. Theology, Varta i.e. economics, Dandaniti i.e. politics. Thus, politics was developed as an independent branch of study. From Kautilya we come to know that Indians developed an advanced idea of the State and had a fairly advanced idea of International Law, and side by side they had developed Varta (Economics). Arthasastra became a standard. Kamasutra and Yajnavalkya Smriti borrowed extensively from it. Bana and Dandin refer to it. And Kamadaka set himself to making it simpler and more concise. Yet he developed no new edition. Our immediate interest lies in the fact that Kautilyan political science

was an important subject of study in the scheme of education of the upper classes.

Kautilya, however, upheld Varnasrama and Chaturasrama. Magasthenes divided the Indian population into 7 castes viz. (a) the sophists i.e. Brahmanas and Sramanas. They were of two categories—those who lived a simple life, observed abstentions, and held discourses and those who lived householders' life. The Brahmins formed the apex of the society. As Purohits and Preceptors they influenced politics, administration and legislation through the Parishad. Their social position was pre-eminent. As per Kautilya, they enjoyed exemption from taxation, confiscation of property, corporal punishment, slavery and death penalty. Branding and banishment were the maximum measures for them. But the Brahmin did not belong to the society as such. He was in the world, not of the world. His true work was study and teaching in hermitage. But Kautilya disfavours early renunciation or worldly irresponsibility, and gives no quarters to unlicensed ascetics.

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th Castes of Magasthenes were Vaisyas and Sudras. The Kshatriyas constituted the 5th caste. They performed only military duties and enjoyed the peace time. Indika, however, does not refer to Kshatriyas as such. Obviously, the Kshatriya caste was still in the making and did not yet constitute a well-formed caste. Kautilya, however, goes a step ahead to divide the society in a four fold Varnasramik pattern.

The 6th class of Megasthenes was constituted of informers (overseers) and the 7th class was formed with Councillors and Assessors occupying Govt posts of different grades.

Evidently Megasthenes made a confusion between caste and class or craft or occupation. Leaving aside the question of this confusion, it is a definitely established historical fact that the Mourya Empire had developed a well established and efficient bureaucracy. The important public servants were recruited through a sort of public service commission which administered a searching test. In a well organised and bureaucratic system of administration the State required a hierarchy of officers specialised in the different branches of rural and revenue administration, urban administration and manufacturing enterprises, military organisation etc. All these officers were

specifically trained and recruited. There must have been an effective system of education with specialisation in theory and practice.

Kautilyan dictates signify a stereotyped society based upon Varnasrama. The Arthasastra refers to slavery although it speaks against slavery of Aryans. Evidently the lowest strata of society were socially outcastes. The position of women was lower than what it had been in the Vedic days. Dramas of Bhasa and Kalidasa show that purdah was existent. Vatsayana's Kamasashtra (3rd/4th Century A.D.) also shows it. Arthasastra refers to Antapura. Asokan edicts speak of Avarodhanas and Panini speaks of Asuryampasya. Kautilya was prior to Manu or Jajnavalkya. Kautilya allows divorce on consent of both husband and wife. Manu allows the husband's right of divorce and desertion and enjoins unconditional obedience and fidelity of the wife. Kautilya allows remarriage in certain cases, while Manu does not. Evidently the education of women had declined with the declination of the social position of women.

In another direction, however, the Maurya period had achieved a great success. Cottage crafts and manufacturing industries were highly organised. Megasthenes and Kautilya refer to cotton, metal, shipbuilding, mining, oil, salt manufacturing, sugar, dairy, armament industries etc. There were 18 chief handicrafts viz wood, leather, stone, ivory, smithy, jewellery, painting etc. The training of personnel was provided by manufacturing guilds (srenis) or merchant guilds. There was also a well organised medical service with open dispensaries for men and Pinjrapoles for animals. There were charitable dispensaries with lands granted by the state to physicians. Medical farms are also referred to. This signifies the existence of an extensive system of medical education.

Mouryan art also deserves special mention. Art critics say that Mourya Architectural features were Persian while the living forms were Hellenic in influence. Vigorous Bactria had vitalised Iranian art. Similarly the Bactrian influence came to India. But it was Indianized. The use of stone was Pre-Asokan. At least one pre-Asokan stone image has been discovered. The enclosure wall of a Nagara has been found in Rajputana. Jarasandh Ki Baithak at Rajgir is also pre-Asokan. The Asuras had been great builders. The Rig Veda refers to seven-walled city, iron-walled city, hundred cities

of stone, 1000 doored and 1000 columned royal palace etc. Chiselling and polishing of stone was an achievement of the Mauryas. Rocks and columns of Asoka, however, bear Achaemanian influence.

Another intellectual achievement of the period was the widespread existence of writing and the development of scripts. Two scripts were vehicles of culture. The Ksharostri was derived from Ksharostra, a country near but outside India. It was of semitic origin and written from right to left. Prevalent in Persia and Egypt it was derived from Aramanic script and bore Achaemanian influence. It flourished in the North-West frontier region and neighbouring areas (the Shabazgarhi and Mansera Edicts were inscribed in this script) and died a natural death by about the 5th century A.D. The other was the Brahmi script (emanating from Brahma!) with a prehistoric origin (traces have been found in Hyderabad) and written from left to right. This was the script for the rest of India and became the script for Burma, Ceylon and Tibet.

Asokan inscriptions also throw light on the dialects prevalent in the period. The pillar edicts in Madhyadesha use one common dialect. The Rock Edicts at Dhauli, Jaugarh, Kalsi also follow the Madhyadesha dialect. But the dialect in Shabazgarhi, Mansera and Girnir inscriptions is different. This shows the influence of local dialects upon language patterns in Madhyadesha, Uttarapatha, Dakshinapatha etc. The mode of pronunciation was peculiar to a class, people or country. Bharata even says that Sanskrit and Prakrit are not two languages, but two modes of speech. He recognises four languages—Abhibhasha of the Gods, Aryabhasha of the kings, Jatibhasha of various castes & tribes, Jatyantaribhasha of birds & beasts. The first two are sanskrita (polished).

Evidently, the language of Asoka was the language of Panini, Kautilya, Patanjali, the former represented Prakrit, the latter Sanskrita. There were three phonetic peculiarities in Madhyadesha, Uttarapatha and Dakshinapatha. They contributed the three main dialects, and the norm was the language of the Grammarians. Panini wrote for the 'sishta'. Rudradamana inscription shows that till 150 B.C. there was very little use of Sanskrit in inscriptions. Discovered inscriptions (between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D.) are all in a sort of Pali based upon vernacular. Yet, there is at least one Asokan

epigraph written in Sanskrit. On the whole, Monumental Prakrit was lingua franca for seven centuries (200 B.C. to 450 A.D.) with local variations.

Asoka's objective behind the inscribed edicts was (in Asoka's own version) transmission to posterity in an enduring form the thoughts, feelings and motives of the emperor. Reading ability of the people had surely been extensive. In the Bhabru Edict he mentions some canonical texts which were essentially to be studied by men of good intention. They are (a) Vinaya Samukase, (b) Arya Vamsa, (c) Anagata Bhayani, (d) Muni Sutta, (e) Nalaka Sutta, (f) Rathavinita Sutta, and (g) Rahulavada Sutta.

Asokan inscriptions and edicts spread learning within the boundaries of the extensive Maurya Empire. His Missions spread Indian learning abroad. Asoka's neighbours were Antiochus, king of Babylon and Persia, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatus, king of Macedon, Magas, king of Cyrene and Alexander, king of Epirus. Asokan influence spread to their kingdoms.

Asoka sent missions to Western Asia, Ceylon & Far East. Non-official missions went to the Himalayan regions, Suvarnabhumi, Lanka etc. India's education and culture spread in these regions and created a lasting impact on the history and culture of the world.

(29) Panini and Patanjali on Education

The Sutra literature bridges the time gap between Panini and Patanjali. A wide range of literary creations had already been made even before Panini. Panini and Patanjali consolidated the field of knowledge and established a literary standard.

Pre-Panini literature, with which Panini was acquainted, consisted of four kinds—seen, enounced (prokta), sutras (nata) and discovered (i.e. original work). Panini lent his genius to the last category. Writers on many ordinary subjects also had already taken the field viz. Akhayika, Myths, Kavya, Slokas, Gatha, Mantra, Padapatha etc. Panini refers to Mahabharata, Yudisthira and Arjun, signifying thereby that the Epic, in its original form, had already been compiled. Patanjali refers to Vasudeva, Valadeva, Nakula, Sahadeva. Patanjali speaks of Nirukta and Vyakarana.

Obviously, Panini was acquainted with a wide range of literature—religious, secular, including Rig, Sama, Yajurvedas and perhaps

Aranyakas. He was not acquainted with the Upanishadas. (He does not refer to them). But he had knowledge of Brahma, Kalpa etc. *The range of secular subjects, even before Panini had been wide.* There had been fables and descriptions of life and living of actors, mendicants etc. There had been Akhyanas, Akhyayikas, Itihasa-Purana and other classes of popular literature. The field of knowledge having widened, the curricular subjects in the then system and pattern of education had also grown in numbers, range and depth. Obviously education became *more institutionalised and stereotyped.*

The rules of education, during Panini were :—Initiation was the signal for the start. Upanayana was the formal ceremony and Acharya Karana was the objective. (It meant that the pupil was sought to be developed through education as a teacher of Veda, Kalpa, Rahasya etc. Patanjali refers to the designation of 'Chhatra' meaning one who took shelter under the umbrella-like teacher). According to Panini the marks of pupilage were (i) Antevasin (although there had been day scholars also), (ii) the danda, bowl, begging which were common elements for all. Each student had to take vows (brata) of Satirthya.

While giving a description of a school, Patanjali says that the teacher sat with the sacred grass in hand facing the east. Although there were prescribed hours of study, studious students might study much more than the limits. Some pupils left the school prematurely. Some others changed schools very frequently. (They were designated as Tirthakakas). Patanjali refers to gifts of coins offered to the teacher. Sometimes, the pupil's father himself functioned as the teacher. The teachers belonged to many categories viz, Acharya, Guru, Sikshaka, Upadhyaya. The Acharya, according to Patanjali, was the exalted type.

The method of study was determined by the curriculum. Panini tells that the Srotiya learnt the Vedas by heart. Patanjali refers to "reading aloud" and "reading low". Panini preferred a gradation of students on the basis of errors committed in recitation. Both Panini and Patanjali refer to "learning by understanding". The latter also distinguishes memorisation from exercise of intelligence. Yaska in Nirukta says that rote learning of the Veda was bad learning because the words of the Vedas were not more important than meanings. Value of understanding was, thus, held high. This revolt against mechanical

methods of the study of the Vedas led to philosophical speculations of the Aranyakas and the Upanishadas.

Panini classifies literary men as (i) Rishis who received the revealed knowledge of truth. But the age of Rishis was long gone. Hence he refers to the second class (ii) Promulgators of original works (Prokta viz. Chhanda, Brahman, Kalpa). But such promulgators were few. *Katyayana* tells of only Yajnyavalka and Sulabha. *Panini* then refers to the third class i.e. Bhikshus and Natas who were recognised as discoverers of new knowledge. The fourth class consisted of Krita (neither drishta nor prokta). Commentators belonged to this class.

The literature of the time consisted of (i) inspired literature, (ii) original works connected with traditional literature, (iii) original works embodying new knowledge, (iv) commentaries and (v) ordinary compositions. There were three types of philosophical thinkers viz. astika, nastika, daistika (rationalist). *Panini* also refers to teachers who were not actual authors. Many teachers of first rank had become famous for the works of their pupils (viz. Kalapa and Vaisampayana). Vedic learning of women was in vogue. *Katyayana* refers to Brahmadivinis. Ascetics also contributed to the spread of learning. *Panini* refers to Parivrajakas and says that inner peace was more religious than external ceremonies. He also refers to Aranyakas i.e. ascetics living at least two miles away from human habitat. Naikatika meant those who lived near human societies.

Spread of learning was, thus, promoted by "books" and men, literature and instrument, teachers and authors, regular training and occasional discourses. Cultural and social institutions connected with education were (i) *Kula*, (ii) *Gotra*—which signified common spiritual ancestry and geneological relations. Yaska, Atri, Bhrigu, Vasistha, Gotama, Agasthya, Harit, Sunoka, Garga, Kanva were creators of such lineage (Gotra). In a society of patriarchal families, the patriarch i.e. head of the united family was the source-fount of subsequent generations who derived their name from him viz. Garga or Gargacharya was the founder of the Gotra, his eldest son was Gargi, the grandsons were Gargyas etc. Other sons were Yuvan, subordinate to the eldest one. For absence of a line of descent, the oldest surviving member of the Gotra became the chief. There was, thus, definite law of succession.

A charana was a Federation of Gotras :—The relationship was spiritual (while the Gotra became more and more a blood relationship). Panini recognises double membership—Vidya Yoni Sambhaba. Katyayana lets us know that each Charana had its own particular set of traditional texts and customs or practical usages and regulations. Charanas fostered specialisation in both theory and practice. Panini refers to several branches of specialisation viz. Sakala Sakha (recession of the Rig, Kalpa, Charaka etc.). Patanjali adds Kalapaka, and Katyayana adds Atharvanas.

This period saw the growth of various special schools viz. Chhandoga, Yajnikas, Natas, Kathikas. Patanjali adds Aitihasika, Puranika, Vaiyakarana, Mimansaka and others to the list. And lastly Panini also refers to Parishads and women teachers i.e. Upadhyayi, Acharya etc.

On the whole, therefore, the Panini-Patanjali period experienced a well organised system of education.

(30) Social and Psychological basis of Sutra Literature

Ancient India had created six systems of philosophy, the early streaks of which may be traced in Vedic Mantras. The Upanishads represented the meridian of thought. Men and Women, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and even Sudras contributed towards the development of the schools of philosophy. The six systems were—(i) Sankhya (of Kapila); (ii) Yoga (of Patanjali); (iii) Nyaya (of Gautama); (iv) Vaisheshika (of Kamoda); (v) Karma or Purva Mimansa (of Jaimini); (vi) Uttara Mimansa or Vedanta (of Badarayana).

A system of philosophy was in fact a system of discipline and education through which the pupil acquired his Adhikara. The common system of discipline was Varnasrama. Upanayana, Brahmacharya, Samavartana were 'Samskaras' intended to equip the finite self with a suitable physical body which might sustain the burden of the arduous pursuit of knowledge through life. Ashrama life was a life of discipline. Self realisation came by stages through meditation.

A vital social implication of Vedic Education was whether the Sudras were eligible? Smriti, Manu and Sankara opine that they were not. But Purbapaksha declares that there was no bar. Chhandogya similarly declares against barrier and says that vedic education of sudras had been practised. In fact, there could be no

bindings on one who had attained highest knowledge. The intellectual life of the country did not always centre round rituals. The condition precedent to all higher studies was the study of the Vedas. Sudras were excluded from Vedic texts, but not from their wisdom which might be attained through easier works like Mahabharata, Purana etc. The study of the Vedanta only should be reserved for the few.

Much light is thrown on the question of education of the Sudras and women by Jaimini's Mimamsa. As regards the education of women, the points against were that women have no property, and what they have, rest in husband; they are bought and sold like goods. Points in favour were that women are as good as men in terms of desire and capacity to perform sacrifices; they control property and their consent is required for gifts; dowry is prescribed by Smriti not as a commercial transaction; husband and wife jointly perform Yajnas.

As regards education of the Sudra, emphasis is placed upon merit rather than caste; disability is limited only to Agneya Yajnas. All without distinction deserving heaven can perform sacrifice. Nyaya system places special emphasis upon character traits and condemns Raga (Kama, Matsara, Spriha, Trishna), Dwesha (Hatred, Irsha, Asuya), and Moha.

Here we come to the *psychological basis of education*. True knowledge comes through meditation i.e. Yoga which involves Yama, Niyama, Pranayama, Protyahara, Dhyana and Dharana. The concomitant activity is verbal, mental and physical. Knowledge comes when defects are rooted out and all activity ceases.

Unrighteous verbal activity consists of Anrita (lying), Parusha (harsh speech), Asuyana (back biting), Asambaddha (irrelevant talks). *Righteous verbal activity* is Satya-Priya Hita Bachana and Swadhyaya Patha.

Unrighteous mental activity is Poradroha, Paradrabya Abhilasha, Nastikamdhya (irrelevant attitude). *Righteous mental activity* is Aspriha, Anukampa, Paralokasaddha.

Unrighteous bodily activity is Himsa (killing), Steya (stealing), Pratisiddhacharan (doing the forbidden). *Righteous bodily activity* is Dana, Paritrana (protection), Paricharana (service).

These are obviously, the different psycho-physical methods and practices leading to self realisation.

The ancient theorists also analysed the form and content of knowledge. *Elements of knowledge* are Pramana, Pratakshya, Anumana, Upamana (comparison), Sabda. The *objects of knowledge* are soul (self), body, senses, objects of senses, intellect, mind, activity, fault, transmigration, fruits of action, suffering, final beatitude.

The method of discussion—Vada, Jalpa, Vitanda were widely followed. Vaiseshika and Sankhya systems developed their respective disciplines. The Yoga system was bifurcated into Jnana Yoga, Kriya Yoga. Yoga aims at treatment of mind and brings the individual and supreme souls together. Purusha means pure consciousness. Prakriti means external reality. Mahat Buddhi is the inflow of Paych resulting in experience, reaching a decision and certainty by Buddhi. It is a two faced mirror—one face turned towards pure consciousness, the other towards objects. Ahankara is self consciousness, a product of Buddhi.

The question of *sensory and motor organism* is not left out. Manas is Mind. Manas resolves the 'booming, buzzing, confusion' into order. Perception is related to real object which is apprehended by the corresponding sense organ. The mind seizes this apprehension and reflects upon it. Ahankara (empirical ego) appropriates the determinate apprehension of mind ; buddhi decides course of action, the Purusha enjoys the perception of the object.

Yoga involves chitta-britti-nirodha and leads to Abhyasa and Vairagya. Obstacles to Samadhi are Styana, Samsaya, Pramada, Alasya, Avirati, Bhranti darshana etc. *Thus the pedagogic method was method of faith, method of reason.* Debate was a traditional method for which terms were evolved for scientific arguments.

And lastly it must be repeated after Dr. Keith that 'The Sankhya does not restrict, like the Vedanta, the saving knowledge to the three upper classes of Aryans to the exclusion of Sudras.'

(31) Education in Manu Samhita.

Manu is known to have been one of the greatest law-givers in ancient India. By his time the Hindu social system had been firmly settled. *The Varnashram system had been effectively installed. Manu's laws were intended to provide permanence to the system.* His laws, therefore, covered all aspects of life, viz. marriage (including selection of bride or groom, dowry), the Varnashrama and Chaturashrama

systems, duties and privileges of people belonging to the different varnas, as well as of members of a family, daily duties, sacrificial rituals etc. Education featured prominently.

In the case of education, Manu's 'Dharma Sastra' did not deal with fundamental philosophical questions. Instead, he detailed out the rules and regulations, the duties and modes of discipline in the system of education. Manu's purpose was to sanctify the social regulations as unchangeable norms.

The *injunctions of Manu* may be summed up, in brief, as the following :—

1. Veda is Sruti : Dharmasastra is Smriti. No doubts can be harboured about the truth contained in the two. Everything else (knowledge, family and social laws, rituals and practices) emanates from them. The two are not antagonistic to each other. They are rather complementary.

2. Brahmarshi-desha was the land bounded by Kurukshetra, Kanyakubja and Mathura. Madhyadesha was the land between the Saraswati on the west and Prayag on the east. The whole area between the Himalayas and the Vindhya constituted Aryavarta.

Vedic ideals and practices and principle of Dharmasastras must reign supreme in Aryavarta.

3. *The supremacy of the Brahmins must be conceded.* Even a young Brahmin was superior to older Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But a Brahmin without vedic knowledge was worthless. And Vedic knowledge, was supreme knowledge, much superior to that of the Arthasastra.

- 4 Because of his endowed supremacy, the Brahmin must lead a regulated life congenial to the fruition of endowed grains.

- (a) The child's rice eating ceremony (Annaprasan) must be completed at 6 months. The Chudakarma might be completed between the first and third year of life. Initiation to writing and reading was dictated at—5 year for the Brahmin child, 6 years for the Kshatriya and 8 years for the Vaisya child,

- (b) *The Upanayana* of the Brahmin child was to be celebrated at 7 years 3 months (after birth) (with a time limit upto 16 years). The same for the Kshatriya was ordained at 11 years (with time limit

upto 22 years), for the Vaisya it might be 12 years (with limit upto 24 years).

(c) After the Upanayana, the Brahmin child should use the surname 'Sharma', the Kshatriya child—'Varma', Vaisya child—'Gupta' and the Sudra who had no Upanayana should be surnamed as 'Dasa'.

(d) Failure to undergo the Upanayana process would make one a 'Vratya' and 'Sabitri-Patita'. He would be socially condemned to the extent that none would accept him as a bridegroom. Penances were prescribed for such Vratyas.

(e) *The dress for the Upanayana* was prescribed as—(i) different types of antelope skin for Uttariya of Brahmin and Kshatriya boys and goat-skin Uttariya for Vaisya boys; (ii) hemp cloth for the Brahmin child, silk-linen for the Kshatriya and goat-fur cloth for the Vaisya. (iii) Mekhala of sacred grass or hemp was prescribed for the Brahmins and others respectively. (iv) The Brahmin boy would take sacred thread of cotton, the Kshatriya would take hemp thread and the Vaisya wool thread, (v) The Brahmin boy would take a 'danda' of 'Bell' log, tall enough to reach his hair; the Kshatriya child would take a danda of 'Bat' (Banyan) so tall as to reach his forehead; the Vaisya boy's danda of 'Pilu' reached upto his nose.

5 *The daily duties* of the student in the 'gurugriha' included—daily prayers and rituals, keeping the 'fire' ablaze, collecting 'samidh' from the forest and fetching water from the stream. He must serve the Guru by all possible means. Even if one could not master the Vedas, only Yapa could bring the Brahmin's salvation. Sacrifices would do, if one failed to master the Vedas.

The genuine learner must control all his senses. He might keep only the Jnanendria (intellect) open and active. But even more important was control of the mind. The mind might be kept in control by abstinence and Niyama. Even a single uncontrolled sense-organ might create a havoc.

Begging was compulsory. Manu, however, suggested a hierarchy of persons who could be approached for alms. Some doors were absolutely prohibited. The Brahmachari, however, had to remain satisfied with the minimum of food. Honey, meat, sugar, curd etc. were prohibited.

The student could not use cosmetics, even stibium (kajal) or oil. He could not use umbrella or shoes. Practice of Ahimsa was a bounden duty. He must observe celibacy and control his passions. He must rise before dawn and go to bed after the teacher had gone.

6. In Manu's opinion, *the Acharya was superior to knowledge*. He therefore, proposed very high qualitative standards for persons fit to be teachers. Teachers were classified, the apex being formed by the Acharya. The Upadhyaya was inferior, since he received remunerations in cash or kind. One Acharya was equal to ten Upadhyayas. And 100 Acharyas were equal to the one who performed the Upanayana and sanctified the "second birth" of the child and thereby became the god-father.

The Acharya had right to select students and also not to teach the unsuitable ones. He might punish the wayward pupil. Manu, however, drew up laws of punishment. He favoured light modes.

A significant part of the student's daily chart of duties was concerned with service to the teacher. Manu prescribed the style in which the student should sit before the Guru. Reading and recess hours were to be determined by the Guru. The student might put questions only to clear doubts and not with the motive of cornering the teacher. He was not to argue with the teacher.

Respectfulness and modesty constituted major qualities of the pupil. Manu, however, suggested a hierarchy according to which the student should show respect. Veneration shown to parents (if they visited the school) must not surpass the same shown to the teacher. The student ought to be respectful to members of the teacher's family and household. That, however, did not mean unrestricted service to the teacher's son.

The student must observe these principles of disciplinary living and doing till the termination of studentship, which came through the Samavartana ceremony. There was nothing compulsive for the student to pay any tuition fees during studentship. But after the completion of education he might offer "Pronami" in terms of land, gold, cow or horse. He might make presents of umbrella, hide, shoes, seats, pady etc.

Much of what Manava Dharmasastra said, had been in existence. Manu proposed a form and complete structure with rules and regula-

tions reported to make the system stereotyped and unchangeable. Herein lies the historical importance of the educational aspects of *Mr. J. V. Dharmasastra*.

(32) Medical Science and Education in Ancient India

One of the many sciences practised in Ancient India was the medical science with roots in the Atharva Veda. Subsequently developed, out of the Atharva Veda, a distinctive medical science known as Ayurveda. Ayurveda also had many branches, although they were correlated. A medical practitioner had to study all the branches. Moreover, theory and practice were combined. A surgeon had not only to know the technique of operation, but also had to know much of the healing balm. The study of Ayurveda enabled one to know about his own life and length of life, to keep personal and community health, to treat the patients. To make the society and environment healthy, the obvious need was knowledge of Ayurveda.

There was no written texts in those remote days. The students received 'slokas' verbally delivered by the Guru and applied them in practice. He bequeathed this knowledge and knowledge gathered from his own experience to his own student in old age. Thus continued Ayurvedic knowledge from generation to generation in succession. But a day came when all aspects of the science could not be stored in memory. The need for written texts was felt on many hands.

Maharshi Agnibesh compiled the Agnibesh Samhita. His pupil Charaka issued a new edition from a new viewpoint. This came to be known as the Charaka Samhita. Susrut, the disciple of Dhanvantari, compiled the Susruta Samhita. These two Samhitas are most ancient. Subsequently, however, many more scripts were compiled.

The Samhitas throw light on the fact that Ayurveda was divided into 8 branches. That is why Ayurveda was called Astanga Ayurveda. The branches were—

- (1) Physical medicine (i. e. treatment of physical ailments with herbal drugs).
- (2) Surgery.
- (3) Ear, Nose, Throat—Treatment and setting of artificial limbs.
- (4) Bhuta Vidya i. e. Treatment of mental diseases.
- (5) Child care and child health.
- (6) Treatment with poisons.

- (7) Treatment for increasing child birth.
- (8) Treatment with chemical drugs.

After the age of the Vedas and Samhitas, medical science reached a zenith between 7th century and 16th century A. D. Some famous medical experts of this era were—Madhabkar (a Bengalee practitioner who became famous in the 7th century for his work 'Roga Binischaya' (ascertaining the disease). This work became famous also beyond the borders of India viz, Persian and Arab countries. Another Bengalee medical scientist of this period was Chakrapani Dutt who wrote "Charaka Tattwa Pradipika (based on Charaka) and "Bhanumati" (based on Susruta). Vanga Sen, Vijoy Raksit, Sreekanta Datta and Sibdas were other Bengalee medical scientists of the time.

Buddhism put heavy premium upon service. Service to the ailing was also a part of the Buddhist value system. The extensive system of medical relief for men or beast established by Buddhist monarchs led to special emphasis being placed upon Medical Science. The excellence of medical science in the Buddhist era is spoken of in 'Venoy Pitaka'. The greatest physician of the time was Jivaka who could diagnose a disease simply by a visual scrutiny of the patient. His work "Bridhha Jivaka Tantra" was a great work on children's diseases.

The Chinese Traveller I'Tsing left important records of the time. He visited Nalanda, Bodhgaya, Kusinagar, Sarnath and other places. At Nalanda he received lessons in medical science from Acharya Bagbatta who was the author of two texts—Astanga Ayurved and Astanga Hriday.

Even before this, Taxila had been the most important centre for medical education. The 7 year course of study was terminated with stiff examinations. Students were to know the qualities of various medical herbs, had to practise surgery and dressing of wounds in apprenticeship training. Indian monks who travelled in China, Japan, Siberia, Mongolia, Persia, Asia Minor and other places beyond India brought herbs from foreign lands and transplanted in India. Nursing was also in vogue. Charaka Samhita throws light on Nursing-training. 'Mahabhaga' a Buddhist script also speaks of the system of training.

Veterinary Science was also a part of medical science as is evident from the stories of Ramayana-Mahabharata about the treatment of

horses, cows, elephants etc. Asokan era far strengthened and extended this practice.

Indian colonists abroad carried this Indian science to other lands. Greeks and Persian who visited India adopted this knowledge. Extensive archaeological discoveries in Central Asia led to the find of medical scripts. Indian Ayurved. in fact, achieved a zenith of glory.

Mention may be made of the following great physicians of ancient India :

Atreya, Agnivasa, Charaka, Dhanwantri, Sashruta, Bharadvaja, Kapishthala, Bhela, Parasara, Harita, Asavalyan, Katyayana, Krisa, Svetaketa, Panchala, Sabandhu, Kankayona etc. and Jivaka.

And it is known on all hands that ancient India's skill in chemistry was unparalleled and this skill was applied in medical practices.

(33) Ancient Indian achievements in Mathematics & Sciences

Like her achievements in medical science, India in the ancient days achieved remarkable success in various mineral industries, particularly ferrous industry. Knowledge of Chemistry was applied not only in medicine, but also in the technique of purifying water.

In mathematics and astronomy India's success had been astounding. Signs to measure the linear extent of roads, the concept of zero, the concept of decimal are known to have originated in India. The concept of Trigonometry accrues is Surya Siddhanta. *Aryabhatta*, *Bhaskaracharya*, *Brahmagupta* were famous in the field of Algebra. The knowledge of astronomy was applied to explain the cause of solar and lunar eclipse. The length of the year was also calculated. Scientists like *Aryabhatta* explained the earth's rotation around its own axis causing day and night, as also its annual movement around the Sun. Closely allied with astronomy was its byproduct astrology which became an empirical science to establish the correlation between heavenly bodies and human beings on earth. The names of *Varaha-Mihira* are written in indelible ink in the cultural history of India. And *Kshana* tried to establish a link between heavenly happenings and human endeavour in the field of economic productivity and social life. The knowledge about the stars helped Indian navigators to negotiate open seas for inter-continental voyages.

(34) Achievements of Ancient India

An account of ancient Indian education must remain incomplete without a brief and in most cases incomplete reference to ancient India's achievements in different aspects of theory and practice with direct or indirect bearing upon education.

Medicine

We have already given an account of ancient India's achievement in this field. We should also add that—

Lord Ampthill said, "The Hindu Sastras also contain a sanitary code no less correct in principle, and that the great law giver Manu was one of the greatest sanitary reformers the world has ever seen."

William Hunter says, "The Materia Medica of the Hindus embraces a vast collection of drugs belonging to the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, many of which have now been adopted by European physicians."

Sasruta says, "The dissection of dead bodies is a sine qua non to the student of surgery."

Prof Weber says, "In the Vedic period, animal anatomy was evidently thoroughly understood, as each part had its own distinctive name."

Sir W. Hunter says, "The Hindu medicine is an independent development. Arab medicine was founded on the translation from the Sanskrit treatises made by command of the Khalif of Baghdad (950—960 A. D.). European medicine down to the 17th century was based upon the Arabic and the name of Charaka repeatedly occurs in Latin translations of Abu Sina, Abu Rasi, Abu Sirabi etc".

In the reign of Harun-Al-Rashid, Hindu physicians were invited to Baghdad. Monka was one such.

Mathematics

Ancient Indian mathematicians extensively cultivated Astronomy. They were the inventors of numerals and were the inventors of decimal ciphers.

After Arab occupation of Sind, when embassies were sent to Baghdad, the scholars brought with them "Brahma Siddhanta" of Brahmagupta and his 'Khandakhadyaka.' The Arabs learnt scientific astronomy from Indians. From the Arab world, astronomical knowledge

travelled to Europe. Sir M. Monier William says, "From the Hindus the Arabs received first conceptions of algebric analysis, numerical symbols and decimal notations." The concept of Sunnya was also of Indian origin.

Manning says, "Excellence in algebric analysis was attained in India independent of foreign aids." The Arabs were not, in general, inventors, but recipients."

Algebric and Geometric formulaes were widely applied in astronomy as is evident from the works of Aryabhatta, Bhaskaracharya, Brahmagupta. Astronomy was practised as early as 2780 B. C. They made astronomical tables of solar eclipse. Not only annual and diurnal movements, but also day and night were charted.

Trigonometry was widely practised. Bhaskaracharya also refers to Differential Calculus. An account given in Lalita Vistara says that on the occasion of his marriage ceremony, the Buddha had solved a problem on the number of atoms in the length of Yojana. Ancient literature refers to 9 Siddhantas viz. (1) Brahma, (2) Surya, (3) Soma, (4) Vrihaspati, (5) Gargya, (6) Narada, (7) Parasara, (8) Pulastya, (9) Vashistha.

Astrology was an applied development of astronomy best represented by Baraha-mihira.

Other Sciences

In ancient India there was an extensive culture of Astarvidya, viz. Chemistry, Physics, Dynamics, Metereology, Geology etc. An extensive branch of metallurgy dealing with iron was known as Lohasastra. Engineering skill was sufficiently developed, as is evident from Mayasabha (Exhibitions). Fire Engine was known as Agnirath. Sarpa Vidya, Vish (Poison) vidya as developed as sciences. Literature also refers to Vayu vidya and Viman vidya. Anatomy and Physiology were combined in Yoga which developed as a Sastra.

Military Science ; Military science in ancient India was well developed, as is evident from the accounts of the Ramayana and particularly the Mahabharata. Military strategists divided their armies in the following manner—Uras (centre), Kakshas (flank), Pakshas (wings), Pratigraha (reserve), Koti (vanguard), Madhy (centre), Pristha (rear).

Vyuhas were named as Madhyabhedi, Antarbhedhi. Suchimukha and Abhedya were terms connected with Vyuha.

Missile throwing weapons were Yantramukta, Hastamukta, Mukta mukta (javelin). Weapons for hand to hand fighting were swords, maces etc. And at the last resort was used the natural weapon—the fists.

Dangerous weapons were Agniestra, Shataghnee, Rockets and weapons used with Viman Vidya.

Architecture, Crafts, Arts

Architecture and Sculpture :—Pages may be written about ancient India's achievements in architecture and sculpture. We may refer to Ajanta, Elora, Elephanta, the mighty temples of south India, the Buddhist Stupas etc. Their beauty, elegance and ornamentation have been unequivocally praised by critics. Colonel Tod says, "Art seems to have exhausted itself....."

Crafts : The soil furnishes India the finest cotton which the earth produces. Indian muslin was woven with yarn finer than any yet produced elsewhere.

Indian craftsmen excelled in bronze, clay, stone engraving and moulding. Ajanta paintings still arouse our awe and admiration.

Music : Gandharva Veda reflects the height achieved by India in the field of musical art. Six principal Ragas viz. (1) Hindaul, (2) Sri Raga, (3) Meg Mallar, (4) Deepuck, (5) Bhairava, (6) Malcos represent India's genius.

Dance and Dramatics : Ras Mandala is a nice representation of India's achievements in Dance as an art. The imagination of performances of heavenly court dancers represents a standard of judgment. Our actors on the present-day theatrical stage refer to Bharata Natyasastra as a standard of performing art.

Literature

We should start with our homage paid to the great men of ancient Indian literature viz-Vyasa, Kapila, Goutama, Patanjali, Kanada, Jaimini, Narada, Panini, Marichi, Valmiki etc.

Vedic literature comprising the Vedas, Brahmanas, Sutras have no parallel. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were tampered (Part I) Ed.—7

with. But the Vedic literature could not be tampered with. To this class should be added the Vedangas.

We must bow our heads to the great **grammarians** like—Apisali, Kasyapa, Gargya, Galava, Sakravarmana, Bharadwaja, Sakatyana, Sakalya, Senaka, Sphotayana. To this list must be added the names of Panini and Patanjali.

The great Indian **Epics** are immortal. The Ramayana has 48000 lines and the Mahabharata has 220000 lines while Homer's Iliad has 15693 lines and Virgil's Aeneid has 9868 lines. Both of these epics contain very nice graphical passages.

Other great literary creations are Raghuvamsa, Sisupalbadh, Kirat Arjuniya, Bhattikavya, Kumar Sambhava etc. As specimen of excellence in **dramatic literature** we must refer to Kalidasa's Sakuntala, and Vikrama Urvashi, Bhababhutis's Uttar Ram Charita and Madhava Malati and Vishakh Datta's Mudra Rakshasa. As specimen of **ethico didactic poetry** (niti) we may refer to Panchatantra—Hitopadesha.

The Puranas may be grouped under three classes, viz.

1. Sattviya (Pure) viz. Vishnu, Narada, Bhagwat, Garuda, Padma, Varaha. (These are called the Vaishnava puranas).
2. Tamasa (Darkness) viz—Matsya, Karma, Linga, Shiva, Skanda, Agni. (These are called Shaiva Puranas).
3. Rajasa (Passionate) viz.—Brahmanda, Vaivarta, Markandya, Bhavishya, Vamana, Brahma. (These are called Gossai and Ballabhachari).

The 18 Puranas have 400000 slokas in 1600000 lines. (These, however, are abridgments of the original forms).

Philosophy

Sada Darshana of ancient India meant six distinctive schools of philosophy viz.

(1) Nyaya, founded by Gautama (which holds that the way to salvation is the true knowledge of substance or being).

(2) Vaisheshik, which is a fuller development of Nyaya (and leans towards physics and science rather than metaphysics).

These two together are called Manan Shastra.

(3) Sankhya, founded by Kapila which deals essentially with Purusha, Prakriti, Karma.

(4) Yoga, which deals with 8 stages or means of accomplishment, viz. (a) Yama (forbearance), (b) Niyama (religions observance), (c) Asana (postures), (d) Pranayama (regulation of the breath), (e) Pratyahara (restraint of the senses), (f) Dharana (steadying of the mind), (g) Dhyana (contemplation), (h) Samadhi (transporation of mind).

(5) Purva Mimansa (Jaimini), gives in all details the karma we have to perform (the Yajnyas, Agnihotras, Gifts etc). In discussing the conflict between Dharma and Adharma, Jaimini holds that Dharma consists in following the teachings of the Vedas.

(6) Uttara Mimansa (Vyasa) belongs to Vedanta school. It holds that the only way to salvation or Mukti is Atmagyana.

Mimansa Method consists of Purva Paksha (reasons against), Uttara Paksha (reasons for), and Siddhanta (conclusion).

And we must refer to the Upanishadas which are the fountain heads of all Hindu Philosophy. They are said to be 52 in number. They are said to be the noblest product of the spiritual consciousness of mankind. And we may conclude with a reference to the Bhagwat Gita which is a work of Vedanta philosophy, and guides human actions and stands as a class by itself.

Impact of the past upon the present

With changes in objective conditions, the ancient system of education did naturally crumble down. But our language, literature, rites and ceremonies bore the effects of tradition. Even in the early part of the 19th century the Oriental—Occidental controversy brought our strong sentiments to the surface. As against Occidentalism there arose a strong plea for Classicism. In their fight against Rammohan Roy and the Young Bengal, the traditionalist school of Radhakanta Dev had the demand for traditional classicism inscribed on their banner

In a changed context, the glories of the old featured on a new canvas of Revivalism in the early years of the current century. The Gurukul movememnt, the educational aspects of the Arya Samaj and Ramkrishna Mission, Tagore's Tapovan and Gandhiji's rural education scheme were modern adaptations of the ancient style and substance.

We became conscious of the classical language and our achievements in the past. Above all, the demand for spiritual value in education was raised by Indian educators from various platforms.

But the past must be accepted as past. Many of our sobre values were lost under the wheels of mediaevalism. Modern life destroyed whatever we still had. A new way of life, new social, political and economic institutions have come into existence. In a changed system of values, there can be no resurrection of the ancient system of education. Yet we may graft and adopt some of the positive features of ancient education with necessary reforms and modifications.

Responsibility of family and society in education, close relation between labour and education, education for morality and discipline, vocational education, social service, democratic elements in education, individualised instruction combined with debates and discussions, educational tours, close teacher-pupil relation in a system of 'free' education, social position of the teacher, humanistic and international appeal in education, state patronage etc., are features which may claim sufficient validity even today, of course with necessary modifications to suit our present life and pattern of education.

EDUCATION IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

CHAPTER I

Education Under the Sultanate

Before taking up our work on mediaeval education it may be advantageous to make a resume of ancient education so that we may better understand mediaeval education by contrast.

Resume of Ancient Education

(1) Nature of Indian philosophy :—Philosophy provides answers to questions on the real nature of man, nature of the world and their interrelation. Search for this knowledge of Truth led to the growth of several systems of Indian philosophy viz. Nyaya, Vaisesika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimansa, Vedanta, Charvak and also Jaina and Buddhist.

Indian philosophy discusses different problems of metaphysics, logic, ethics, psychology, epistemology and axiology from all possible approaches and gives a total and synoptic outlook. It is not Hindu Philosophy in the narrow sense. Madhavacharya's "Sarva Darshana Sangraha" presents the view points of even etheists and materialists as well as unorthodox thinkers like the Buddha and Jaina prophets. Each school took account of others. The process of Purvn Paksha — Khandana—Uttarapaksha led to Siddhanta.

The major schools accept the universe as a moral stage and believe in an eternal moral order. Sense of dissatisfaction at the sight of evils led to attempt for understanding the origin of evils and finding out the means of overcoming them. Thus, pessimism was followed by optimism and firm faith in salvation by living life in the best way, by acquiring freedom from the bondage of ignorance and by self-realisation through self control.

(2) Urge for knowledge was inherent in the concept of life and remained ever shining. "Education", as F. W. Thomas says, "is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or exercised so lasting and powerful an influence." The urge for light is best recorded in the words of Maston, "At no period of its history India has been an unenlightened country. Inscriptions or stones, copperplates, palm-leaf records of the temples, and in later days the widespread manufacture of paper, all alike

indicate not only the general knowledge but also the common use of the art of writing. From the earliest time, the caste of Brahmins preserved by oral tradition as well as by means of scripts a literature unrivalled alike in its quality and in the intellectual subtleties of its contents."

The persistent search for truth led to the growth of variegated knowledge as is recognised by Maxmuller, "Whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special studies, whether it be language or religion or mythology or philosophy, whether it be laws and customs, primitive arts or primitive science, anywhere you go you are to go to India whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only".

(3) Development of this speculative mind was helped by natural environment. Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "A rich culture is impossible with a community of nomads, where people struggle for life and die of privation. Fate called India to a spot where nature was free with her gifts and every prospect was pleasing. The Himalayas with their immense ranges and elevation on one side and the sea on the other, helped to keep India free from invasions for a long time. Beautiful nature yielded abundant food and man was relieved of toil and struggle for existence."

(4) It is generally admitted that religion and spirituality determined Indian thinking and education. But, religion in Indian concept, is that which binds the universe together: the eternal, infinite, invisible principle which binds the whole universe, which is the source and fountainhead of all religions. It is a religion which binds man with man; a regulated principle which governs each sphere of life, a total configuration of ideals, practices and conduct implying duties, morality, virtue etc. Religion dictated the laws and social life. The country was thus identified with culture and not confined to physical boundaries. India, thus, became a home for different races and nationalities, each with its own ethnopsychic endowment and each carrying its particular racial traditions and institutions.

(5) Vedic religion evolved from childhood to manhood and then to old age. Childhood with its emphasis upon the perceptual attended

to that which affected or were associated with immediate or direct interest. This explains the deification of natural objects. During manhood, attention was transferred from the phenomenal to the noumenal i. e. the ultimate cause or purpose. The old age was an age of speculation of Universe and Nature of the Supreme Being.

(6) The development of education and literature corresponded with this evolution. From religious works, lyric poetry and hymns it traversed the long route of Law, Philosophy, Brahmana, Aranyaka, Upanishada and Sutra. About the Upanishadas, the cream of Indian thought, Schopenhauer says, "In the whole world there is no study which is so beneficial and so elevating as that of Upanishadas. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death."

The rise of Buddhism brought about a period of transition marked by Prakrit languages, various sciences and arts including medicine, astronomy and veterinary science.

The last epoch brought about another turn characterised by classical Sanskrit, various branches of sciences, arts and literature, didactic poetry, fables, fairy tales and romances. Kalidasa, Aryabhata, Baraha Mihira were luminaries of this era. Under patronage from Pataliputra, Ujjain and Kanauj there was also a phenomenal growth of architecture, sculpture, painting and music. In recognition of this many-sided achievement McDonnell says, "The attainment of the Indians in some subjects like science, literature, grammar, phonetics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and law was much ahead of the attainment of the Greeks".

(7) National vigour found expression in literature. Due to absence of artificial barriers, sacred learning in the earliest stage was no monopoly of any sect. Caste system, early marriage of girls, and seclusion of women were later developments. Even idol worship found a firm base only in the Puranic period. The essence of idol worship is nicely explained by Abul Fazl, "The Hindus one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration yet, they are by no means idolators, as the ignorant suppose. The images are only representatives of celestial beings to whom they turn themselves whilst at prayer to prevent their thoughts from wandering."

(8) With changing ideals, the pattern of education also changed.

The Gurukul reflected the ancient ideal. In the absence of writing materials, there was individual instillation of ideals. Hence, the number of students was limited. With social changes, there were characteristic educational changes viz. caste system, replacement of reason by authority, replacement of manual skill and practical knowledge by intellectual discipline.

Education, therefore, acquired two meanings. In the wider sense it meant a process of development from infancy to maturity with necessary adoptions and adaptations at different stages. In the narrow sense it meant special influence consciously brought to bear upon the child. It was designated in 3 ways—(i) *Siksha* i.e. learning to recite ; (ii) *Adhyayana* i.e. taking near (*Upanayana*) ; and (iii) *Vinaya* i.e. leading out. It meant an action whereby the inborn faculties or traits are led out in a particular way or an action in which one leads oneself in a particular manner (i.e. character).

(9) In spite of institutional responsibility, the role of the mother was largely recognised. The child's education actually started with the mother. It was supposed that the child's physical, intellectual and moral endowment depended upon mother's married life. Hence, some ceremonies were observed to ensure the prospect of the child. Care started from *Garbhadhana*. *Yatakarma* and *Annaprāsana* were held after birth. The mother was properly instructed. This was followed by tonsure and beginning of home education at 5 years.

The final formation of morality and character, however, depended upon the preceptor, as is evident from his *Upanayana* blessings—
 'Thou art a *Brahmachari* ; be religious and persevering ; do not sleep by day, learn the *Veda* under the teacher ; follow thy teacher at every footstep (except where he is wrong) ; remove anger and untruth ; do not commit excesses in bathing and eating ; give up scandal, covetousness, greed, fear and sorrow ; get up early in the morning and devote thyself to meditation, do not take meat, wine or pungent things'.

The moral and social orientation in education is similarly borne out by the teacher's farewell address during *Samavartana*—"speak the truth ; practise virtue ; do not neglect duties ; do not swerve from truth, virtue, welfare ; do not neglect what is good ; do not neglect study and teaching ; do not neglect thy duties to God and parents ; worship thy mother, father, teacher and guest as a God ; follow the blameless conduct ; adopt the good in conduct."

Education in Mediaeval India

India's composite culture in the ancient period had absorbed many cultural streams, external and internal. The mediaeval period witnessed the influx of another mighty stream of culture i.e. Islamic culture. The post-Mourya foreign incursions had not physically affected the Madhyadesha. Moreover, the leaders of society had adopted defensive measures to safeguard the cultural entity of India. Foreign political occupations had been shortlived, and the foreigners were synthesised in India's socio-religious life.

The Turko-Afghan invasion infused a totally new element. The invaders stayed here, lived here and built up a mighty empire. With the conquerors came a new religion and a new culture-pattern. While

India had been able to absorb the previous cultural infusions from Central Asia, this mighty cultural onslaught with Arabic-Islamic traditions could not be easily absorbed. Moreover, the conquerors patronised their own culture which gradually spread from the metropolitan and urban areas to the entire body politic of India.

The traditional system of education which we otherwise designated as Hindu system was now bereft of state patronage. The ancient feudal potentates and landed aristocracy had to pass a chequered life due to political upheavals and the introduction of a new pattern of Jagirdari. Their educational patronage was now decimated. The rent-free endowments so long enjoyed by institutions of learning were now often affected. Though financially thus emaciated, the Hindu system of education somehow retained its existence, because it had deep traditional roots in the soil and still catered to the needs of the traditional society. The Buddhist system, however, could not withstand the onslaught. With the destruction of the major monasteries, the centres of Buddhistic learning practically went out of existence.

Mediaeval Indian education, therefore, consisted of the parallel existence of the Hindu and Islamic systems with some isolated remnants of Buddhistic learning. For a long time, the Hindu and the Islamic systems maintained inimical and parallel relations. But the two systems interacted and made adoptions and adaptations from each other. In the later mediaeval period, the two religions and culture patterns came

closer. An eclectic synthesis was the outcome. The history of Mediaeval Indian education consists of the story of a foreign pattern being Indianised and its becoming an integral part of a broader spectrum of Indian culture.

Destruction and Construction : an apparent contradiction

The Islamic system of education had to depend vitally upon the goodwill and whims of rulers. The mediaeval rulers of India were simultaneously destroyers and constructors. *Sultan Mahmud's* career in India had been that of a ruthless destroyer and predatory raider. He destroyed schools because schools were attached to temples and temples had stored much of the wealth of India. This destroyer of Indian schools was a brilliant patron of culture and learning in his own land. The Ghaznavite Court had become a camp of a galaxy of learned men from various parts of Asia. Al Biruni, Utbi Ansari and Firdousi received Mahmud's patronage. Ansari was a scientist, linguist, philosopher, poet and a renowned professor at Ghazni. Mahmud appointed him superintendent of literature and made him poet laureate. Utbi was a famed historian. Asadi Tusi of Khurasan was a poet and master of Firdousi. Asjudi and Farrukhi were renowned pupils of Ansari. Al Beruni's work 'Canon Masudicus' was dedicated to Mahmud's son Masud. The university of Ghazni was founded with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. And Mahmud was a great patron of the Great Firdousi, author of *Shah Namah*.

Sultan Mahmud was a staunch friend of learned men and for them he provided an annual bestowal of four lac dinars. Ferishta says—"no king had ever more learned men at his court than Sultan Mahmud."

Mahmud's son, Sultan Masud was prodigal to learned men, and induced them to come from different corners to his court. Important among these learned men were Anwar Khan Khwarizmi, a philosopher and astronomer and Abu Md Musahi. Masud built and endowed several colleges and schools in his dominions. Al Beruni speaks of rapid progress of Arabic and Persian literature, Indian Mathematics, Astronomy, Astrology, Philosophy, Medicine and Pharmacology. Masud also had Indian works translated by Mahammedan scholars.

Sultan Ibrahim who belonged to this royal house excelled in the

art of writing. And Bairam Masud showed an uncommon thirst for knowledge. Sk. Nizami and Sayyed Hasan Ghaznavi were literary jewels who received the Sultan's bounteous patronage. *Mohammad Ghori*, the real conqueror of Delhi is known to have destroyed Hindu institutions at Ajmere. Yet he was generous to the literati. *Bakhtiyar Khalji*, the destroyer of Vikramsila established schools together with mosques. The same was the case with *Feruz Tughluq* who destroyed the Jawalamukhi temple, but deciphered the Sanskrit manuscripts brought therefrom.

This apparent contradiction was not unnatural. The Turko-Afghans were conquerors. It was natural on their part to try a cultural conquest of the conquered territory. The Greeks had once established "bits of Hellas" wherever the Greek armies had set foot. The Romans had Romanised their empire. The Turks had attempted Turkification just as Czarist Russia had attempted Russification of the conquered dominions. Comparable with these was the concept of 'white man's burden' in the recent times. Was not Britain's attempt at Anglicanisation and Christianisation a major element in India's history of education in the 19th Century? In the case of the Turko-Afghans, the conquerors were Muslims and the conquered were Hindus who were naturally held as Kafirs, possessing a hostile culture and religion. The conquerors wanted to destroy the institutions of the conquered and to superimpose their own institutions. The question of religion which mingled up in the process was a matter of coincidence. As for the methods of subjugation, we should apply the mediaeval standard of judgment in pronouncing our verdict in comparison with similar affairs throughout the world.

The conquerors were inimical to a foreign culture and cult. But they were believers in a faith, their own faith, which attached great value to education. In the Holy Koran education is urged as a duty.

The Prophet had said that acquisition of knowledge in the way of the Lord was an act of piety. In His opinion, knowledge is guide and friend and it enables differentiation between man and man. Study of the Koran and the Hadith leads one to the Truth. The study of various subjects was enjoined as a religious duty. The Prophet called upon the faithful to appreciate the importance of ink, pen and paper.

The faith in the acquisition of knowledge was embodied in the lustre of Arabic learning. At the zenith of their cultural achievements, the Arabs had established mastery in the fields of Astronomy, Navigational Sciences, Astrology, Mathematics (particularly Algebra), Medicine (Hekimi), arts and architecture etc. Moreover, Arabian culture had developed a dynamism of its own. With the expansion of Muslim political power from country to country, the centre of culture moved from Baghdad to Damascus, then to Cairo and Cordova. On the other front it moved to Bukhara, Samarkhand and Constantinople. The glory of Saracen culture had affected Europe during the 'Crusades'. With military conquests made in Central Asia, the Turko Persian culture also spread out in Central Asia and Tatar regions. From there it entered into India.

In the course of its long journey to India from Arabia via Turkey and Central Asia much of the brilliance of Arabian culture was lost.

Partial impact of
Turko-Arab
tradition

Evidently, the Islamic culture which was brought to India by the invaders was not the pure and unadulterated Arabian culture at its best. Yet, the effect of that culture even though indirectly received in India was tremendous. The learned were esteemed by the Muslim rulers of India. Honour and patronage was bestowed upon them. Judges, lawyers and ministers were selected from amongst them. There was a constant flow of talent from Central Asia and Turko-Arab regions to India. Believers as they were, the Sultans patronised Islamic learning and some of them were inimical to the institutions of the vanquished. This explains the apparent contradiction that they were destroyers and constructors simultaneously.

The mediaeval Sultanate was a sort of military despotism in which political set up the sovereign was the sourcefount of policy. Learning flourished under a sovereign who was a lover of learning. It declined in disarray under a monarch who did not or would not patronise learning. That is why, Islamic education in India passed through ups and downs in accordance with political upheavals and the personality of monarchs.

Dependence
upon royal
patronage

In the early years, Turko-Afghan power centred round the garrisons. The rulers had little contact with the ruled. Hence,

Islamic education in India in the first instance, did not acquire a mass character. Gradually, however, the barrier was broken and education spread downwards to the masses. Moreover, patronage to education flowed from the court. The Amirs and other sections of the aristocracy followed in the wake of the monarch. The education that was patronised by these classes was, by its nature, higher Islamic learning. The masses of people had to look after themselves. They developed their own system of elementary education which was greatly influenced by the traditional Hindu system of mass education. Thus, Islamic education also was catered at two levels. Fortunately, however, most of the famous Sultans and Badshahs of India were patrons of learning.

Contributions of the Sultans

Md. Ghori, the founder of the Delhi Sultanate is known to have established mosques and schools in Kabul and in India. He was generous to the literati and is known to have established schools and seminars at Ajmir. One of his special interests was education of his slaves, of whom his successor Qutbuddin was one. They were given both literary and vocational education. As a ruthless conqueror, he, as Hasan Nizami says, "destroyed...idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges." *Sultan Qutbuddin* was educated at Nishapur and had a good command of Arabic and Persian, and showed interest in the sciences. By giving shelter to

The first century
under early
sultans

Fakhr-ul-mulk of Baghdad he initiated a tradition of providing royal patronage to men of learning, which most of the subsequent sultans sustained with zeal.

He is known to have built mosques and schools (although he destroyed temples) where both secular and religious instruction was imparted. As founder of Qutb Minar he also promoted art and architecture. General Bakhtiyar Khalji, Commander of his army, attacked and destroyed Vikramsila and caused great damage to Nadia, no doubt was a promoter of Islamic learning for which he built colleges. *Sultan Iltutmish* is known to have built Madrasahs at Delhi and Badaoni. During his reign Delhi became a refuge for learned men from Central Asia wherefrom many of them had to flee on account of political turbulence. Amir Kuhani and Nasiruddin (author of a popular

collection of historical anecdotes, were among them. He also glorified his dominions by appointing Fakhr-ul-mulk (who had been wazir at Baghdad) his Prime Minister. Feruz Tughluq's records refer to a big college established by Iltutmish, which the former repaired and beautified with sandal wood doors. Iltutmish's daughter *Sultana Raziya*, as Ferishta says, was herself well read. She was a patron of learning and is known to have established a college at Delhi, known as Muizzi College. The peace loving *Nasiruddin Mahmud*, the last of this line of sovereigns spent his time in reading and copying the Koran and other theological works. A meticulous copyist of the Koran, this sultan helped the growth of an excellent calligraphy. Moreover, he was a patron of learning and founded a college at Jallundher. During his reign his Chief Minister Balban founded the Nasiriyya College where Minhaj-us-Siraj author of *Tabakat* was principal.

Ghiasuddin Balban was a man of literary taste. He organised a royal library and patronised regular meetings of poets. He patronised scholars, theologians, mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, jurists etc. His court had a circle of learned men under Amir Khasru. Literature and sciences were cultured. The Sultan's son, Prince Mohammad who headed a literary society prepared a collection of 2000 poems. His entourage included musicians, dancers and actors. Sultan Balban had ordered that best attention was to be paid to the wise, the elite and the brave because they were advisers to the crown and formed the apex of royal glory. Delhi, during Balban, became equivalent to Bukhara.

Apart from Prince Muhammad's circle, Prince Kurra Khan Beghra's society composed of musicians, dancers, actors and story tellers who enlivened the atmosphere of the capital. Apart from Amir Khasru who was the presiding genius of the time, poet Amir Hasan also electrified the literary atmosphere. Eminent learned men of his court also included Sk Bahauddin, Sk Badruddin Arif of Ghazni, Sayyid Maula who founded an academy in Delhi.

When he returned to his capital after three years absence in a military expedition, Balban visited the learned men at their own houses. Twice he sent messengers to Siraj to invite Sk Sadi to India. He is known to have advised his successors, "spare no pains to discover men of genius, learning and courage. You must so cherish them by kindness and munificence that they may prove the soul of your councils and

instruments of your authority." After Balban there was a sharp decline in literary and cultural activities till the Khaljis retrieved the position.

Jalaluddin Khalji was similarly a man of literary taste. He organised a royal library and held regular meetings of poets. Amir Khasru was the librarian of this imperial library. He was also appointed the keeper of the Koran. *Jalaluddin* held private parties with men like Khasru, *Tajuddin Iraqi*, *Khwajah Hasan*, singers *Hamid Rajah* and *Muhammad Chungi*, instrumentalist *Nasir Khan* etc. Learned scholars used white robes which commanded respect.

Alauddin Khalji who is known as a conqueror and despot was no mean a patron of learning as *Firishta* states. The court, as *Elphinstone* says, was a refuge for learned men. There is, however, an interesting controversy on the question of *Alauddin's* own learning. *Ziauddin Barni* says he had no acquaintance with learning. Another opinion holds that although he was unlettered in his early days, he acquired reading and writing abilities in older days. On the whole, however, he liked books to be read before him. Dissatisfied with this practice he had learned men answer to questions put to them by him.

Alauddin established a big madrassah attached to the *Hauz-i-khas*. Whatever the extent and quality of his learning, *Alauddin* was a patron of learned men. His chief minister *Samsul Mulk* was a great scholar. Recipients of his pensions included *Amir Khasru*, *Amir Hasan*, *Sadrudin Ali*, *Maulana Arif*, *Hamiduddin Rajah* etc. and several historians and compilers. *Qazi Maulana Kuhrami* and *Hazi Maghisuddin* were favourites of the Sultan. Two other philosophers, *Sayyid Tajuddin* and *Sayyid Rukhnuddin* also received his patronage as did *Nizamuddin Auliya*, the saint. Evidently, theology and philosophy were studied extensively. *Firishta* says about *Alauddin's* time, "Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, meusolia, forts and all kinds of private and public buildings seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there, in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. 45 Doctors skilled in the sciences were professors in the Universities" in and around Delhi. *Ziauddin Barni* says, "Delhi was the great rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite personages"...An inscription on the southern doorway of *Alai Darwaza*

(at Delhi) designates Alauddin as "strengtheners of the pulpits of learning, strengtheners of the rules of colleges .." Alauddin had also grand designs in architecture. The ruins of his colleges and a projected monument still exist in Delhi.

Nobles followed the Sultan's example of patronage. The total effect was tremendous. It is claimed that the erudition of learned men at Delhi surpassed that of the learned men of Bukhara, Samarqond, Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Ispahan etc. History, Jurisprudence, Logic, Theology, Grammar, Commentaries and also Hindu mythological stories were studied with equal seriousness. The study of medicine was fostered by Moulana Badruddin Damasqi, Moulana Sadruddin and Moulana Alimuddin. Barni also mentions of astrologers, minstrels and musicians.

It is to be noted that the Turko-Afghan empire in India was already 100 years old. A stage of racial and linguistic mingling now set in. The subsequent period of the Tughluqs furthered the cause of the growth of a composite culture.

The unfortunate and much maligned monarch *Md. Bin Tughluq* was personally a man of poetic talent and an erudite scholar well versed in many subjects viz. medical science, logic, astronomy, mathematics. He knew the Koran and Hidayah by heart. He was an expert debater, calligraphist and a great innovator too. But his failure in political administration caused his failure in other fields also. He founded madrassahs in Delhi. But his decision to transfer the capital to Deogiri caused a desertion of Delhi. Although he retraced his steps, the brilliance of Delhi as the cultural capital of the Sultani Empire was never regained.

Feroz Shah Tughluq

A secular concept of monarchy and statecraft had been gaining ground from the days of Alauddin Khalji which was augmented by *Md. Bin Tughluq* who never submitted himself to the domination of mollahs. A theocratic reaction had set in during the last days of *Md. Tughluq*. The unfortunate failure of that Sultan in his experiments and novelties and the agonies they caused to the peoples and nobles as well as towns and villages enabled the nobility and the Moulvis to dictate terms to Muhammad's successor *Feruz Shah Tughluq*. In fact, *Md. Thghluq* died amidst rebellions in different corners of the empire.

Feruz Tughluq had to fight on two fronts. On the one hand he employed his energy in the suppression of rebellions, and on the other hand he adopted and implemented a policy of pacification. The position of the religious leaders became stronger. Obviously, Feroz's policy of appeasement seemed sometimes to have been communally biased.

Feroz Shah Tughluq hastened to make good the loss. It is on record that he spent thirtysix lakh rupees in the form of pensions to rehabilitate the men of learning who had suffered strains during his predecessor's rule. A royal decree was issued for the repair of schools and thirty new high schools were built. He repaired a school building which had been founded by *Iltutmish*.

As a man, Feroz had a human attitude. He was warm hearted and less whimsical. He had a satisfactory literary education and authored the *Fatuhati Feroz Shahi*. He, however, had no love's labour for the decadent Delhi. He built up Ferozabad as a substitute and made it a cultural centre. Other educational centres were also built, one of which was Jaunpur.

Feroz Shah had a high regard for men of learning. He is said to have built 3 Palaces known as (1) Palace of Grapes, (2) Palace of wooden gallery and (3) Palace of Public court. In the Palace of Grapes he held learned assemblies and gave audience to men of letters. He was particularly fond of historians. *Ziauddin Barani* and *Siraj Afif* were men of his court. Bountiful and liberal as he was, Feroz patronized and granted pensions to learned men of the time. He initiated excellent regulations to encourage learning and endowed land for the maintenance of colleges. Learned men were encouraged to work in different parts of his dominions. *Jalaluddin Rumi* adorned this period as a teacher and poet.

Among Feroz's development works was the construction of schools. *Ferishta* and *Fujan Rai Khatri* list out 30 such schools, while *Abdul Baqi* enlists 50 and *Fakir Mahammad* speaks of 40. Most famous of these was the residential *Madrasah-i-Firuz Shahi*. For each of these colleges the monarch granted land for maintenance. Feroz himself says, "I built many mosques, colleges and monasteries that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy might worship god in these edifices."

Although characterised by some historians as a bigot, Feroz Tughluq showed great interest in all sorts of learning. The Sultan destroyed the Jawalamukhi temple at Nagarkot, yet he had ordered pandits to decipher 1300 manuscripts seized therefrom. By the application of great engineering skill he had 2 monolithic Asokan pillars brought from Topra in Ambala and from Meerut, and these were re-erected at Delhi. He is known to have appointed pundits for deciphering and explaining the Asokan script thereon. One Pillar is still there at Feroz Shah Kotlah. In spite of the so called bigotry of the Sultan, it is to be noted that during this period Hindus began to culture Persian in right earnest, just as Muslim scholars began to culture Sanskrit literature.

Feroz's building and constructive activities led to the discovery of fossils in the Sivaliks. His love of ingenuity found expression in the construction of Tasi Ghoryal i. e. water clock.

Slavery, however, reached a high point in this period. The Sultan owned as many as 18000 slaves. This was symbolic of an extreme form of feudal society and degraded feudal values. Yet, it must be said in Feroz's favour that he educated his slaves in the art of reading, memorising the Koran and copying books. He also provided vocational training in mechanical arts and placed as many as 12000 slaves in apprenticeship.

Feroz Tughluq had to embark upon a few military expeditions to suppress rebellions. His failure in this respect is on record particularly in Western India, in the Deccan and in Bengal. With the exception of these expeditions, particularly in the early part of his reign, he did not embark upon expansion of Empire by new conquests. His reign on the whole was a period of peace. This peace, however, was not unproductive. The energy of the monarch and the machinery of the state was employed in welfare, educational and cultural activities. Emperor Asoka's Dharma Vijoy had glorified India. Sultan Feroz Tughluq's patronage to learning glorified his age and created a heritage for future generations. It is not improper to say, "If peace hath her victories no less than war, Feroz Tughluq stands in the fore fronts of the Mahammedan rulers of India, anticipating in many ways the crowning work of Akbar."

Although the predatory raid and destruction caused by Tamer

Lane destroyed much of the educational edifice built by the Delhi Sultanate, the position was not wholly lost. Even in the phase of decline, Badaun and Cuttair acquired fame as centres of learning under the patronage of the *Sayees*, particularly Sayeed Alauddin and supplemented the work of Delhi and Ferozabad. Bahlul Lodi of the Lodi dynasty was an enlightened patron of learning. The last attempt at continuation of tradition was made by *Sikandar Lodi* who was himself a poet and composed 8000 couplets. He rewarded men of letters and built colleges. He wanted all his employees to be lettered. His capital city of Agra built by Bahlul Lodi became the centre of gravity and received learned men from all parts of India and abroad. The Sultan attended meetings of the elite, particularly the lectures of Sheikh Abdulla, a learned Sufi from Persia. Urdu was now firmly established as a common language for Turks, Persians, Afghans and Indian Hindus. Hindus now attended Muslim Madrasahs and acquired mastery of Persian. Translations of various types of books were extensively patronised. A positive intercourse between Islamic and Hindu cultures and education became a practice of the day. Under the Lodis, Agra acquired fame as centre where flocked learned men from Arabia, Persia, Central Asia. Jaunpur also raised its head.

Role of the Regional Kingdoms

If Delhi had patronised learning, could the provincial rulers lag behind? In fact, the provincial rulers were no less patrons.

When the Delhi Empire declined and regional kingdoms reared their heads, these lesser sultans helped the cause of education as best as they could.

Gulbarga, Bidar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Jaunpur and other places acquired fame as centres of learning.

Bahmani kingdom : *Sultan Hasan Gangu*, founder of the Bahmani kingdom was skilled in Persian. He had his sons educated. The courses of study included Theology, Rhetoric and Euclid. Bahmani Sultan *Hassan Muhammad Shah* was a poet, proficient in Arabic and Persian. He was also a great patron of learning. He founded a big Madrasah for orphans and also other schools in Gulbargah, Bidar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Dabul etc. The people gave him the title of Aristotle. The same was the case with *Firuz Shah Bahmani* who is said to have been more erudite than Md. Bin Tughluq

Well versed in many languages he could easily converse in Rajasthani, Telegu, Marathi, Bengali, Hebrew etc. He was also well-acquainted with the sciences, particularly natural philosophy. He heard lectures on Botany, Geometry, Logic and Astronomy. He constructed an observatory near Daulatabad. Keeping company of poets, reciters of history and readers of Shah Namah was a hobby with him. He was of opinion that kings should draw around them the most learned men who might help them with advice and example. It is said that every year he sent out ships from the ports of Goa and Chaul to invite and import from abroad celebrated men of learning to his court. He opened schools and colleges for free education.

Sultan Ahmed Shah followed in the footsteps of Firuz Shah and built a magnificent college near Gulbargah. *Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani II* is said to have been second only to Feroz Shah in learning. The Bahmani library at Ahmadnagar was a testimony to the achievements of the period.

The Bahmani tradition continued in the five smaller sultanates which arose out of the ashes of the Bahmani Dominions. *Bijapur* could be proud even of the remnants of an old college endowed by the Chalukyas of Kalyan and the Yadavas of Deogiri. *Sultan Adil Shah* of Bijapur used to write prose and verse. He had a taste for music and was an instrumentalist himself. He invited Ulama's from Persia, Turkistan and Rum. *Ismail Adil Shah, Ibrahim Adil Shah and also Yusuf Adil Shah* were great patrons of learning. From the days of these latter sultans, the public accounts were kept in Hindi, and Brahmins were appointed to important positions in the revenue and accounts departments. The Adil Shahi library at Bijapur was a glory of the time.

Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and *Sultan Nasir Khan of Khandesh* kept up the tradition of education, the latter having established a famous Madrasah at Daulatabad.

Golconda did not lag behind. *Mad. Quli Qutb Shah* was a great patron of learning. The Chahar Minar at Hyderabad housed a college with apartments for professors and students. He established other colleges and seminaries. Many primary schools were conducted in the houses of teachers.

Noblemen of the imperial and provincial courts emulated the

examples of the sovereigns. Mahmud Gawan, minister of Muhammad Shah of Bidar excelled in this respect. He was very learned and skilled in prose and verse writing, and in Mathematics. Very few learned men of his time were left out of his scheme of financial help or pension. He introduced an attempt to educate orphans. Even today there are many remains of his work, particularly his college at Bidar. The college had an attached library with 3600 volumes. It is said that Mahmud Gawan had a collection of 35000 books in his own house.

To the north of the Deccan, *Malwa under Sultan Md. Khilji* became a great resort of literary men from various countries. Firishta says that Malwa could stand a fair comparison with Shiraj and Samarqond. There was a big college at Mandu. *Sultan Ghiyasuddin* provided for education in the harem under school mistresses. Mention must also be made of *Baz Bahadur*, a contemporary of Akbar.

In further north, Sindh, Gujrat, Kashmir and Multan contributed as best as they could to the educational tradition. *Hussain Langa of Multan* and *Sikander Shah*, *Zainul Abedin* and *Hussain Shah of Kashmir* were unhesitating patrons of learning. *Nasirddin Qubaicha of Sind* was a patron of learning.

In eastern India, *Jaunpur* shone in lustre. *Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi* was a famous patron of learning. Close associates of the sultan were Qazi Sahabuddin Daulatabadi, Maulana Sk. Iladad Jaunpuri, Hasan Naqsi, Ali Ahmed Nisani etc. In fact, the foundation of Jaunpur's greatness was laid by emperor Feroz Tughluq. It is said that, "During *Ibrahim Shah's reign* the court of Jaunpur far outshone that of Delhi, and was the resort of all learned men of the East." Bibi Raji's college at Namazgah was a big institution. To this university city students came from different parts of India, particularly Oudh and Allahabad. There were innumerable madrasahs maintained by the Grant of Jagirs. Most of the colleges of Jaunpur were, however, *destroyed by Sultan Sikandar Lodi* after his conquest of Jaunpur.

The glory was partially regained during the reigns of Mughal Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Imperial officers sent educational reports to the emperors on the basis of which Grants were made. Princes and Amirs paid visits to Jaunpur and made donations.

The confiscation of Jagirs led to the decline of Jaunpur which was once called Shirajihind. Yet, there were 20 famous schools at Jaunpur even in early 18th century.

Sultan Jalaluddin of Hinawr was another great patron. Ibn Batuta found 23 girls' schools of high standard in his capital.

Last comes the question of Bengal. *Sultan Ghiyasuddin* established a college at Lucknauti. *Raja Ganes* provided pensions for learned men. *Sultan Nasir Shah* was a patron of Bengali literature.

Poet Vidyapati had a great patron in Sultan Nasir Shah. The names of Nasir Shah, Ghiyasuddin II, Yusuf Shah, Hussain Shah have been written in indelible ink in the cultural history of Bengal. Ghiyasuddin II made liberal grants and stipends to literary men. The *Ilyas Shahi* and *Hussain Shahi Sultans* of Bengal laid the foundation of the Bengali culture with its composite nature. Hussain Shah, patron of Maladhar Basu of Bhagavat Purana fame founded a college in memory of Qutbul Alam. The Sagar Dighi Madrasah at Gour also stood to his credit. There were many more schools in his dominions and unconventional domestic teaching was extensive. An inscription of this sultan reads, "search after knowledge and if it were in China."

The nobles did not lag behind in their encouragement to letters. Inspired nobles like *Paragal Khan* and *Chhoti Khan* served the cause of Bengali language and literature by patronising literary personnel.

This tradition continued till the middle of the 18th century. Nowabs Murshid Quli, Alivardi, Mir Kasim helped the cause of education as best as they could. Nobles of the time, like Asadullah, Zaminder of Birbhum, also extended all possible help to educational enterprises.

The total effect of these varied efforts was mighty. Apart from the older centres of learning at Delhi, Ferozabad and Agra, new centres now developed at Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Malwa, Khandesh, Jaunpur, Badaun, Sahali (near Lucknow), Allahabad, Ajmere, Multan, Ahmedabad, Patna, Khairabad and Gour. Madrasahs and Maktavs were innumerable.

Higher learning in India was not inferior to that at Bokhara, Samarkhand, Baghdad, Cairo or Damascus. The status and reputation of the centres, however, varied from one another. Jaunpur, which rose to fame under the patronage of *Ibrahim Sharqi* was known as

Centres of
learning

Shiraz of India. *Sher Shah* studied here and attained considerable mastery of Arabic, History and Philosophy. He was fond of poetry, particularly the poems of Sadi. There were recognised grades of teachers. Different centres offered specialisation in different branches of learning. Panjab, for example, was famous for studies in Astronomy and Mathematics, Delhi for Islamic traditions, Rampur for Logic and Medicine, and Lucknow for Theology.

Whatever the excellence of higher learning, it was confined to the minority. The royalty and the nobility patronised education of the upper classes. It was higher education catered through the Madrasahs.

Some of them acquired university status. Moreo-
 Elementary higher education had close connection with theolo-
 Education logical dogma. It was education for the Ulamas. The masses did not gain much from this system. They had to provide for themselves. Private enterprise flourished in the field of elementary education. The *Maktav* was the school of the people. True to the dictates of Hadith, the faithful Muslims were guided by the principle of Zakat. The village *Maktab* owed its existence to such popular benefaction. The richer villagers considered themselves gratified if they could provide for board and lodging of scholars, both teachers and students.

There was also an unconventional domestic system of education. Richer people employed *Ustads* for indoor tuition in arts and music. Training in craftsmanship was occupational in nature and was conducted in the family unit.

Noteworthy Features

A few things in relation to mediaeval education ought to be particularly remembered.

1. Education in the Turko-Afghan era had started with a strong theological flavour. But gradually a secular trend became evident. The State was not theocratic as is sometimes construed. Alauddin Khalji's military despotism had affected Hindus and Muslims alike. Freedom of the State from Mollah influences developed thereafter with the exception of the reign of a few monarchs like Feroz Tughluq. This trend helped the survival and reassertion of Hindu learning.

2. As against Sultani patronage to Islamic learning, the Hindu monarchs of mediaeval India developed a new enthusiasm to patronise

Hindu learning. The kings of Vejoynagar and the Rajput Princes showed particular keenness in this respect. Local centres continued to exist, and in some cases flourished with vigour as was the case with Mithila and subsequently Nadia.

3. The decline of the Delhi Sultanate from the 14th to the early 16th century led to the growth of regional kingdoms. The local princes had to rally local support to hold against the onslaught of Delhi. They had therefore to foster local interest and local unity. Provincial culture patterns got fast integrated. For our Gujrati Culture', 'Marathi Culture', 'Bengali Culture' or the like, we owe a great debt to this mediaeval period of history.

4. While the regional languages and cultural patterns got fast demarcated from one another, the mediaeval period also offered some bonds of linguistic unity. The vernaculars became local languages for Hindus and Muslims alike. Parallel with it was the establishment of Urdu and Persian as all India languages for both the communities. Arabic was the language for theological instruction. Obviously it was used more in the institutions of higher learning. But Persian was mostly used in administration. Hence non-Muslims began to master this language. Muslims on the other hand found cultural interest in the study of Sanskrit. Most remarkable, however, was the development of Urdu. The origin of this 'Fouzi' language (camp language) was utilitarian in as much as it was eclectic in form and content, combining Arabic, Persian and Hindi in script, grammar and terminology to facilitate communication between peoples of different racial origins but belonging to a single military organisation. Yet, very fast it acquired a literary malleability. Some of the local Muslim princes particularly patronised Urdu as a matter of principle.

5. As in the case of Hindu education, Islamic education in India was structured in accordance with socio-economic classification. Education patronised by the court and nobility was higher education catered for the few through the Madrasah. Education of the masses was sustained by themselves through the Maktab.

6. Lastly we must refer to the movement for cultural synthesis in the later mediaeval phase. For more than the first hundred years of their rule, the Turko-Afghan Sultans had considered themselves

simply as alien conquerors and rulers. Their cultural and spiritual tie with Central Asia was unsevered. Their link with the life of the Indian masses was insignificant. Court-patronised culture could not be the culture of the subjects. But gradually the link with Central Asia was severed. Generations of rulers born thereafter in India considered themselves as Indians. Obviously, Islamic culture began to be merged with Hindu culture. The two culture-patterns came closer, interacted and led to cultural synthesis. This trend began to grow particularly from the Lodi era. Sher Shah gave it an impetus and the climax was attained during Akbar. This synthetic movement led to the preachings of Nanak and Kabir and the unprecedented growth of Sufism and Vaishnavism. The synthetic cultural trend was most potent in Bengal where the Ilyas Shahi and Hussain Shahi dynasties directly or indirectly fostered the cause of interdependence. The like happened in Gujrat, Malwa, Jaunpur and Kashmir. A favourable soil was thus prepared for Akbar's eclecticism.

CHAPTER II

Education Under Mughal Badshahi

Erskine says a lot in praise of *Jahiruddin Babur*, the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India and an accomplished scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turki. He was also expert in literary criticism. A

Babur poet from early years, he was the author of a collection of Turki poems many of which were incorporated in his famous "Memoirs". Abul Fazl also mentions of his Persian composition. Mirza Md. Haider says Babur invented a style of verse called "Mubaiyan". The works of Khawaja Ahrar were transcribed by him into poetic form. Babur was also a fastidious critic. He composed a book on Prosody entitled 'Mufasssal' and authored some other small books as also a treatise on Jurisprudence. He had skill in music on which he wrote a treatise in 1504 A. D. Babur initiated a form of a hand-writing—'the Baburi hand' and wrote a copy of the Koran in that script. He later sent it to Mecca. Fond of books as he was, Babur imprisoned Ghazi Khan of Panjab on a charge of treachery and took possession of Ghazi Khan's library, but expressed dissatisfaction with the standard of books. He was also a lover of painting and had brought with him to India the best collections from his ancestral (Timuride) library. He embellished his 'Memoirs' with multicoloured paintings.

Lane Poole says that prior to 5 years of age Babur received education within the family. From 5 to 11 years of his age, Babur was educated at Samarkhand and made remarkable attainments in languages. It is known that Sk. Mazid was his tutor. In his mature days he frequently held parties with poets. A man of jovial temperament, he personally recited extempore verses in Turkish and Persian. The literary men who came in contact with him received handsome rewards and encouragement. Many of them stayed on at the royal court. In fact, his court was adorned by Sks Zain Khwafi, Khundmir, Maulana Sahabuddin and Mirza Ibrahim (of Herat), the latter having accompanied Babur in his campaigns and also Humayun to Gujrat. He was the author of 'Qanun-i-Humayun'. Babur had an astronomical table prepared for him. Most interesting, however, is that Babur's

'Shuhraat-i-am' (Public Works Department) was entrusted with the duty of publishing a Gazette and building schools and colleges. That education received the attention of the Govt. appears true from the fact that looking after educational institutions was included as an item of duty of a State department.

Babur's son and successor *Humayun* followed up the tradition of his father. He had his maktav ceremony at 4 years 4 months 4 days of age and placed under tutors. He loved the study of Astronomy and Geography, wrote a dissertation on the nature of elements and constructed terrestrial and celestial globes for his own use. He was fond of the company of learned men and poets, and used to discuss literary subjects with them. Fond of poetry, as he was, he himself composed verses. Abul Fazl in 'Akbar Namah' says that he combined the energy of Alexander and the learning of Aristotle. He introduced Astronomy, Mathematics and Geography in the Madrasahs.

Humayun was fond of magnificence. It is said in Humayun Namah that he classified the people of worth into three major categories—

(i) The holy men, the literati, the law officers and scientists formed one category known as Ahli-Saadat. Association with such men was supposed to bring eternal prosperity. (ii) The relations of the monarch, the nobles, the ministers and military personnel formed another category known as Ahli-Daulat (eternal prosperity) (wealth) because no wealth could be attained without them. (iii) The third category was formed of musicians and artists, known as Ahli-Murad i.e. people of pleasure. The Badshah divided the days of the week for meetings with these categories. Saturday (the day of Saturn) and Thursday (the day of Jupiter) were allotted to Ahli-Saadat because those planets are supposed to be protectors and preservers respectively. Sunday (the day of the Sun) and Tuesday (day of Mars) were fixed for Ahli-Daulat, because they determined the fate of rulers and patronised warriors respectively. Monday and Wednesday were set apart for Ahli-Murad, because on these days of the Moon and the Mercury respectively the king might enjoy the pleasure of delightful music. On Friday, the Jamiat day, the Emperor met all the classes together.

Firishta says that Humayun built seven halls of audience named

after the planets where he received distinctive classes of persons one day in a week by turns. The hall dedicated to the Moon was used for the reception of travellers, ambassadors etc. The Civil officers were given audience in the Mercury hall. The learned men were received in the Saturn and Jupiter halls.

Humayun designated the value of different grades of persons by twelve arrows, the lowest being made of base material and the highest (the 12th arrow) being made of pure gold. In the hierarchy of valuation, the 12th arrow stood for the king, the 11th for the king's relations and the 10th for the learned and the religious. Each arrow again was standardised in 3 grades—the highest, the middle and the lowest. It is evident that Emperor Humayun held learned men in very high esteem. His learned associates included Mir Abdul Latif Khundamir, Jauhar (author of the private *Memoris of Humayun*).

Humayun was fond of books. Even during military expeditions he carried a selective library with him. He had a history of Tamerlane in his possession. Baz Bahadur was his librarian. He transformed the Sher Mandal which had been built by Sher Shah as a pleasure house into a library where he is known to have met with his death. This building still stands near Sher Shah's mosque in Delhi's Purānā Qillah.

Humayun had been defeated and dethroned by Sher Shah and forced to live a life of exile in Persia, although he regained the throne subsequently. Had not the Emperor's career been chequered, mediaeval India might have more benefited from his educational munificence. In contrast to his educational inclination, his permanent contributions were insignificant. Yet he founded a Madrasah at Delhi where Sk. Husain was a professor. Private citizens also did a lot. Sheikh Zainuddin Khafi built a college at Chunar. A school was also built on the Jumna, opposite Agra. Subsequently Humayun's tomb also housed a Madrasah, evidence of which may be viewed in Delhi even to day.

Sher Shah's short lived rule was an interregnum in the dynastic rule of the Mughuls. Yet his educational contributions were not contrary to the spirit of the Mughul times. He rather paved the way for the greatness of Akbar. Personally, Sher Shah was well-educated at Jaunpur. He was fond of Philosophy, History, Biography and Poetry. He could reproduce

Sadi, Sikandar Namah, Gulistan and Bastan from memory. He learnt Arabic and studied grammatical works. He used to visit colleges and associate with learned men, and also built a Madrasah at Narnaul.

Contributions of Akbar

Placing reliance upon Goanese authority Noer says that Akbar, son and successor of Humayun, was illiterate. Tuzak-i-Jahangiri also mentions him as 'illiterate and entirely uneducated'. With some moderation Waqiat-Jahangiri says that he was 'not profoundly learned' although he understood the elegance of poetry and the essence of highly theoretical topics. But Abul Fazl says that Akbar had his initiation at 4 years and was placed under Maulana Azamuddin.

Controversy
about Akbar's
literacy

His next tutor was Bayazid. Lessons in military sciences were given by Munim Khan. Akbar was also coached by Pir Muhammad and Hazi Muhammad and Abdul Latif. Still others hold that Akbar was well read in History and could recite Hafiz. He caused a translation of 300 fables (with illustrations) of Mir Hamzah. He also communicated intimately with philosophers, sufis and historians.

In spite of the controversy about Akbar's acquaintance with letters, this is on record that he had regularly-paid 'readers' who read to him many works about a dozen of which were repeatedly read, particularly a few on history and science. At Fathpur Sikri he built the Ibadat khana with four halls—the Western hall for Sayyids, the Southern hall for Ulamas, the northern for Sheikhs and the eastern for noblemen and others. Here he held learned conferences on Fridays, Sundays and holy nights. Philosophers, Sufis, Historians, Masters of Science, as well as of ancient and modern history took part in these discussions on both spiritual and temporal subjects. The participants were amply rewarded with Ashrafis. The subjects of discussion included the sciences, history and theology. Akbar's eclectic attitude enabled Christians, Jews, Sufis, Jains, Buddhists, Ulamas and Pundits to expound their philosophies and theological doctrines. 'Padri' Rudolph of Goa was one of the Christian fathers to take part in discussions and was highly respected. The emperor asked Murad to learn a few lessons from the Bible and asked Abul Fazl to translate relevant portions of that scripture.

Eclecticism

Communal and racial toleration was a basic principle of Akbar's statecraft. His political policy of an integrated empire led not only to his famous matrimonial policy or religious policy, but also to a policy of literary and cultural intercourse. *He had* ^{Literary activities} *many books in Sanskrit or other languages translated into Persian or Hindi.* He ordered a translation of the *Mahabharata* in 1582 A. D. with commentaries. He explained his design to Nequib Khan and asked Abdul Qadir (author of *Tarikh-i-Badauni*) to help Naquib. Different parts were done by different men, and the collection with illustrations was named *Razm Namah*. Abdul Qadir completed (1589) the *Ramayana* in 4 years. Hazi Ibrahim Sarhindi did the *Atharva Veda* into Persian and Faizi did *Lilabati*. Mukammal Khan Gujrati completed the 'Tarak' (astronomy), and *History of Kashmir* was written in Sanskrit by Shah Md. Sahabadi. Similarly *Harivamsa* was rendered into Persian; 'Majmaul Buldan' (Geography) was done from Arabic to Persian by several scholars; the *Panchatantra* in Persian was named 'Kalila Damnah'. A Persian version of *Nal-Damayanti* was prepared after Layala Maznu model. Shah Namah and other verses were done into prose. Ulugh Khan's astronomical tables as also the works of Hindu astronomers were translated. Abul Fazl translated some portions of the Gospel. Babur's memoirs were translated from Turkish to Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan. *Tarikh-i-Affi* (1000 years history) was compiled. In fact, the Waqinavis was active in maintaining daily record of progress in these varied literary fields.

It was natural for Akbar, a lover of books, to organise a *grand library*. Some of his collections were kept in the Harem and others in outer apartments. The emperor acquired the library of Itimad Khan Gujrati. Faizi left a library of 4,600 volumes ^{Imperial library} which also vested in the emperor. Books were generally classified as Science and Histories and then further classified as (i) Poetry, medicine, astrology, music; (ii) Philology, Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Sufism; (iii) Commentaries, traditions, theology, law. Visitors to Agra Fort may still see the room where a library had been located.

Painting was elaborately used in books. 'Qissah-Hamzah' only had 1,400 paintings. All books like Changhiz Namah, Zaffar Namah

Iqbal Namah, Razm Namah, Ramayana, Nal-Damayanti, Kalila Damnah etc. were illustrated. Moreover, Akbar maintained a gallery of paintings for which he collected articles and held weekly evaluation. Remarkable painters of the time were Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi, Khawaja Samad, Mukund, Jagan and a dozen other Hindu and Muslim artists. In fact, Hindu painters outnumbered Muslim painters. Principal courtiers also had their portraits painted. There was no communal discrimination in patronage. Akbar also encouraged *Penmanship*. There were a dozen penmen at his court. The momentum of royal patronage made *Calligraphy* a part of the fine arts. During Akbar, more than half a dozen calligraphic models were current.

Akbar, a lover of the fine arts, could not but be a *patron of music*. He maintained numerous court musicians—Hindu, Irani, Turani, Kashmiri,—both men and women. The musicians were classified into 7 categories according to specialities, and one day of the week was allotted to each. Tansen, Haridas, Ramdas and more than a dozen Ustads adorned this period. There were more than a dozen noted instrumentalists on sar mandal, bin, flute, karana, tamburah, ghichak, rubab etc. Ancient Ragas and Raginis were revived and instruments cared for. Khyal and Dhrupad developed as eclectic music. There were different centres of music throughout the empire, particularly Gujrat and Kashmir. In fact, music in Akbar's days enjoyed noon-day splendour.

Akbar took great interest in the *education of the royal princes*,—his sons and grandsons. Prince Salim was placed under Qutbuddin Khan and Abdur Rahim Mirza. Prince Murad was coached by Faizi, Sharif Khan and Father Monsurat. Daniyal was placed under Sayyid Khan Chaghtai. A grandson of the Emperor was placed in the care of Abul Fazl and a Brahmin teacher. On the other hand Murad received lessons from Jesuit Fathers. Akbar was *not antagonistic to female education*. Although girls' education could not be extensive in the mediaeval days, private indoor coaching, including training in the fine arts, existed in the upper strata of society. Akbar himself encouraged education of the harem girls for which he built a Zenana school in the fort-palace at Sikri.

The Great Emperor was also an *experimenter, innovator and improver*. His famous experiment on language learning is on record and is widely known. Confronted with the claim of different representatives of religions that the first language uttered by the child was the language of their respective dogma, Akbar decided to conduct an experiment. There are varying reports about the details of the experimental procedure left by Badauni and Manucci or conclusions drawn therefrom by Father Catrou. Yet, the essence comes out that the Emperor had a group of new borns reared up in complete seclusion by dumb nurses, and it was discovered that the infants developed no language ability. Leaving aside the question of cruelty involved in the experiment, it resembled the present psychological experiments with controlled and experimental groups. The definite finding was that language ability is a contribution of environmental stimulation and scope of communication, and the child is not pre-ordained with any language-skill.

Akbar's innovation in the *method of language learning* is also worth mentioning. As against the Persian method of reading followed by writing, he championed the traditional Indian method of writing followed by reading as more economic and sure. The time-allotment was also decreed, viz 2 days for learning alphabets with accent and pronunciation, one week for combination of letters, then directed reading of short prose or verse with religious or moral lessons with combinations of alphabets, and lastly self reading. Akbar also decreed four daily exercises—alphabets, combinations, new hemistich or distich and repetition of earlier lessons. The subjects were to be taught in the following order—Morality, Arithmetic, Accounts, Agriculture, Geometry, Astronomy, Economics, Political Science, Physics, Logic, Natural Philosophy, Abstract Mathematics, Divinity and History.

The *essence of his reforms* may be summed up as—

(a) Quicker methods, (b) writing to precede reading, (c) emphasis upon meaning of words instead of mechanical rote, (d) pupils must understand by self-learning while the teacher should help when required, (e) revision of former lessons, (f) non-insistence upon many books without rational understanding, (g) practical knowledge and preponderance of science subjects. (h) encouragement to mechanical

arts. It was declared that "No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires". In fact, the reforms are favourably comparable with our modern educational concepts.

Akbar's epoch was marked by the growth of an *extensive system of education through schools and colleges*. The emperor erected many new colleges. A big college at Fathpur Sikri and several other madrasahs in the city were founded at Akbar's instance. There was another big college at Agra where Akbar engaged famous philosophers from Shiraj. There were professors from Shiraj in other colleges of Agra too. All colleges, however, were not residential. Learned men coached at home at Post Graduate standard as Mir Ali Beg did. Like Feruz Shah Tughlug, Akbar also rewarded inventions and mechanical improvements. Music, painting, arts and industries were taught in private coaching.

Educational efforts of *private individuals*—the nobles and the wealthy middle classes were not lacking. The Madrasah of Akbar's foster mother Moham Anaga near Purana Kilah of Delhi was famous. Also remarkable was the college of Khawaja Muin. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (son of Bairam Khan) was a great scholar in Persian, Turkish, Hindi and Arabic. He had a library of his own. Many pupils sought his personal tuition. His son Mirza Iraj was also a great scholar.

Guided by the principles of Sufism, toleration and eclecticism, Akbar not only encouraged literary translations, but also the education of Hindus and Muslims alike. In fact, Hindus and Muslims during his days studied in the same schools. Hindus freely studied Vyakarana, Vedanta and Patanjali. The Emperor had decreed "education according to views of life and learner's circumstances." Abul Fazl records, "These regulations gave a new form to schools and made the colleges lights and ornament of the Empire." In fact, Akbar's patronage to learning spread far and wide. Tabaquat-i-Akbari lists 95 names who received imperial patronage. There was no religious discrimination in the appointment of teachers or in making endowments. Kashmiri Pundits tasted of his liberality. The centre of Hindu learning at Mithila received royal patronage. In fact Akbar's

educational reward founded the Zamindari house of Darbhanga. Madhabacharya of Triveni speaks highly of Akbar in Chandi Mangal.

The sum total of official and private encouragement led to a grand development of schools and colleges. Abul Fazl records, "All civilised nations have schools for the education of youths, but Hindustan is particularly famous for its seminaries."

In conclusion we must say that qualified with taste, Akbar had combined wealth and learning. His reign witnessed an abundance of literary men. The Emperor not only associated with learned men, but also bestowed lavish patronage in the form of pensions, stipends, rewards for personal encouragement, and endowments and grants for educational institutions. Guided by his principle of toleration and integrated empire, Akbar tried to identify with the people with a new attitude towards Hindu culture and learning by encouraging Ibadatkhana deliberations, translation of Sanskrit works, state patronage to qualified Hindus as well as by generous provision for Hindu youths to pursue their own culture even in Madrasah. His bounty was not limited to formal education only, but spread out to literature, fine arts, mechanical crafts, architecture and even pedagogy. Perhaps we may not call him an 'Educationist' or a 'Great Educator' in the modern scientific connotation of the terms, but we may unequivocally say that Akbar the Great in his imperial glory was also *Great as a patron of and contributor to education*. In fact, the glory of mediaeval Indian education reached its zenith in the days of Akbar the Great.

Akbar's Successors

Jahangir, son and successor of Akbar had been under great tutors. He had his initiation ceremony under Qutbuddin Md. Khan and had a great tutor in Abdul Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian and Turkish which enabled him to read Babur's Memoirs in original and to copy 4 chapters missing from the same. He was interested

Jahangir in History, and also wrote his own memoir. After accession, he had the dilapidated Madrasahs repaired. He repaired even such schools as "had been dwelling places of birds and beasts for 30 years, and filled them with students and teachers". Agra continued to be in a state of glory. Jahangir was a great lover of books and paintings. He collected books even at a high cost. Muktab Khan

was his librarian and keeper of picture-gallery. In fact, Mughul painting reached its zenith during Jahangir. Farrukh Beg, Mansur and Abul Hasan were famous painters who introduced a new style. Thomas Roe is known to have received the present of a picture. Jahangir Namah was ornamented with paintings of animal forms. Musicians continued to be patronised. Learned men including Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Muhammad Khan, Naqib Khan and Nimatullah adorned Jahangir's court. The splendour of architecture can still be assessed from Akbar's Musoleum at Sikandra and the tomb of Itamat-ud-daulah at Agra. On Friday, the emperor conferred with learned men, darweshas and recluses. Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri gives 17 names of learned men and 10 names of poets and 6 names of singers contemporary to Jahangir. The emperor is also known to have issued a famous regulation that the wealth of rich men or travellers dying without heirs, would escheat to the crown for use in establishing Madrasahs and monasteries.

Jahangir's son and successor *Shah Jahan* is better known for magnificence. But he did nothing to undo the work of his predecessors. He rather followed Akbar's footsteps. Schools still existed in a flourishing condition and rich endowments were continued.

Shah Jahan founded the Imperial College at Delhi near Jam-i-Masjid. He also repaired and revived the college named Dar-ul-Baqā (abode of eternity) and appointed Kazi Sadruddin Khan as its director. Shah Jahan also liked books on travel, biographies, histories (specially Life of Timur and Babur's Memoir) and set apart some time at night for private study. He was a great patron of music and himself sang well. He patronised Ramdas and Mahapattars. Painting received his encouragement and Md. Nadir Samarqandi introduced a pattern different from the Akbari style. Shah Jahan also ordered the writing of Padshah Namah by Mahammad Amin-i-Qazwini and encouraged learned men by rewards and stipends. Architecture was, however, a special contribution of Shah Jahan. Till date we take pride in his creations.

In Shah Jahan's days Govt. schools were founded at Agra and Delhi. Princess Jahanara founded a college at Agra. Lahore, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Sirhind, Ambala etc. flourished as centres of learning.

Shah Jahan's eldest son *Dara Shukoh* mastered Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He translated Sanskrit works into Persian. Dara leaned towards Brahmins, Sannyasis and Yogis as well as Hindu philosophy. The Vedas inspired him. He collected Brahmins to translate them, and had the word 'Prabhu' engraved on his ring. Dara, a voluminous writer was the author of—(i) *Sirr-ul-Asraa* (Secret of Secrets), a Persian translation of the Upanishads, (ii) *Translations of Bhagwat Gita* and *Yogavasistha Ramayana*, (iii) *Biography of Saint Nizamuddin Auliya*, (iv) *An account of conversation between himself and Baba Lal Das* on the life and doctrines of Hindu ascetics. In fact, Dara was a disciple of Sufi Mullah Shah and found the source of Pantheism in the Vedas and Upanishadas. He wrote three works on Sufism.

Had Dara Shukoh who followed in the wake of Akbar succeeded Shah Jahan, the history of culture and education in the succeeding days might be written in a different vein. But that was not to be. Akbar's eclecticism and toleration could not attain permanency. Communal reaction had begun to rear its head even in the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Dara was partly its victim. And Aurangzeb completely turned the table.

Aurangzeb alone, however is not to blame. An observation of the renowned traveller Bernier is worth noting—"A gross and profound ignorance reigns in those states, for how is it possible there should be academies and colleges well founded? Where are those founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study?"

These remarks about Shah Jahan's time, even if partly true, shows that decadence had set in, educational endowments were drying out and poverty stricken men could not provide for their children's schooling.

Aurangzeb's Anti-Climax

Shah Jahan's son and successor *Aurangzeb* cared very little for the promotion of Hindu learning. His political and administrative principles got mixed up with his educational policy. In fact, in 1669 he ordered provincial governors to destroy the Hindu schools and to put down their teachings. But, at the same time he fostered Islamic learning and caused its spread. He appointed professors throughout his dominions. He ordered that all Muslim students of certain grades were to be given pecuniary help from the treasury. Stipends were given to students in proportion to their progress in education. He also took steps to educate the Bohras of Gujrat for which he appointed teachers who were to hold monthly examinations and send reports thereon to the Emperor. He ordered the appointment of 3 extra professors at Ahmadabad, Surat and Patna and added the names of 45 more students to the list of recipients of stipends. Aurangzeb repaired a Madrasah at Gujrat and helped a college at Ahmadabad with the grant of a Jagir-village. In fact, he founded numberless schools and colleges. He also confiscated the Dutch buildings at Faringhee Mahal in Lucknow and used them as an educational institution. In spite of his communal bend, even Aurangzeb could not but confer with and show respect to renowned Hindu scholars of the time. Private individuals emulated the monarch in starting colleges. Sialkot became a great seat of Muslim learning. Maulana Abdullah taught here in a school. Paper was produced in this region and used here. But painting, music and poetry languished in his reign.

Aurangzeb provided for princely education in the harem under eunuchs. Manucci says that the princes were first taught to read and write Tatar, their mother tongue. Subsequently tutors gave lessons in military exercises, principles of equity, jurisprudence, religion and welfare of the nation. The teachers also regulated the amusements of the princes. Aurangzeb himself was well educated. His first teacher was Sadullah Khan and another was Mir Muhammed Hashim. He got the Koran-Hadis by heart, read and wrote Arabic and Persian, mastered the Chaghtai Turki. During fixed hours of the day he read and copied the Koran and used to sell the copies. He augmented the collection of the Imperial Library by adding theosophical books. He

was particularly interested in law, and caused a compilation—'Fatwa-i-Alamgiri'. He read with interest theological commentaries and Iman Mahammad Ghazzali's works.

Although Aurangzeb had a bias towards religious works, he was not satisfied with his own learning as is evident from the Mulla Shah affair. When after Aurangzeb's accession to power his ex-teacher

Aurangzeb's curricular ideas Mulla Shah waited on him in expectation of rewards, the ex-student rebuked and sent him away. The teacher was chastised 'because he had taught only Arabic and not even the mother tongue well. Idle and foolish propositions had been taught in the name of Philosophy and that too in obscure and uncouth terms, dark and ambiguous jargons. No effective lesson had been given on the distinguishing features of nations, their resources and strength, modes of warfare, manners, religion, forms of Govt, history, origin of states, their progress and decline, events, accidents and errors etc. No comprehensive history of mankind had been taught, not even the languages of the surrounding kingdoms. The learning he received had been mere learning of words without comprehension and capacity of application. The only skill imparted was skill in law and grammar.' Thus Aurangzeb raised objection to pedantry and formalism.

As against this he wanted Philosophy to adapt the mind to reason, to elevate the soul, to fortify it with equanimity against assaults of fortune. He demanded First Principles. He wanted lessons in reciprocal duties of king and subjects, arts of war, history, geography, languages and such habits and thoughts as would fortify learner with capacity to face crises in life. The Mulla Shah incident, thus, throws interesting light upon the concept of higher educational curricula as distinct from formal theological and grammatical skill in the days of Aurangzeb inspite of the monarch's partisanship.

What ought to be read Inspite of their differences in outlooks, principles and extent of patronage, the Great Mughuls were, without exception, patrons of learning. There were many centres of learning, many colleges and Maktabas, and all Muslim boys were supposed to attend Maktabas. Hundreds of colleges existed upto the days of Shah Jahan. Yet it is interesting to

Criticism of Babur and Bernier

note Babur's comment, "Hindustan has no colleges." After years of Mughul rule, Bernier, a contemporary of Shah Jahan remarked that no founders, no scholars, no fee-paying parents and no encouragement could be found.

It is difficult to accept Babur and Bernier in toto, for schools existed during the Sultanate and during the Badshahi. Perhaps Babur had applied the standard for Samarkhand in making his assesment, as Bernier applied the standard of 17th century Europe. Yet, both the observations were partially correct. What Babur had seen was the decay and declination in the last days of the Sultanate. And in the days of Bernier, inspite of the outward grandeur of Shah Jahan's empire, Mughul decline had already started. The process was unchecked durning Aurangzeb after whom came the deluge.

The Days of late Mughuls : The Days of Decline

Remnants of court patronage continued for years after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A. D. Emperor Bahadur Shah was well educated and fond of the company of learned men. There are two instances of establishment of colleges during his reign, one by Ghaziuddin near the Ajmiri Gate of Delhi (closed in 1793 for want of funds), and the other by Khan Feroz Jung. A college was also established at Kanouj.

Muhammad Shah also showed some learning. Even during the turmoil of court cliques and Nadir Shah's invasion, there was impetus to the study of the sciences, particularly astronomy. Jai Singh's observatory 'Jantar Mantar' was built at Delhi. The charts made here were proved correct. The equatorial dial was of special interest. Observatories were built also at Jaipur, Ujjaini, Mathura and Banares. Nadir Shah's invasion, however, was a swansong and epilogue. The invader carried away the imperial library which was later sold in Persia at a ridiculously low price.

Even during Shah Alam II, the Imperial House tried to collect new books to reconstruct the library. Some Madrasahs were also founded as was one by Asafudaullah's minister Hasan Raza Khan. By the end of the 18th century, however, the whole edifice of education crumbled down together with the political system.

CHAPTER III

Some Remarkable Aspects of Mediaeval Education

Most of the Mughul Emperors were themselves educated. All the Great Mughuls were patrons of learning. The nobility of the day also helped the cause of education. But it was education of the upper classes. The tradition of elementary education had to sustain itself as best as it could.

Popular Education

Of course India's tradition in elementary education is also old. Although the Sutras and Manusamhita do not refer to mass elementary education, the Vaisyas had a system of teaching their youngsters. Knowledge of reading and writing had been fairly widespread before Manu. Writing was introduced by about 800 B.C. Works of 450 B.C. refer to a children's game named "Akkharika." Greek records of Nearchus and Quintus Curtius of the 4th century B.C. refer to writing, and Megasthenes refers to the use of milestones. Thus there was an ancient form of writing, although it had not acquired a literary status. It was more in vogue with the commercial classes. Mahavagga refers to lekha, ganana (arithmetic) and rupa (arithmetic for commercial and agricultural use). During the Buddhist period, there was elementary education outside the Sangh. The Hatigumpha inscription refers to Kharavela's learning the 3 Rs. Lalita Vistara and Jataka stories corroborate the prevalence of elementary education. It occurs in Sigalovada Sutta that it was the parents' duty to teach arts and sciences. It also elaborates the duties of teachers and pupils. The Asokan inscriptions stand testimony to the then existence of popular education. In fact, Mahayan Buddhism and Vaisnavism helped the expansion of education. The monasteries ultimately had to provide for secular elementary education of the laity.

All through the mediaeval period, elementary Persian schools were numerous. Subhankar's tables were composed sometime in this period. Muslim schools did a great deal for elementary mass education.

Mediaeval
ventures

Hindu vernacular schools were of several types viz.—

- (i) schools connected with temples, conducted by the village priest with deottar endowment. These were the common village Pathsalas ; (ii) schools patronised by Zamindars

and other magnates ; (iii) commercial schools under individual venture ; (iv) Mahajani schools where traders employed teachers for the education of their children. Teachers in these schools did not belong to one caste, and the office was not hereditary. It seems, therefore, that the village primary school was a later growth than the other aspects of Indian village life, particularly the stereotyped Varnasram.

Success and character of these schools depended upon the efficiency and ability of the teachers. But the teachers were mostly inefficient and narrow in their academic foundation. The aim was strictly utilitarian. Memorisation of rules and tables was emphasised. Teachers became subservient to patrons.

Nature of elementary schools

Yet there were hard-working and conscientious teachers with close connection with life outside school. They imparted useful knowledge without temptation to impose 'formal discipline'. Writing preceded reading. The system of writing on sand with finger (as in Montessori method) helped muscular conditioning. The schools were generally open to all comers. They met the popular demand for 3 Rs. and were used chiefly by trading and agricultural classes. The Pathshalas had Kayastha teachers. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, drafting of letters and commercial and agricultural accounting. Instruction was individual. The Monitorial System (which Andrew Bell introduced in England) helped both teacher and senior scholar.

There were 4 stages of instruction—(i) forming letters on the ground, which took 10 days ; (ii) palm leaf practice of lettering, writing and pronouncing compound consonants, combination of vowels and consonants ; (iii) attention to forms of letters, interconnection of words in sentences, literary and colloquial forms of speech, addition and subtraction, tables and measures, commercial and agricultural accounting ; (iv) composition of business letters, petitions and grants, reading the Ramayana, Manasa Mangal etc. Each school had its own time table. Generally, however, the schools sat in two sessions a day—from early morning to 9/10 O'clock and again from 3 P. M. to the evening. In Western India, the Pantoji collected the boys for attendance. In Southern India, the Pyal school resembled the Pathsala. The enrolment, however, scarcely exceeded a score in a school.

Instructional stages

Thus there existed throughout the middle ages a widespread system of elementary education, whatever its weaknesses. The primary schools existed parallel with Sanskrit schools. But there was no mutual dependence or interconnection. The Hindu primary schools were vernacular and commercial. The Sanskrit schools were pedantic and conventional. The Maktab was the sister of the Pathsala just as the Madrasah was the counterpart of the Tol. But there was a connection between Madrasah and Maktab, particularly in respect of languages. Urdu was the vernacular, not the medium of instruction. Persian was generally used as the medium of instruction. That is why Hindus also attended such schools. The Maktab used no printed books. Reading preceded writing. Penmanship, elementary Arabic and rote learning of a little of the Koran formed part of the curriculum. Like the Sanskrit school, the Madrasah curriculum was pedantic and theologically biased. Higher theological learning was mostly imparted in Arabic.

These types of schools maintained their existence inspite of socio-political upheavals. The account of indigenous education given by Rev. Adam as late as 1835 amply proves that in the earlier days of mediaeval history the school system had been far more extensive.

Curricula : The curriculum in the Maktab consisted of Kalima (article of Belief), some prescribed Suras of the Koran, usages and precepts as ordained by the Koran, 3 Rs, some selections from poems, legends of prophets and anecdotes of Saints. Persian was widely used. A Maktab was often attached to a mosque. The curriculum of the Pathsala was composed of the 3 Rs, drafting of letters and documents, commercial and agricultural accounting etc.

The curriculum in the Madrasah consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Law, Fundamental doctrines of Islam, Natural Philosophy, translation of Ptolemy's Astronomy, Metaphysics. Some of the Madrasahs placed special emphasis upon theology and study of the Koran, while some others offered popular tales, poems (particularly Gulistan of Sadi) and even lessons in correspondence. Bias in the former case was theological. Medicine as a discipline was not widely offered. Akbar, however, favoured its inclusion. Yet, training in Hekimi was widespread outside the school system. In all cases, however, external observances of Islam were insisted upon. Higher

education was thus formal and scholastic and confined to the upper classes and the Ulama. The rote method of learning was also in vogue. The general medium was Persian, but Arabic was a compulsory subject. Higher theological instruction was imparted in Arabic. Higher education of the Hindus continued to be offered in the traditional pattern through the Tols and Chatuspathis. (Their curricular organisation was discussed in a previous chapter.) Whatever the shortcomings of the mediaeval system of higher education in India, as judged by our modern standards, there is no denying that the system was favourably comparable with education in the mediaeval universities of Europe.

(We may study Muslim Education and Hindu Education separately.)

A. Primary Education for Muslim Children

Islam upholds knowledge as the only way to the realisation of truth. The Prophet held education compulsory for the faithful men and women.

There were 3 types of schools—(1) Maktab and Madrasah, (2) Mosque and monastery, (3) Private houses. The mosques had attached schools supported by grants from the State or Landowners and nobles.

The primary school was the Maktab. Majority of Maktab were non-endowed. The Maktab accepted Day students as well as residential students under direct care and control of Moulvis. Khanqahs (shrines of saints) also served as schools. There was parallel domestic system of education. The house of every Mollah, Maulvi and Moulana offered board and lodging together with instruction. There are respectable names like that of Abdul Quader of Badauni who received domestic lessons from Meher Ali Beg. Allama Abul Fazl and Faizi are also known to have received lessons at the preceptor's house.

The village Maktab meant for the poor man had a system of tuition fees in kind. The curriculum consisted mainly of the 3 Rs. and a bit of the Quran. It was open to the Hindus. The state established and maintained orphanages. Instruction started with an initiation ceremony at 4 years, 4 months, 4 days of the child, known as Maktab ceremony or Bismillah Khani ceremony. The student had to repeat Surah-i-Iqra, a chapter of the Quran.

Richer people engaged private tutors. The common people desired

practical education, particularly leading to military career. During the Mughuls, there was a mushroom growth of Maktabas. There were no printed books. The child had to learn writing of alphabets and figures with finger on dust or wooden board, called Takti. School houses were rare, schools sat even under the shade of trees, the teacher being seated on mat.

Difficult words from the Quran were dictated and students learnt spelling and meaning. Emphasis was placed upon calligraphy. Grammar was considered as the gate to culture. Quranic texts particularly bearing upon the five compulsory prayers were specially read and recited. The aim of the Maktab was to equip the student for moral and mental development, for this world and thereafter.

After completion of the above noted stage, the students had to study Gulistan and Bustan of Firdausi and also Persian books, particularly Karima of Sadi. Multiplication tables were learnt by heart.

There was a mushroom growth of maktabas during the Mughuls. Schools had to run double shifts. Acceptance of tuition was still a "Gunah". The teachers provided free board and lodging for which they were supported by benefactors or the state. During Akbar, emphasis was placed upon the process of (1) Learning the Persian alphabet, (2) Combination of two letters, (3) Reading of sentence, (4) Reading with occasional help and (5) Repetitive lessons. Special emphasis was placed upon the practical side of the curriculum.

Punishment in the maktab consisted of caning, slapping, holding of ears by student or pulling of ears. Truants and delinquents were severely dealt with. Corporal punishment, which sometimes degenerated into cruelty was the order of the day. But there was no torture of examinations. Proficiency was judged by the teacher throughout the year. The degree was awarded according to the excellence of the student's performance in a particular branch of knowledge.

There are several opinions that—(1) Muslim education helped to erode caste divisions, (2) Muslim education helped conversion into Islam, (3) Muslim education helped cultural unity by facilitating exchange of cultures.

Muslim education did not enjoy a uniform fortune. Fluctuating patronage of the bosses on the one hand and poverty of the peasant masses on the other, caused neglect of mass education. Persian was the

court language during the Mughals. But Arabic as the language of the Quran was a school subject. Hindus took to the study of Persian. Raja Todar Mall even made it compulsory for Hindus. In course of time, the language barriers for Hindus was no more. But although Urdu had developed as a common language and a lingua franca for the whole of northern India, it was not used as a medium of instruction (neither during the Sultanate, nor during Mughal Badshahi).

B. Secondary and Higher Education for Muslim Youth

It is well known that Muslim Universities of Boghdad, Cairo, Cordova, Damascus, Nishapur had played a glorious role in the medieval days. This Islamic pattern differed from Brahmanic or Buddhistic Education that had been existent in India.

Institutions of secondary or higher education were Madrasahs, generally attached to mosques or to Tombs of saintly persons. Usually a madrasah contained numerous rooms to accomodate teachers and students. Very often, a particular madrasah specialised in a particular branch of learning. As a result, there was a constant migration of students. Unlike Hindu Pandits who had their Tols mainly in rural areas, the Muslim scholars worked mainly in urban areas, particularly imperial or provincial towns. As a result, Agra, Delhi, Ajmir, Lahore, Jaunpur, Ahmedabad and similar other towns flourished as seats of learning.

Role of the Sultans of Delhi as patrons of secondary and higher education may be noted.

1. Hasan Nizami says that Muhammad Ghori established a number of madrasahs at Ajmir.
2. Iltutmish established the first madrasah at Delhi.
3. Sultana Raziya established the Muizzi College at Delhi.
4. Ghiasuddin Balban founded the Madrasah-i-Nasiriya at Badaun.
5. Alauddin Khalji established a madrasah at Delhi.
6. Md. Bin Tughluq built a madrasah at Delhi,
7. Firuz Tughluq established Madrasahs in different parts of the empire, most important of them being Madrasah-i-Firuzshahi at Delhi. It had many lecture rooms, hostels and quarters for the principal and other teachers, as well as a mosque. The teacher's uniform consisted

of Syrian jubbah and Egyptian turban. Liberal grants were made by the state for this institution and its teachers and students.

8. Sikandar Lodi founded madrasahs at Mathura and Agra.

9. Sultan Ahmad Shah, founder of Ahmedabad, established Madrasahs in his domains,

10. Many madrasahs were established in the domains of the sultans of the Deccan. Madrasahs at Bijapur, Golkonda, Malwa, Khandesh, and Bidar were famous. The college at Bidar had a mighty library with thousands of books

11. Madrasahs were also founded at Multan, Jaunpur, Bengal.

12. Badshah Humayun established a madrasah at Delhi. Another big madrasah was later attached to his tomb.

13. Sher Shah built a madrasah at Narnaul.

14. Akbar built madrasahs at Fatehpur Sikri and Agra. His foster mother Moham Anaga built one at Delhi.

15. Jahangir and Shahjahan repaired old madrasahs and built new ones.

Courses of Study

Badauni threw penetrating light into the contents and courses of studies in higher education. He classified the subjects of study into two groups—

(i) Sciences (intellectual) viz. Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Astrology, Arithmetic, Mechanics.

(ii) Other subjects—requiring memory work.

Abul Fazl classified the subjects under three heads—

(i) Ilahi—dealing with divine sciences and theology.

(ii) Riyazi—Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Medicine etc.

(iii) Tabiqi—all physical sciences.

Courses of study in Muslim institutions consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Theology, Metaphysics, Literature, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine and Jurisprudence.

From a record of Arabic curriculum during the reign of Aurangzeb it is found that in addition to grammar, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy and logic, the student had to learn Quranic exigencies, Muslim Jurisprudence, Hadis, Science and Mathematics. The above noted subjects signify that education was mainly theological.

In the later Mughal period rational sciences dominated the courses,

with variation from place to place and from time to time. The general scheme was—

(i) Declination and Conjugation, (ii) Grammar and syntax, (iii) Logic, (iv) Philosophy, (v) Mathematics, (vi) Rhetoric, (vii) Jurisprudence, (viii) Dialectics, (ix) Traditions etc. Subsequent additions were (i) literature, (ii) obligations, (iii) disputations, (iv) principles of Hadis.

Emperor Akbar laid down the principle that "every one ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, rules of government, medicine, logic, physical science, history etc. Akbar further directed that in the schools of Sanskrit learning Vyakarana, Nyaya, Vedanta and Commentary of Patanjali should be taught. A secular bias was imparted to education and Hindu students were admitted to Madrasahs. During Shah Jahan medicine was made one of the subjects of study.

Subjects of Higher Studies were—

1. **Mathematics.** Akbar made it a compulsory subject. Distinguished Muslim mathematicians were— Khwaja Amiruddin, Fateullah, Hafiz Md. Khiyub. Physics and Chemistry were also studied. Metallurgy was also practised.

2. **Astronomy and Astrology.** The Mughul Harem was particularly interested in Astrology. Hindu Astrologers were famous. But there were also efficient Muslim Astrologers like Imam Abdul Muhammad, Mullah Farid Manajan etc.

3. **Medicine.** Akbar issued a firman in favour of instructions in medicine. Both Unani and Ayurvedic systems were practised. Muslim Hekims practised operations and inoculations. Veterinary science was also known. Treatment of elephant was in vogue. Ailing beasts were quarantined.

4. **Geography, Philosophy, History.** Many learned Muslims showed aptitude in writing history or chronology. Abul Fazl, Badauni, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khafi Khan, Ziauddin Barani were a few of them.

So far as Geography is concerned, it is known that Humayun possessed an extensive knowledge of Geography. In his Akbarnama. Abul Fazl included an account of Tibet. A Sanskrit Scholar Jagan mohon wrote Desavali Vivriti which included Geographical accounts of 56 countries.

But, Geography was given little importance in school curriculum. This is evident from the abuses hurled by Aurangzeb on his tutor.

Degrees : (a) Fazil was awarded for specialisation in logic and philosophy.

(b) Alim was awarded for specialisation in Theology.

(c) Qabil was awarded for specialisation in literature.

(d) Medals were awarded to the most brilliant and meritorious students.

5. Arts, Crafts and Technical Education. Artistic, vocational and technical knowledge was cultivated extensively. There were karkhanas. A system of apprenticeship prevailed. Domestic education within the family produced illustrious craftsmen.

Sultans like Alauddin Khalji, Firuz Tughlug, Sikandar Lodi etc encouraged technical education. Vocational training for slaves and prisoners of war was extensive.

Craftmanship reached a zenith during Mughul rule. During Akbar two imperial departments looked after vocational and technical training. Foreign travellers like Bernier, Thomas Roe etc left eloquent records of the excellence of Indian craftsmen in the production of aesthetic arts as well as things of daily use.

C. Primary Education for Hindu Children

Higher Sanskrit education in the Tols was intended mainly for the Brahmins although students were admitted from other upper castes. Elementary education was imparted in the Pathshala roughly for three years to children of the trading and agricultural classes.

Pathshalas existed in both villages and towns. Students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and elementary book-keeping. Teachers were mainly Kayasthas although there were teachers from other castes also. Age of students varied between five and sixteen. No additional lessons on morality were given. On the other hand knowledge of weights, measures and other utilitarian information was emphasised.

There were 4 stages of instruction—

(1) Children were taught to write letters on sand. (2) Tracing of letters written by teacher on palm leave. (3) The student had to

write and pronounce compound components. (3) Writing of complete sentences and understanding the difference between written and colloquial languages. Multiplication tables had to be committed to memory. Commercial and agricultural accounting was taught. (4) In the fourth stage there were lessons on advanced accountancy, composition of business letters, petition and deeds. Subhankar's rules were widely practised. Deciphering of complex handwriting was specially taught. Stories from the Epics were learnt.

The pathshala, sometimes sat in two shifts. Monitors played a vital role in assisting the teacher and preparing themselves as future teachers. Number of children in a class was generally $4/5$ and in no case above 15.

The elementary schools, were often known as Pyal schools, the name being drawn for the word Pyal, a raised platform on which the children sat. The teacher (pantoji) went round the village in the morning to collect his pupils. A similar system as in Bengal i.e. writing on sand, Kajan leave and ultimately using reed prevailed there.

Under Muslim rule, when Persian became the court language, Hindu children attended Persian schools conducted by Muslim teachers. In the Hindu schools writing was followed by reading while in Muslim schools the order was reverse. Some pathshalas were patronised by landowners and others by the commercial community. Some fees were also paid in kind or cash.

Education in the pathshala was not religious in nature although moral and religious instruction was imparted in the form of anecdotes. In some schools, some instruction in mythology was in vogue.

There is no denying that punishment was very severe, which could sometimes be cruel. Yet the pupils respected their teachers and did their personal errands. The village school master enjoyed a social prestige in as much as the poor villagers very often came to him in search of impersonal advice and personal solace. He was often a member of the panchayati tribunal and a common invitee in all social functions.

D. Higher Education for Hindu Youth

It was previously made clear that till the end of the ancient period, the content of Hindu higher learning basically meant Vedic studies. To some extent, this continued till the 13th century. Side by side,

Buddhist learning was provided through the Viharas of Kanchipura, Nalanda, Odantapuri, Somepur, Vikramsila etc. From 12th to 18th century, higher Hindu learning was concentrated mainly at Kashmir, Benaras, Mithila and Nadia.

Benaras had risen into prominence after the ruin of Taxila. Many teachers thronged to this place of pilgrimage and settled in different parts of the town or around it. They accepted students (to the maximum number of 12 to 15 each), who studied for 10 to 12 years at a stretch.

The main subjects of study in the different schools were Sanskrit language, Philosophy, Medicine, Astronomy, Geography (as it was understood in those days). Benaras attracted many pundits like Dharmadhikari, Sesa, Bhatt and Mouni. Kabir and Tulsidas created their literature here. Guru Nanak and Sri Chaitanya paid visits to this place. A princes' college was established here in the 16th century by Raja Jai Singh. The prestige of Benaras made Bernier compare mediaeval Benaras with Athens of ancient Greece.

Mithila and Nadia were discussed earlier and need not be repeated.)

Other places of importance were —

1. Tiruvoriyyur and Malakapuram in South India.
2. Thattah, Sirhind, Multan in North India.
3. In U. P. the important centres were Mathura, Prayag, Hardwar and Ayodhya.

4. Bengal had many tols offering various disciplines. The Chatuspathis were colleges for the study of 4 sastras viz, Vyakarana, Smriti, Purana, Darshan. The Mangal Kavyas throw light on the fact that merchants and non-Brahmin people had been widely engaged in education and acquisition of knowledge of various types.

E. Education of Women

Islam does not place any injunction against the education of women. On the other hand, the Prophet had considered it essential. 'Qanuni Islam' shows that girls read the Koran and observed the initiation ceremony. Young girls were taught in school. This explains the abundance of learned women like Fatima, Hamida, Sofia, Zainab, Maryam, Aishah and others in the glorious days of Islam. That tradition was to a great extent lost in course of time. The introduction

of seclusion and Pardah further narrowed the scope. In the social condition of mediaeval India, there could be no quantitative expansion of female education. But qualitative excellence was maintained, although in a limited circle of the aristocracy. The Sultans and Badshahs also maintained the tradition of patronage. Some of the monarchs established separate schools for girls, as Akbar had done. Education of the aristocrat women was mostly provided in the harem. Tutors were appointed for exercises in the fine arts. Some of the learned women were themselves patrons of learning.

Sultana Raziya was well read. Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum wrote the Humayun Namah and collected books for her own library. Another literary genius was Salima Sultana, daughter of Gulrukh (another sister of Humayun) who used the penname of Mukhfi. Akbar's mother Hamida Banu was a learned lady. Akbar's foster mother Moham Anaga was learned and a patron of learning, and founded a college. Nurjahan was thoroughly versed in Persian and Arabic literature, as well as crafts. She also wrote verses. Mumtaz mahal was well versed in Persian and could compose poem in it. Shah Jahan's eldest daughter Jahanara Begum was well educated and composed her own epitaph. She wrote two biographies. She was a patron of learning. Safiunnessa, a learned lady was her tutoress. Under her influence, Mumtaz paid pensions and donations to daughters of poor scholars and theologians. Aurangzeb's eldest daughter Jebunnessa knew Persian and Arabic well and was skilled in Calligraphy. Budrunnessa, another daughter of Aurangzeb knew the Koran by heart. The same may be said of Zinatun Nisa. Jalaluddin, Sultan of Hinuar, Emperor Akbar and others founded Zenana schools. Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa appointed mistresses for ladies of the Harem. The tradition of household education of Hindu women also continued on a limited scale throughout the middle ages. Some Hindu ladies also acquired fame as poetesses, e.g. Mirabai and Chandrabati. But, mass education of women of both the communities was at a discount. Moreover, in the days of decay, education of women was a first victim of conservatism.

Chand Bibi was an illustrious lady of mediaeval India.

Rani Durgabati was another illustrious Hindu lady. Although the tradition of women's education in ancient India had been greatly undermined in the mediaeval period, the tradition was partially

observed in the Hindu kingdoms, specially in Rajasthan and in the Hindu Zamindaris in Bengal.

Literary works of the period throw sufficient light on women's education. Stories in *Ichchavati Haran*, *Sasisena*, *Chandi Kavya*, *Dharmamangala*, *Vidya Sundar*, *Kavikankan Chandi* are examples. The story of Behula's dancing performance in heaven shows that the tradition of performing arts had not totally died. Mymensingh ballads contain sufficient information. Mass media like *Zatra* provided popular education for women folk too.

F. Vocational Education

Muslim rulers in mediaeval India had for a long time considered themselves as victorious rulers destined only to rule and administer. Military career was most aspired after and widely open before them. Agriculture, productive industrial crafts, trade or even inferior administrative employments were considered unsuited to their birth or rank. The traditional pattern of Hindu vocational education, therefore, continued as before, particularly for the non-Muslims.

But things changed with the birth of new generations and with accretion of numerical strength by mass conversion to Islam. A Hindu weaver when converted to Islam did not automatically give up the family profession. Thus the problem of providing vocational education infiltrated into the Islamic system also. Throughout the middle ages, however, the traditional vocational pattern continued to exist. Vocational training was mainly craftbased and conducted in the family unit in apprenticeship system. Moreover, most of the crafts continued to be dominated by Hindu craftsmen. Hence, the traditional pattern of vocational education was not basically altered.

In two things, however, the mediaeval rulers made important contributions. Great builders as they were, they imported master craftsmen and architects from Persia and Turkey. Practical training under them uplifted Indian craftsmanship. This development affected the Hindu Kingdoms too. Most of the historical palaces, castles and monuments in Rajasthan and else where bear testimony to this fact.

Slavery was a mediaeval vice. But many of the Muslim rulers were conscious of the need for educating the slaves. Feruz Tughluq provided vocational training for the large band of his slaves and

established 'Karkhanas' for that purpose. Akbar was also sympathetic to the cause of such vocational education.

G. Centres of Learning

The Sultans and Badshas of India did not foster the growth of big Universities as had grown up in Alexandria, Cairo or Cordova. Fortunes of education in mediaeval India changed in accordance with the fortunes of ruling dynasties or even ruling princes. The nerve centres of administration having shifted from place to place, the centres of learning also shifted. Instead of a few mighty universities, India, therefore, experienced the growth (as well as decline) of many centres of learning with many Madrasahs and Colleges in each (as had been Benares and Mithila etc in the case of Hindu learning).

Delhi was the centre of light during the early days of the Sultanate till the reign of Mahmud Bin Tughluq under the patronage of Qutbuddin. Iltutmish, Balban, the Khaljis and the early Tughluqs. It regained partial glory from the days of Shah Jahan which continued throughout the days of the later Mughals. The centre shifted to Ferozabad from the time of Feroz Shah Tughluq. The Lodis began to patronise Agra, which together with Fathpur Sikri continued to receive it during the early Mughal days.

With the decline of the Sultanate there arose many local principalities with roots in the local soil. Many local centres of learning, patronised by local Princes and Amirs adorned this period. In the territories of the Bahmani Kingdom arose Gulbarga, Ellichpur, Bidar, Daulatabad etc. under the patronage of Hassan Md. Shah, Feroz Shah Bahmani, Mahmud Gawan etc.

Bijapur received the patronage of Adil Shah, Ismail Shah, Ibrahim Shah. Golconda had the blessings of Qutb Shah. Khandesh was patronised by Nasir Khan Faruqi, and Malwa by Mahmud Khilji, Ghiyasuddin and subsequently by Baz Bahadur. Multan had Husain Langa as it's patron. Jaunpur acquired fame during Ibrahim Sharqi, Mahmud Shah etc. Gour as a centre of learning in Bengal received the patronage of Ghiyasuddin, Nasir Shah, Ghiyasuddin II, Yusuf Shah, Hussain Shah etc. Badaun, Patna, Ahmadabad and Ajmere gradually rose into fame which continued through the Mughul era.

During the decline of the Mughal era more centres developed at Allahabad, Khairabad, Sahali (near Lacknow).

Sayyid Shah Mir of Samana was a teacher at Agra. Uzbek Mirza Muflis also taught at Jame-i-Mashjid, Agra. Sheikh Abdullah of Talna was a famous teacher at Delhi. Moulana Jalal of Tala and Mulla Imamuddin were famous teachers at Lahore. Mulla Shah Badakhshani (Tutor of Jahanara) and Mirza Abu Talib Kalim were famous at Kashmir.

There were many colleges in Gujrat, Bayana, Pandua (in Gaur), Mandu, Hyderabad, Bihar Sharif, Rampur, Shajahanpur, Bareilly etc.

H. The State and Education

True to mediaevalism, the character of the state during the whole period of Sultanate and Badshahi was autocratic. The monarch was the ultimate authority in every sphere of administration, education being no exception. Well defined administrative rules and regulations under clearly demarcated departments of Government were not to be found. Obviously there was no existence of an administrative department of education. Only in the case of Babur, reference is made of the P.W.D. which was entrusted with the task of building new schools.

In spite of the existence or non-existence of a department of education, the policy of the monarch was the policy of the state. When a particular monarch patronised education, schools came into existence overnight and teachers were recruited from various corners of the country or from abroad. In the absence of such patronage the school had to pass through evil days. Schools enjoying permanent endowment of land did not have to face starvation. But schools dependent upon pensions and stipends could not but suffer hardships. Even landed endowments were no sure guarantee on account of the frequent transference of Jagirs which affected the endowments. This explains the ups and downs in the fortune of educational institutions.

Although the state did not directly control education, indirect influence reigned supreme. The men of letters at the royal court depended upon the good humour of the monarch. Education flourished only when successive monarchs took up the cause of education. It waned if the monarch turned away from education.

The dependence of education upon political authority is clearly borne out by the decadence of Jaunpur. It had been almost conventionalised that Princes and Amirs while passing by Jaunpur used to pay visits to its Madrasahs and make donations. About 1735 A.D. Nawab Saadat Khan Nishapuri was appointed Subadar of Oudh, Benares and Jaunpur. He visited the city, but the learned men of it did not come to see him. To avenge this insult the Nowab confiscated the Jagirs and stipends. The students and professors were scattered and Madrasahs became empty.

I. Types of School

Throughout the middle ages the Tols and the Pathsalas continued to exist although their glories were to a great extent, compromised. But two new types of school were added. The Madrasah was an institution of secondary and higher learning. Primarily theoretical instructions in Islamic matters were given in such schools. These were mostly endowed and 'free' institutions. These were also residential schools. The teachers were paid pensions and students were paid stipends. Some big institutions were known as colleges. Disciplined life with emphasis upon daily time table as well as regular saying of prayers was insisted upon. Almost without exception, these institutions were founded near Mosques or tombs. These institutions received patronage of the kings and the nobility. That is why, with the decrease in financial patronage the institutions faced crisis.

Islamic theology and law formed the core of the curriculum in these institutions, the medium being Arabic. Persian featured as a second and important language. While the Hindu system of higher education had developed a wide curriculum by incorporating various subjects, the Madrasahs could very little change their character. A religious air pervaded the precincts of these institutions. They could not shed their conservatism and failed to approach the life of the common men and their worldly interests.

The other type of institution was the Maktav, the institution for elementary education of the masses maintained primarily by the common people. While the Hindu Pathsala was least subjected to the scriptural influences, the Maktav was at least partially subjected to Islamic injunctions. On the whole, however, the Maktav also served the temporal needs of the society.

The Sultans and Badshahs rallied Ulahahs from within and without India to glorify their courts. But the court-centric culture failed to reach the poor hamlets and enlighten the intellectual horizon of the ordinary masses.

J. Teacher-Pupil relation

The relation between teacher and taught was paternal. Madrasah teachers and students often lived together in common residential establishments provided by generous donors. The student's duties were specified in respect of personal service to the teacher, and in respect of his own disciplined living. A round-the-clock time table had to be inviolably followed. Collective prayer with accompanying rituals was particularly insisted upon. The institutions of higher learning enjoyed the benefit of landed endowments. Students received extensive stipends and scholarships provided by wealthy citizens. Accommodation for students was often provided in private houses. Householders considered it a matter of social prestige to provide such board and lodging. The teachers were intimately related with local socio-religious life. Together with students they responded to social invitations where the teachers performed priestly duties. Varied types of social benefaction made higher education practically free. Teachers enjoyed an exalted position. The courts were centres to pay homage to poets, philosophers, historians, chroniclers and theologians. Pensions were magnanimously granted. High moral integrity of teachers reciprocated this trust and honour.

This attitude to learning influenced the system of primary education too. It was an act of piety to establish a mosque. And each mosque had a Maktav attached to it. The moulvi was often a local resident. He adopted teaching duty as a part time engagement, spending the spare time in other economic pursuits. Yet, he was a common guardian of the morals of all children placed in his care. In that capacity he was very intimately related with every household and performed priestly duties whenever called for in regard to circumcision, marriage or death. He also functioned as the 'imam' of the village mosque. A teacher from a distant place was honourably accepted as a resident in a village house.

The village folk generously donated towards the maintenance

of the maktab, of course within their limited capacities. Larger public donations were spent for the maintenance of Orphanages (etimkhana). Grown up students helped in the management of boarding houses and acted as monitors in the schools.

Institutions of higher learning established and maintained by the state, however, appointed far-famed salaried teachers, or pension holders. State endowments were made for board and maintenance of scholars. Problems of theology or law were sometimes referred to famous Ulama for opinion and decision. Thus, apart from teaching duties, the famous teachers rendered some service directly or indirectly to the state. On the whole, therefore, the place of the teacher was lofty, the life of the student was secure, and teacher-pupil relation was sound.

K. Methods of Teaching

Unlike ancient Hindu learning which had to depend mainly upon rote and recitation due to absence of reading and writing matters, the mediaeval education in India had reading and writing to serve and help it. Calligraphy developed as an art. Yet, the methods followed in the Madrasah differed little from rote. Students were required to learn the matter by heart. Reading, therefore, received more importance than writing. Exposition of ideas though question or discourses was not as important and as extensive as had been the case in ancient India. Similarly learned assemblies were not numerous.

Akbar attempted to bring about changes in methods of instruction. The effects of his attempt, however, were not remarkably extensive and impressive. This also explains the conservatism in the Madrasah system of education.

L. Discipline

Like the Brahmanic and the Buddhistic systems of education the Islamic system had very little worry about students' discipline. The aim of education was to live in a particular way of life characterised by some socio-moral values. Islam enjoined that those values must be acquired and habitually practised. The observance of some behavioural patterns following a fixed routine with pre-fixed timings for prayers and studies, and religious or socio-political duties pre-

determined for them made the students attentive to studies and habituated to discipline. Although the students had not to observe anything like meditation or Yoga as had been the case with the Brahmanic system, they had to observe certain injunctions against eating, dressing and drinking. Above all, the close paternal relation between teacher and pupil and the guarantee of a quiet and sheltered life ensured students' discipline.

M. Aims of Education

The conditions of life on the one hand, and the aspirations on the other hand determine the philosophy of life, and philosophy of life determines the philosophy of education. The Arabian conditions of life which provided the background for the rise of Islam had been characterised by irrational beliefs, internecine quarrels, immoral practices. The Prophet sought to bring about a settled, quiet and unified social life based upon social and personal duties well defined in the Koran. The injunctions were further stereotyped by the Hadis and subsequent commentaries.

Islamic education having arisen in a particular social context with the objective of attaining another way of life necessarily placed emphasis upon a disciplined and moral life. Instead of abstract spiritual speculations, the aim of education was more inclined towards enlightenment and freedom from blind superstitious practices. Hence, understanding the words of the Prophet, His principles and practices as embodied in the Koran and other scriptural texts, and practical application of the same in individual life constituted the core of the aims of education. Obviously, "Morality" was the kernel.

N. Moral Education

As in Hindu education so in Islamic education emphasis was specially placed upon morality. The practical manifestation of the spiritual content of Islamic philosophy demands of moral and disciplined life of the believer. The Prophet says, "Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in the world of the "Lord", performs an act of piety; he who speaks of it, praises the Lord; who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instructions, bestows alms; and who imparts it to its fitting objects performs an act of devotion to God.

Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not, it lights the way to heaven ; it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when we are left of our friend ; it guides us to happiness, it sustains us in temptation, it serves as an ornament in the company of friends, it serves as an armour against enemies. With knowledge, the servant of God rises to the height of goodness and to a noble position, associates with the sovereignty in this world, and attains perfect happiness in the next."

Knowledge, thus leads to goodness and happiness, it dissuades the learner from temptation and enables him to choose between the good and the bad. The value of ethical training is thus, clearly stressed. Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom and everything else. Hence all laws and theories of morals are rooted in the sayings of God as recorded in the Koran. The believers are called upon to imitate and act according to the life and deeds of the Prophet. The same authority plays a predominant part in all ethics based upon theology and religion. All the ways of life are marked out. Moral life is determined on the authoritative teachings and prescriptions of the Prophet and other saints to whom divine knowledge was revealed.

Ihyaigha Al Ghazzali (Revival of the Science) throws light upon the prescribed moral training of the youth. There are dictates in minutest details about the habits of sitting, taking meal, sleeping, serving teacher etc. Trainee must avoid gluttony, must acquire proper postures of sitting, walking, reading and sleeping with proper demeanour in the social context. The trainee had to be submissive, disciplined and serviceful to the teacher and to the elders. Even the ways of talking and paying respect to elders had to be practised. In fact, a disciplinary concept determined the essence of morality.

It had its weakness too. The disciplinary concept made customs and examples take the place of scientific analysis. Customary usage became very important in Muslim life. Every pious Muslim wants to perform actions in the minutest details in the recorded manners which are the words of the Prophet. The sedulous adherence to fixed modes and practices of life made Islamic education more stereotyped and conservative and less adjustable.

Apart from these inherent dictates, the social prestige enjoyed by

men of morality and the honour bestowed upon them inspired the young learners to emulate their exemplary life. Motivation for moral and ethical living was thus partly dictated by theology, partly by the educative process and partly by social valuation.

O. State of Hindu Learning

We had previously discussed Hindu education as a partial presentation. The following may be added.

The glory of ancient education is generally considered to have come to end with the end of Harshavardhan's reign. The period between 647 A.D. and 1200 A.D. was a period of political chaos and disunity. Yet learning was not totally absent. Yasovarman of Kanouj was a patron of learning as was Mihir Bhoja of the Pratihara dynasty. Bhababhuti flourished in the 8th century. Kanouj was centre of learning and Vedic culture. (Five Brahmins are said to have been brought from Kanouj to Bengal with the object of uplifting Brahmanical culture). Sankaracharya's advent occurred in the 9th century. The Pala kings sustained the tradition and founded new Viharas including the Vikramasila Mahavihara. During the Senas of Bengal, Nabadwip flourished as a centre of learning. Joydev was a court poet of Luxmanasena. Other literary activities were not wanting. Commentaries of Kumaril Bhatta, Mimamsa Sutra of Jaimini, Sankaracharya's commentaries on Bhagwat Gita and Vedanta Sutra, Ramanuja's works, Bhaskara's works on Algebra and Astronomy were remarkable contributions of the period between 700 A.D. and 1200 A.D. A miraculous development of architecture also occurred in this period. As E. B. Havell says, "The spirit of Indian art attained perfection in about 8th and 9th centuries A.D., just when Gothic art developed in Europe."

The period between 1200 A.D. and 1707 A. D. witnessed the development of vernacular literature. Vidyapati of Mithila, Mirabai of Rajasthan and Chandidas of Bengal adorned this period. But with the decline of Buddhism on the one hand, and the advent of Islam on the other, priestly domination was reassertive and casteism rigid. Early marriage and seclusion of girls placed women's education at a discount. Docility and loss of ambition (with the exception of some Rajput states, Vijaynagar and subsequently the Marathas)

caused a loss of enterprise. The torch of learning and literary work still burnt. But V. Smith says, "Literature, though actively cultivated and patronised by many local courts sank far below that attained by Kalidasa." Education became a recapitulation of the past.

However devastating the effects of Islamic culture had been in the context of its first impact, some future benefits accruing from a cultural synthesis lay in the nature of things.

P. Cultural synthesis

When a mighty culture comes in contact with a weaker culture, whether in inimical or in friendly relations, the former stands the chance of swallowing up or absorbing the latter. Athenian culture had made itself felt in the region under Athenian influence. The Roman Empire had Romanised the area under its domination. The 'Barbarians' had destroyed the political stability of Rome. But these victors were vanquished on the cultural front. Post Mourya foreign invaders from Central Asia had curbed out kingdoms for them in India, but were themselves absorbed by Indian culture. The same had happened in the case of Turko-Arab cultural expansion in the Middle East.

But, a different development occurs when two equally mighty cultures come into mutual contact. The two co-exist and neither is absorbed. They interact and interpolate. A cultural synthesis is the inevitable outcome. Greek and Roman cultures had interacted. The Crusades had provided scope for interaction between Christian (western) and Turkish cultures. Similarly, traditional Indian culture and Islamic culture co-existed throughout the middle ages. The impact of one upon the other was tremendous. Instead of one absorbing the other, the outcome was a synthesis. The impact of interaction in the field of education was noteworthy.

In the field of education, we are interested in that religious interaction which had an educational bye-product. The growth of Sufism and Vaishnavism and many popular forms of inter denominational practices should be noted first. Many of the rulers welcomed the development and adopted secular principles in statecraft. Akbar went so far as to preach religious eclecticism. Cultural interaction in the literary field was most productive. Akbar and Dara

were special contributors in this respect. Literary interaction was most productive in the regional kingdoms. Our regional culture patterns and vernaculars found definite shape. The case of Bengal may be cited for example. The creations of our Vaishnab poets are to be attributed to this background. The 'Mangal Kavyas' of Bengal are also specific contributions of this period. On the other hand, literary interaction led to the evolution of Urdu as a common language.

Direct impact upon educational systems and practices was no less important. Islam is known to have no caste divisions. But in the Indian context, elements of casteism entered into the Islamic system of education, although not directly, nor with the same nomenclature. The rulers and the upper stratum of military personnel enjoying court privilege formed a class by themselves. This aristocracy provided for their own education and did little for the common men whom they looked down upon. Segments from the lower castes of Hindu society embraced Islam, but could not shake off their caste stigma inspite of the democratic tenets of Islam. As in Hindu society, so in Muslim society primary education of the masses had to languish. The like happened in women's education. The Arabian tradition of women's education was not carried forward to India. Instead, the system of 'pardah' came into vogue. The pardah system entered into the Hindu society, thereby affecting the tradition of women's education. Social conservatism resulted in educational conservatism.

Positive effects of inter-action were no less important. The curricular organisations in the two systems acquired similarity with the exception of religious content. Islamic education had been mainly theological, demanding acquaintance with the Koran even at the primary stage. The Hindu Pathshala had been more realistic and utilitarian. The Maktab gradually acquired this realism and utilitarianism. Hindu scholars joined Madrasahs to acquire knowledge of Persian. Some of the monarchs consciously fostered this trend as Akbar did. Temporal education in the two parallel systems became favourably comparable with each other. Teacher-pupil relation, the system of residential pupilage, 'free' education under social benefaction, concepts and practices of discipline and morality also acquired similarity by and large. The Indian tradition and pattern of vocational education was also adopted in the Islamic system.

While literary interaction led mainly to translations and adaptations, interaction in the fields of architecture, fine arts and music led to a happier synthesis. Forms and patterns got mixed up in Mughul art, Mughul architecture and Music. Even during the Sultanate, Turkish architecture and masonic style had mixed up with their Indian counterparts.

Conscious adoption of pedagogic principles was very important. We have discussed how Akbar adopted the Indian methods of teaching at the primary stage. The sequence of studies proposed by him was also an adaptation of the sequence practised in India.

The two systems of education, thus, co-existed and became indebted to each other. The two together made a whole pattern of mediaeval education in India. Islamic education enjoyed the privilege of strong patronage of the ruling class and the nobility. But this strength became its weakness. It had to depend upon the whims of monarchs. Moreover, the decline of the Mughul ruling authority caused the decline of the Islamic system of education. Hindu education had lost much of benefaction with the advent of Turkish power. But with its roots in tradition, it outlived the storms although with reduced vigour and accelerated failure to exhibit new creativity. No doubt the Islamic system left an inheritance of Madrasahs and Maktabas for us, yet the traditional indigenous system bequeathed more numerous schools and more effective traditions. The heritage, however, was largely tarnished by political and social anarchy concomitant with the decay of the Mughul Empire.

Q. The Phase of Decadence and Anarchy

The Mughul Empire legally ceased to exist as late as 1858 although it had died an ignominious death as early as 1707 A.D. The intervening long period of 150 years was a period of an agonising march towards inevitable extinction.

Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughuls died in 1707 A.D. Even during his life time Northern India witnessed the outbreak of rebellions in various localities, of various groups of people. The Maratha power was strongly entrenched in the South. The break up of the empire was a matter of years only.

Subsequent to the death of Aurangzeb, the Delhi court was

constantly a seat of turmoil. Palace cliques reigned supreme. Emperors were made or unmade overnight by rival groups of Amirs. Emperors were killed or blinded within the palace. Nadir Shah's invasion and killing-orgy in 1739 sapped the residual vitality of the Empire. The real authority of the monarch was circumscribed to a small area around Delhi. The powerless emperors had to trade in 'Khitabs' to ensure their physical existence and to keep up their luxury and debauchery.

Provincial kingdoms reared their heads on the disjointed bones of the empire. The Nowabis of Bengal or Oudh and the like were sovereign kingdoms for practical purposes, although the crown of Delhi was the *de jure* sovereign for the whole of India. The situation was made still worse by the rise of military adventurists like Alivardi Khan or fortune seekers like the Nizam of Hyderabad. 18th Century India, therefore, presented a picture of political anarchy. Regular administration had crumbled down. The flow of educational patronage was thereby dislocated and dried up.

There was anarchy in economy too. Grant of Jagirs being associated with the acquisition of the crown, rapid shifts in political authority caused rapid shifts in Jagir-holdings. Without certainty of a long tenure, the Jagirdars and Zamindars adopted the policy of quick returns by inhuman exploitation of the peasant masses and village craftsmen. The paternal feudal relationship between Lord and Villein was lost. In Bengal, for example, Murshid Quli Khan dislodged all the major houses of traditional Zamindars and re-allotted the holdings with particular emphasis upon collection of rent. Educational patronage was voluntary and not pre-conditional to the holding of Zamindari rights. Obligations of the predecessor were not binding obligations of the successor. Change in Zamindari rights, therefore affected the educational grants, endowments and pensions, thereby affecting educational provisions.

Bargi incursions caused further damage to Bengal and Central India in mid-18th century. The successive Bargi raids left destruction and desolation behind. We may cite the example of Bengal where the territories to the west of the Bhagirathi were widely affected. Peasants and weavers had to flee to the other bank of the river, leaving their ploughs and looms behind. This was a deadly shock to

the economic life of the people and necessarily a death-blow to the educational institutions maintained by them. This dislocation in the western territories depleted the revenue resources of the Nawabi. Yet, Alivardi Khan had to mount up defensive measures depending upon the meagre resources of the eastern territories of the state. The first victim of the turmoil and the anarchic conditions was education.

The death pangs of a mediaeval society caused a twofold social reaction. Loss of values led to social anarchy and growth of socio-personal immorality. As against this, the Pandits and Mollas prescribed social conservatism with the object of saving the crumbling social structure and social order. Educational and social freedom of women was largely sacrificed at the altar of conservatism. And caste baiting was intensified.

A great damage was done on the cultural front. Cultural virility was lost. Cultural creativity got bogged in social anachronism. Courseness and vulgarity found their way into literary creations. The schools that still existed, offered only exercises in repetitive lessons, in a formalised fashion.

Starved of patronage and affected by anarchy, many of the schools went physically out of existence. Those which retained existence had to lose a great part of their vitality. The indigenous Hindu and Islamic systems of education that still existed were but carcasses of what they had once been. An educational and cultural vacuum was thereby caused. In this mooringless life, a large part of the oppressed people was ready to get hold of a new anchorage of rescue. The Western Missionaries who had already been in the field now entered in right earnest into the arena to fill in the vacuum. A new era, the modern era in Indian education thus began.

Important Turko-Afghan Sultans and Mughul Emperors known to have patronised education.

Ghaznavides :

Sultan Mahmud	= 998—1030 A.D.
„ Masud I	= 1030—1040 „
„ Ibrahim	= 1059—1099 „
„ Bairam bin Masud	= 1099—1114 „

Sultans of Delhi :

Md. Ghori	= 1194—1206 A.D.
Qutbuddin	= 1206—1210 „
Iltutmish	= 1210—1236 „
Sultana Raziyah	= 1236—1240 „
Nasiruddin	= 1246—1266 „
Ghiyasuddin Balban	= 1266—1287 „
Jalaluddin Khalji	= 1290—1296 „
Alauddin Khalji	= 1296—1316 „
Ghiyasuddin Tughluq	= 1321—1325 „
Md. Bin Tughluq	= 1325—1351 „
Feroz Shah Tughluq	= 1351—1388 „
Bahlul Lodi	= 1451—1488 „
Sikandar Lodi	= 1488—1518 „

Mughul Emperors :

Babur	= 1526—1530 A.D.
Humayun	= 1530—1536 „
and	1555—1556
Akabar	= 1556—1605 „
Jahangir	= 1605—1628 „
Shah Jahan	= 1628—1659 „
Aurangzeb	= 1659—1707 „
Bahadur Shah	= 1707—1712 „
Mahammad Shah	= 1719—1748 „
Shah Alam II	= 1757—1806 „

Smaller Principalities

Bahmani :

Hasan Gangu	= 1347—1358
Mahmud Shah	= 1375—1397
Feroz Shah	= 1397—1422
Md. Shah	= 1463—1482

Bijapur :

Adil Shah	= 1489—1510
Ismail Shah	= 1510—1534
Ibrahim Shah	= 1534—1557

Golconda :

Md. Qutb Shah	
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Ahmadnagar :

Ahmud Nizam Shah	
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Khandesh :

Nashir Khan Faruqi	
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Malwa :

Md. Khalji	= 1435—1469
Ghiyasuddin	= 1469—1500
Baz Bahadur	

Multan :

Husain Langa	
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Kashmir :

Zainul Abedin	
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Jaunpur :

Ibrahim Sharqi	= 1401—1440
Mahmud Shah	= 1440—1457

Bengal :

Ghiyasuddin	= 1212—1227
Nasir Shah	= 1282—1325
Ghiyasuddin II	= 1367—1373
Yusuf Shah	= 1474—1481
Husain Shah	= 1493—1518

APPENDIX

Exercises

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

Chapter I

1. Justify the study of the history of ancient Indian education.
2. Discuss the different factors which influenced ancient Indian education.
3. Analyse the Concept and Philosophy of Education in ancient India with reference to Hindu Philosophy.
4. Discuss the aims of Brahmanic education.
5. Make a periodisation of ancient Indian education with reference to the special characteristics of each period.
6. Trace the growth of the Vedic system of education and the elements involved in it.
7. Give an account of the Brahmanic system of education with special reference to school life, curricula, methods of teaching, teacher-pupil relation and educational rituals.
8. Discuss the salient features of Brahmanical education and make an estimate of it.

Chapter II

1. Discuss how Buddhist philosophy influenced the concepts and aims of Buddhist education.
2. Give an account of the Buddhist system of education with special reference to aims, institutions and democratic elements.
3. Trace the evolution of Buddhist education with special reference to secular mass-education and medium of instruction.
4. Discuss the salient features of Buddhist education and make an estimate of it.
5. Discuss the contributions of Buddhist education and account for its decline.

5. Discuss the contributions of Brahmanical education, as well as its defects and limitations.
6. State and critically comment on the resemblances and differences between Brahmanical and Buddhistic systems of education. Was Buddhistic education a rival to or a phase of Brahmanic education ?

Chapter III

1. Discuss the role of religion in ancient Indian education.
2. Give an account of the part played by geographical environment in giving a special character to ancient Indian education.
3. Give an account of (a) Rig Vedic education, or (b) Education in Later Vedic period, or (c) Education as revealed in Sutra literature, or (d) Education in the Epic period with special reference to urban influences.
4. Attempt an estimate of the extent and quality of women's education in ancient India and the factors that influenced it.
5. Give an account of professional and vocational education in ancient India.
6. Trace the evolution of curricula in ancient Indian education, referring specifically to changes from phase to phase.
7. What picture of ancient Indian education can be drawn from the accounts of Fa. Hien, Hieun Tsang, I' Tsing ?
8. Discuss the ancient Indian concept of Para and Aparā Vidya.
9. Discuss the essence of the Gurukul, with particular reference to Teacher-Pupil relation in Gurukul.

Or

Discuss Teacher Pupil relation as found in the Upanishadas.

10. Enumerate the methods of teaching in ancient India, with special reference to Yoga as a method of learning. Did the Buddhist system introduce new elements ?
11. Describe some of the most important rituals connected with education in ancient India and comment upon the significance of each.

12. Discuss the concepts of Brahmacharya and discipline in ancient Indian education. How far could discipline be considered as synonymous with education ?
13. How did State and Society fulfil obligations toward education in ancient India ?
14. Give an account of some centres of learning in ancient India and mention some features which may have some importance and validity even today.
15. Give an account of any one of the following institutions —(a) Taxila, (b) Nalanda, (c) Vikramsila and (d) Nadia.
16. Write an essay on education and culture in India as may be found in Kautilya and Indika.
17. How far has our tradition of ancient Indian education influenced our modern education ? What are the special features which we may adapt even today ?
18. Write notes on—Mantra, Samhita, Hota, Upanayana, Pravajja, Brahmachari, Samanera, Samavartan, Upasampada, Vihara, Gurukul, Tapovana, Acharya, Sutra, Yoga, Brahmavadini, Upasaka, Parishada, Manavak, concept of Brahma.
19. Write essays on—
 - (a) Kautilya and Megasthenes on Education in India.
 - (b) Panini-Patanjali on Education in India.
 - (c) Social and Psychological basis of Sutra Literature.
 - (d) Education in Manu Samhita.
 - (e) Medical Science in Ancient India.
 - (f) Mathematical genius of ancient India.
 - (g) Achievements of ancient India.

Education in Mediaeval India

Chapter I

1. How can you explain the apparent contradiction that many of the Muslim rulers of India destroyed one type of education and patronised another type simultaneously ?
2. Give an account of the Turko Afghan Sultans' contribution to the cause of education in India.

3. Write a note on the claim that Feroz Tughluq had in many ways anticipated Akbar.
4. How did the regional rulers patronize education in India under the Sultans ?
5. Discuss the noteworthy features of education under the Sultans.

Chapter II

1. Make a synoptic estimate of the contributions of the Mughul Emperors to the cause of education in India.
2. Give an account of Akbar's educational policies and activities with special reference to his 'toleration' and educational reforms.
3. Make an estimate of Akbar in the field of education. Was he 'great' also in the field of education ?
4. Account for Aurangzeb's intolerance of non-Muslim education. How did he contribute to the cause of Islamic education in India ?
5. Discuss Aurangzeb's educational thinking with special reference to his concept of a good curriculum.

Chapter III

1. "The ancient Indian tradition of spiritually oriented higher education and practically oriented elementary education continued throughout the mediaeval period." Discuss.
2. Enumerate the principal features of Islamic education. What efforts were made to combine Hindu and Islamic elements of culture in a general system of education ?
3. Describe the state of Hindu education in the mediaeval period. What was the result of the mutual impact between Hindu and Islamic systems of education ? How far was cultural synthesis successful ?
4. Describe the state of elementary education in mediaeval India.
5. Bring out the essence of moral education in the Islamic system, in the context of the aims of education.

6. Give a brief account of education that prevailed in mediaeval India and its influence on the present system, if any. What are the permanent contributions of mediaeval education ?
 7. Give an account of the condition and causes of educational decadence consequent upon the fall of Mughul Empire, and the circumstances which favoured Western Missionary activity.
 8. Discuss the state of Hindu learning in the mediaeval era.
 9. Write notes on :—
 - (a) The role of provincial rulers and nobility as patrons of education in the middle ages.
 - (b) Centres of learning in mediaeval India.
 - (c) The state of women's education in the middle ages.
 - (d) Vocational education in the middle ages.
 - (e) Literary translations and adaptations in the middle ages.
 - (f) Tol and Madrasah as comparable institutions of higher learning.
 - (g) Pathsala and Maktab as elementary schools.
 - (h) Teacher-pupil relation and social status of teachers in the Islamic system of Education.
 - (i) The modes and methods of social patronage to mediaeval education.
 - (j) Contributions of the mediaeval period in the fields of language and literature, arts and architecture.
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EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER I

Early Missionary Work

Before we enter into a discussion on the development of education in modern India, we need discuss the term modern. The term 'modern', however, is relative. Advent of the modern era differed from country to country in respect of time. Modern age on the Continent is calculated with effect from 1453 A.D. when India was very much mediaeval. In fact, the modern era in a particular country is characterised by certain social, economic and political characteristics and value systems which are different from those in ancient and mediaeval life and are much in advance.

Serfdom and feudal relations were the basic socio-economic features of the mediaeval era, just as slavery had been of the ancient era. Modern era witnessed the rise of wage earning labour. The Church on the one hand and the autocratic political authority on the other held full sway in mediaeval life, allowing no civil liberty for the common man. As against this, the modern era is characterised by the concepts of freedom, civil liberty and democracy. The mediaeval era had been a period of faith, submission and superstitions. The modern era became a period of science and rationality. Consistent development of urban life gave a new dimension to the life style in the modern period.

All these features are, however, not fully explicit in the case of India. We profess democracy and legalistic civic rights, while we do still cling to casteism. We study the natural sciences, but are still submerged in superstitions and conservative rituals. We have been building modern industries, mass communication media and many other modern means and styles of life. But we have still a semi-agrarian backward economy. In fact, modernism in India is a peculiar blend of modern elements and ante modern elements, producing complexities of life and society. Our education also reflects these complexities where advanced technological education coexists with mass illiteracy; democracy co-exists with semi aperttheid of Harijans and tribal people; where equality of educational opportunity is a far cry, in as much as we have not yet been able to ensure free and compulsory primary education for all.

It is, more over, very difficult to specify a particular date or year whence the modern age began in India. Generally, however, the break up of the Mughal empire after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. is accepted as the end of the mediaeval period in history.

New elements The new era witnessed the growth of a new economic pattern—a commercial monetary economy, the development of new social values, new education and a new political pattern. Missionaries of 17th—18th Centuries provided a link between mediaeval education and modern education and helped the transition from the former to the latter.

Missionary Infiltration

The missionaries, however, had been active since the 16th Century. The Portuguese had been here much before the incorporation of the English East India Company in 1600 A.D. Consequent upon the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vas-co-da-Gama in 1498 A.D. the Portuguese merchants entered into a regular commercial relation with their Indian counterparts. They established some trading settlements and military garrisons. Clergymen accompanied the merchants, sailors and soldiers to (i) perform priestly duties, (ii) preach and proselytize, and to (iii) teach. Throughout the middle ages, preaching and teaching had gone together in Europe. The theory behind was that since the Church was the guardian of the spirit and since education was a matter of the spirit, the Church must also be the guardian of education and enjoy a special prerogative amounting to monopoly. That tradition was brought forward to India.

From the 2nd half of the 16th Century there was a spate of missionary activities throughout the world. Consequent upon the Reformation and the Counter Reformation in Europe and a prolonged conflict between the two, missionaries of both the camps staked every-

Reformation and Counter-Reformation thing to secure new adherents. Hence missionaries spread out in all directions. The Jesuits of the Roman Catholic Camp were particularly zealous. Geographical discoveries helped the missionaries. The same discoveries also helped the merchants. Thus merchants and missionaries entered into the vast global field and particularly the subcontinent of India. Occasionally they worked together, and occasionally they were

separated. Yet, successes of one directly or indirectly helped the other. They were, therefore, mutual benefactors. The missionaries infused a religion and a new culture. The merchants infused a new economic relationship. Directly or indirectly this process prepared the ground for the establishment of British hegemony in India. The missionaries functioned as religious and cultural vanguard. The political and economic spearheads upheld the "whiteman's burden",

The Portuguese

The Indian field was also favourable. Portuguese Fathers had visited Akbar's Court. Portuguese merchants had established 'Kuthis'. Their missionaries had been active since the first half of the 16th Century. But peaceful relation was often disturbed by over zealous merchants and Portuguese pirates. Any way, credit goes to the Portuguese missionaries for initiating missionary educational enterprise in India. Various devices were adopted by them to attract the Indian people. The credit of ingenuity in this respect also goes to them. They unequivocally declared that they had come to seek christians and spices. Education was an adjunct.

A few types of institutions were established by the Portuguese missionaries viz. (i) Elementary schools of Parochial type, with Portuguese and Latin media, (ii) Orphanages providing vocational preparation together with the 3 Rs., (iii) Jesuit College (at Goa in 1575) as is mentioned in Bernier's account, (iv) Theological Colleges

Contributions and Seminars for the training of Indian Clergymen, and (v) One University type institution at Salsette (College of St. Anne.) Peculiarities of Portuguese enterprise need be noted, viz. (i) although a few institutions of higher learning were founded, their efforts were more concentrated upon elementary education, (ii) they used the vernaculars as media of propaganda and of instruction, (iii) they began the use of the printing press, (the first at Goa in 1556 and subsequently four more), and thereby became pathfinders in this new direction. Their printed matters are still exhibits at Lisbon, and (iv) their efforts were more directed towards the ordinary masses from amongst whom they secured converts.

Most famous of the Jesuit fathers was St. Francis Xavier who came in 1542. He is known to have been habituated to ringing a bell

while walking to attract attention of passers by. He distributed a copy of the Scripture to each village. Next in importance was Robert de Nobili who passed as an Indian to Indians and as a Brahmin to Brahmins. Dressed as an Indian "Sadhu" with "tilak" on the forehead he posed as a Brahmin from the West with the lost Vedas (i.e. Bible). These techniques were used to begile and win over the simple folk.

The hey day of Portuguese enterprise declined in the 17th Century. The Portuguese pirates were much responsible for it. On several occasions the Provincial Governors of the Mughul Empire had to mount military expeditions to expel these foreigners bag and baggage. The pitfalls of merchants and missionaries caused the loss of their popularity in certain localities. More important, however, was the decline of Portugal as a maritime power in face of the formidable challenge of the Dutch. Portugal lost her hegemony over the Sea of Arabia and the Indian Ocean which had once become a Portuguese lake. With the withdrawal of maritime and mercantile efforts, Portuguese missionary enterprise also declined. Some institutions continued to live in the isolated garrisons and settlements. It is not to be construed, however, that the missionaries withdrew altogether. Further expansion of enterprise was not possible. Yet the missionary educators continued to conduct their established institutions against odds in the changed political conditions. Many of the famous institutions of present day India owe their existence to the herculean efforts of these early missionaries.

The Dutch and The French

The Dutch maritime power replaced the Portuguese in the 17th Century. But, apart from establishing some isolated trade settlements in India, they did very little of importance. Their major attention was directed to Ceylon, and particularly to South East Asia where they ultimately founded the Dutch Colony of East Indies (Indonesia). Hence, contributions of the Dutch towards education in India were insignificant. The vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Portuguese was, however, filled in by the French, Danish and English missionaries.

It was early 18th century, and the time was favourable for effective missionary educational and proselytising enterprise. The state of

things consequent upon the downfall of the Mughul empire was discussed in the last chapter on 'Mediaeval Education.' The vacuum in education and culture caused by socio-political degeneration was effectively utilised by missionaries with a new enthusiasm.

The *French East India Company*, established in 1664, entered into a political and commercial venture in right earnest with the far-flung dream of a French Empire in India. French missionaries also joined the fray in right earnest. In their educational enterprise, they imitated the Portuguese by and large. Their efforts were not restricted to Christian population alone. They also recruited Portuguese and Indian teachers and founded institutions at Mahe, Karikal, Pandichery, Madras and Chandernagore. True to the French tradition of 'Culture Generale', they established an efficient secondary school at Pandichery to impart liberal education. They taught Christian doctrines in French and Portuguese schools. Their efforts, however, were restricted mainly to Southern India where they had entered into a mortal contest with the British company for a foothold on the Indian soil. But the Goddess of Victory favoured the English, and for all practical purposes the French had to withdraw. Their schools, however, continued to exist with the missionaries sticking to their posts, of course under the hegemony of the British Indian Empire.

English Efforts

We now turn our attention to the British East India Company, established in 1600 A. D. (hereafter to be mentioned as E. I. Co. or simply 'Company') the role of which is of vital interest to us. The Company was conscious of the vital role that might be played by the missionaries in aid of their commercial and political ventures. As early as 1614 the authorities had issued a directive that "steps be taken for the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel amongst their countrymen". Some converted Indians were actually sent to England for training. In 1636, Arch Bishop Laud introduced the study of Arabic at Oxford University with the object of using that language for purposes of propagation. In their despatch of 1659, the Court of Directors made it clear that they desired to spread the Gospel in

Early conscious-
ness

India and permitted missionaries to embark on their journey to India. In 1698, a missionary clause was inserted in the Company's Charter requiring it to maintain schools in garrisons and 'factories' for education of Europeans and Anglo-Indian Christians. The clergymen were also expected to spread the Gospel among Hindu employees. The Charter also required every 500 Tonner (or more) sailing from England to carry at least one clergyman on board. Thenceforth the company encouraged Charity Schools for which a grant-in-aid of 250 Pagodas each was provided. It is to be noted that even in these early days, the Company placed emphasis more upon education than upon conversion, perhaps with the conviction that the latter would be a natural by-product of success in the former, and perhaps with the belief that priority of conversion might estrange the native people.

An interesting feature of English enterprise was its *close co-operation with and dependence upon the Danes*. The Portuguese were Catholic. The French were not only Catholic, but also commercial and political rivals of the English. No question of co-operation with them could arise. The Danes had no imperial aspirations and were Protestants (as were the English). Hence, the company accepted the Danes as junior partners and utilised their services. The English efforts were directed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.).

In 1706, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, of German origin but connected with the Danish mission, arrived at Tranquebar. Under their leadership the missionaries started learning Tamil. Ziegenbalg started a Tamil Printing Press in 1713 and prepared a Tamil Grammar and a Tamil Version of the Bible. Charity Schools with Portuguese and Tamil as media were founded at Madras. A teacher-training school was established at Tranquebar in 1716. The death of Ziegenbalg in 1719 was a great loss to the missionaries. His work, however, was carried forward by his colleagues and successors Schultz, Schuartz and Kiernander. Schultz (also a German employed by the S. P. C. K.) who began his Indian career in 1727 was instrumental in starting schools at Madras, Travancore, Tanjore, Cuddalore, Ramnad, Trichi, Bombay etc. He prepared a Telegu Grammar and a Telegu version of the Bible. Schuartz (also employed by S. P. C. K.) carried forward this work since

Work of the
Danish Mission

1760. Kiernander established a charity school at Port St David in 1742. Robert Clive invited him in 1758 to open a charity school in Calcutta. Actually Kiernander subsequently made Calcutta the arena of his activity. His work, however, was not limited to preaching and teaching. He was the contractor to construct the Alipore Hospitals (subsequently the Presidency General Hospital i.e. the present S.S.K.M. Hospital). Similar other charity institutions viz. St. Mary's (1715) at Madras, Cobbe (1719) at Bombay, Chaplain Ballarmey (1720, Calcutta) also developed. Society for the Promotion of Indians (founded in 1731) did good pioneering work. The momentum created thereby led subsequently to the foundation in 1789 of Lady Campbell Female Asylum (Madras), and Dr. Andrew Bell's Male Asylum etc.

Native princes were also drawn into the movement. The Raja of Tanjore helped the establishment of schools at Tanjore, Ramnadpuram, Shivaganga. Vernacular schools were also established to offer instruction in Tamil, Telegu etc. But John Sullivan, Madras Govt's Resident at Tanjore court advised the missionaries to establish English-medium schools. Such schools were established. They offered English, Accountancy, Tamil, Hindustani etc. as subjects of study. The court sanctioned an annual grant of 250 Pagodas each to these schools. These were managed by missionaries while accounts were controlled by the Company. Thus, as early as late 18th century a system of private enterprise with inspection, grants and survey of accounts was established by cooperation between private and public agencies.

The role of the E. I. Co. deserves special notice. The Company did not accept direct responsibility to provide education, but it encouraged the missionaries. Schools were maintained mostly by donations and charities. Chaplains maintained charity schools to which the Company extended benevolent protection.

Nature of
Company's
patronage

It sanctioned occasional Capital Grants for constructing and repairing school buildings, as well as recurring grants. It permitted public lotteries, parts of the proceeds of which were subscribed to school funds. The Company's employees were allowed to offer free-time voluntary services. It also kept deposits of missionary educational funds at a higher rate of interest than usual. (Of course it was not as benevolent

as that. In those days the Company's exports could not pay for the imports. It required ready and liquid cash for investment in the market. They knew fully well that timely purchases of merchandise would fetch super profits to cover up the higher rate of interest. By accepting deposits, the Company ensured its own profitable trade, simultaneously proving its educational benevolence). Although the missionaries and the company co-operated intimately, they maintained separate identities lest troubles of one should create troubles for the other. Such troubles shot up very often on the question of the company's tariff-free inland trade.

Breach of Friendship

This co-operative relation did not last long. A new turn came with English victory at Plassey. Plassey did not immediately bring about British sovereignty in India, but laid the surest foundation for that inevitable development. The Company, therefore, began to measure every step. Majority of the people who were steadfast adherents to traditional religion and culture were not favourably disposed to the proselytising efforts of missionaries. Any wrong step might alienate the people and smash the dream of an empire. The French and the Dutch were always ready to take advantage of British predicament. The Company, therefore, began to adopt measures to guarantee that no overzeal of the missionaries (who now thought that a golden opportunity for them had arrived) might affect Indian sensitiveness in matters of religion, culture, education and customs.

This attitude was further crystallized after 1765. The acquisition of Diwani in that year vested administrative responsibilities in the Company. A definite administrative policy now required to be enunciated and pursued. With the object of winning over the "natives", the Company placed a check upon missionaries. It wanted to pose as the champion and preserver of Hindu and Muslim culture, education and traditions. The interest of the missionaries and company, thus, got apparently separated. And the Company never surrendered its political and commercial interest to the religious and educational interests of the Missions. Onwards from 1781, the separation gradually widened.

In 1783, the Company ordered that no ship should carry a clergyman without valid license (100 years before such carrying had been made compulsory). In 1793, unlicensed clergymen were expelled. The attitude was further stiffened after the Vellore Mutiny of 1800 A.D. The breach developed into divorce. It became impossible for the missionaries to work freely. Thus ended the first round of missionary enterprise, the enterprise of Early Missionaries from late 16th Century to the end of 18th Century.

Characteristics and Estimate of Early Missionary Enterprise.

1. The missionary educational enterprise had started in and around trade-settlements (Kuthis or Factories, as they were called), proprietary settlements and military garrisons. The Portuguese centres were Goa, Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bessein, Hooghly, Chittagong etc. The Dutch centres were Chinsurah, Hooghly etc. The French worked at Mahe, Karikal, Pandichery, Chandernagore etc. The important Danish centres were Tranquebar, Serampore etc. And English centres were distributed in South India and Bengal.

2. Schools were firstly established in Kuthis for European children with gradual provisions made for Eurasians. Converted Indians were then provided for. Gradually unconverted Indians in close commercial relationship with the Company were covered. In the final stage schools were started outside the Kuthis for the general masses. Evidently the extent and volume of missionary work widened by stages.

3. The objectives were to (i) ensure the observance of religious rites of the Company's employees; (ii) to provide education of Europeans and Anglo Indians; (iii) to propagate the Gospel among Indians; (iv) to secure converts; (v) to build up the mental world of converts in a particular make up; (vi) to develop mass contact and thereby extend influence among Indians. Sometimes proselytisation was followed by education and sometimes education was followed by proselytisation.

4. The types of institutions were—Parochial schools, Orphanages, Secondary schools, Teacher Training schools, Clergymen's Colleges etc.

5. In spite of field propaganda with various attractive devices, the 18th Century missionaries could not break through the conservative

hard core of the upper society. Their converts were drawn mainly from the lower castes and poorer classes. Hence, primary education fit for these classes received the best attention of missionaries.

6. The missionaries found it advantageous to adopt the traditional indigenous type of elementary school best known to the masses of converts, of course with necessary modifications.

7. The propagation of the Gospel was best possible through the vernaculars. Hence, the missionaries themselves learnt the vernacular languages and adopted them as media of instruction for Christians and non-Christians alike.

8. The curriculum for primary education was not altered in a revolutionary way. With the 3 Rs, however, some lessons on the Gospel were added, together with some elements of modern knowledge.

Significance of Early Missionary Work

It must be admitted that in quantitative terms the early missionary enterprise was nothing mighty. Yet it had very great historical significance. The missionaries partially filled the vacuum caused by the decline of 'traditional' education. Indian tradition of elementary mass education was continued by them. They did some pioneering work in a new venture of non-official enterprise depending mainly upon public charities. They introduced the printing press and mass circulating booklets, which, together with the widespread use of the vernaculars prepared the ground for mass education. By bringing out translations, dictionaries and grammars they helped the cause of language development. The missionary schools being open to all-comers they broke down educational caste barriers. Although the curriculum was not basically altered, some improvements were made by the adoption of history, geography & general sciences. More than one teacher worked in a school. Time table, gradation of pupils, better school equipment and distinctive school regulations were further improvements. They were also pioneers in teacher education and a simple system of vocational education. The missionaries infused a new cultural element into our society.

The impact of the early missionary work upon our educational life was not as permanent as that of the work of 19th Century missionaries. The nature of missionary work in these two phases

also differed from each other. The missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries did not introduce "western education" in the accepted sense of the term. But they introduced some improvements and modern elements, as discussed above, which paved the way for the introduction of western education. They, thus, helped the transition of education from the mediaeval to the modern phase.

The Origin of Orientalism

As said earlier, the Company's accession to Diwani completely turned the table. Political considerations now reigned supreme. The company's Supreme Council in India, under the leadership of Warren Hastings adopted a distinctive policy to increase British influence with the people and to find access to the masses for establishing a bond. They squarely opposed any hasty attempt to impart western knowledge. They rather decided to continue the tradition of Hindu and Muslim rulers' patronage to traditional learning with the object of instilling a confidence in the minds of the people. The Company adopted a policy of 'benevolent neutrality' in social, religious and cultural affairs with the object of wooing Indian opinion. Guided by this policy of religious neutrality the company refused to issue a blank cheque in favour of the missionaries. Moreover, the company wanted to educate the sons of aristocratic Indians with the twofold object of (i) being endeared with the traditionalist leadership of this land and (ii) preparing personnel for judicial and revenue services. (The Judicial reforms of W. Hastings had created the posts of Hindu and Muslim law-interpreters in courts presided over by English Judges. These posts might be awarded to Pundits and Moulvis educated under the Company's care). A cultural opinion also strengthened the political motivation. Persons like Mr. William Jones, founder leader of the Asiatic Society (founded in 1784), opined that Indian culture was precious enough and ancient educational system was good enough. Hence no intervention was called for. (The origin of Indology was thus laid).

Impelled by these considerations W. Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781 (the institution still exists) with Islamic Theology, Law, Logic, Grammar, Geometry and Arithmetic as curricular

subjects and Arabic as language. Jonathon Duncan emulated this example to establish the Benares Sanskrit College (1791) with
 Calcutta Hindu Theology, Law, Grammar, Medicine etc. and
 Madrasah and Sanskrit as language. This was the early beginning
 Banares College of Orientalism which held sway from 1781 to 1791.
 The Directors of the Company accepted the policy of
 Warren Hastings.

Some path-finders

Some Englishmen played a very glorious part in the last part of the 18th century in the field of culture and education in this country.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, born on 25th May 1751, (his grand father was a banker and father William Halhed a member of the Board of Directors of the Bank of England), educated in Christ College of Oxford, came to India in 1772 in the employ of the Company. He acquired fame for his erudition in Sanskrit. He made English versions of the Gita, Hitopadesh, Sakuntala etc, and at the behest of W. Hastings prepared the "Code of Gentu Laws" (from the Persian version) in 1776. His "A Grammar of Bengal Language" published in 1778 was the first Bengali Grammar book.

Charles Wilkins, Born 1744 (?) came to India as a clerk at the age of 20 and made friends with Halhed. He became so proficient in Sanskrit that he was known as the first Sanskrit Pundit amongst Europeans. In 1778 he started translating the Mahabharata, and in 1785 translated the Gita. His greatest contribution, however, lay in the fact that while printing Halhed's Grammar he was the first to use Bengali types. He was also the 'printer' of the said book. He may be called the Caxton and father of the Bengali printing press.

Warren Hastings—Many of the activities of Warren Hastings, the Governor General, deserve condemnation and he was impeached before the Parliament. In the field of education, although classical education, his contributions merit praise. He was one of the leading lights in the affairs of the Asiatic Society. He established the Calcutta Madrasah and for years spent for its maintenance from his personal resources. His camp-follower Jonathon Duncan founded the Benares Sanskrit Collage. Hastings encouraged the employees of the company to learn Indian languages.

In 1774 Hastings collected an Arabic copy of "Fatwa Al Alamgiri" and had it translated into Persian by Moulvi Yahiya and three of his friends. He also patronised the publication of Francis Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*. Hastings had inspired Halhed to compile the Code of Gentu Laws and financially helped Charles Wilkins to get the Grammar of Bengal Language published.

Sir William Jones, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was not only an Indologist, but also a stout upholder of social reforms. He had initiated a movement against slavery. His greatest achievement, however, was the Asiatic Society.

Asiatic Society

On 15th of January, 1784 W. Jones organised a meeting of 30 European men of learning interested in the culture of India. That meeting led to the foundation of the Asiatic Society. It was resolved, "Whatever is performed by Man and produced by Nature within the geographical limits of Asia would constitute the areas of the society's investigation." The society's work gradually extended to the study of language and literature, philosophy, history, arts, philology, archaeology, religion, folk ways, inscriptions, ancient manuscripts, numismatics etc.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Jonathon Duncan, Charles Wilkins etc. stood by William Jones in this venture. In 1788 came out the Society's research organ "Asiatic Researches". The success of this society led gradually to the establishment of the Russian Asiatic Society (1810), Paris Society (1822) and the Royal Asiatic Society (1829). Charles Grant, H. H. Wilson, John Layden, William Hunter and James Prinsep (the architect-archaeologist who transcribed the Brahmi Scripts of Asokan Edicts) were all related to the activities and orbit of the society. Tibetan studies were particularly fostered by Csoma De Koros, a Hungary born scholar.

Gradually, Indians of erudition enrolled themselves as members of of the society—from 1829 onwards. Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Ram Kamal Sen, Rashomoy Dutt, Maharaja Vaidyanath Roy, Kashinath Mullick and subsequently Rajendralal Mitra, Sir Ashutosh, Haraprasad Sastri were some of the leading personalities.

Trigonometry Survey (1818), Geological Survey (1851), Meteorological Survey (1912) etc were offshoots of the society.

The society's library had a valuable collection of manuscripts, inscriptions, coins etc. After Tipu Sultan's defeat and death, his library was given over to the society. After closure of the Fort William College its library was added to that of the society. The present collection goes to a 40 thousand figure of which 27000 are Sanskritic, 6000 are Arabic-Persian, and the rest are in Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese and Javanese languages.

The activities of the society opened the flood gates of knowledge and gradually led to new thinking, particularly thinking about Indian tradition of education.

Origin of Occidentalism

But the time was fast changing and a parallel development of a rival policy became evident. The problem of medium of instruction was freely discussed at places where the missionaries had been more active. A choice from a list of Phiringhee, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and English was called for. Schultz established an English medium school for European Children at Trichi in 1772. The English charity school founded at Tanjore in 1772 also adopted English. By 1785 English schools for Indians were established at Tanjore, Ramnad, Shiv Ganga etc. in co-operation with Schwartz and at the instance of Mr. Sullivan, the Company's Resident at Tanjore, with English, Tamil, Hindustani, Accountancy and Christianity as curricular subjects. This rapid success inspired Mr. Sullivan to propose the acceptance of English as medium so that *"the Company and people will understand each other and facilitate dealings of all kinds."* Sullivan's observations were significant in as much as this was the early beginning of Occidentalism.

Charles Grant's Observations

The missionaries, now under fetters, inspired their compatriots in England to agitate against the Company's policy. Impelled by other considerations, persons of temporal society also took up the cause of the missionaries. Charles Grant an ex-employee of the company was one such. He wrote in 1792 a small propaganda Treatise, "Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain." In his "Observations" he made out a case for Western education and freedom of missionaries.

In the opinion of Charles Grant, Indians suffered from extreme moral degradation caused by ignorance. That darkness was to be dispelled with the light of "knowledge". Moral regeneration could come through Christianity. And real knowledge meant the knowledge of English language and literature, arts, philosophy and sciences. Indians should know about the skilful application of fire, water and steam for improvement of agriculture. The adoption of English as administrative and judicial language and the provision of gratuitous schools for 'free' schooling under teachers of integrity (obviously the missionaries) would make students flock to them. It might be initially difficult to provide the necessary number of English teachers. But eventually Indians would teach English (already Portuguese and Bengali clerks had picked up that language). To reassure critics who feared that Western education for enlightenment might inspire rebelliousness in the Indian mind, Mr. Grant made funny arguments that Christian teaching would bring about submission and good order, and even Christianity could not overcome the debilitating climate of the East. Vegetable diet and absence of maritime activity would check any desire for independence. Christianity and Western education would rather bring about *understanding between the rulers and the ruled*. It would ultimately contribute to expansion of commerce. In the self interest of England, it was her duty to introduce English education.

Grant's 'Observations' were a peculiar mixture of objective and wishful thinking. We must set aside Grant's *ex parte* decree against Indian morals. Objective testimony of other Englishmen like Elphinstone, Munroe, Metcalfe disprove Grant's contention. Grant, however, may be forgiven in consideration of the fact that Indians best known to Englishmen of the time were moral degenerates and Indian renegades like Jagat Sett, Omichand and Mir Jafar in Bengal and their counterparts in the Deccan. There is also no denying that Indian morality with which Grant and his compatriots were acquainted was the decadent morality of a decomposing mediaeval society. And the super power of Christianity is not borne out even by the history of England.

In other respects, however, Grant had foreseen the subsequent development viz. the advantage of adopting English as official language.

and as the medium of instruction, the possibility of Indians becoming teachers of English and the eagerness of Indians to accept western knowledge. In all these respects he had anticipated Lord Macaulay. It is to be noted that Grant spoke of the improvement of agriculture, and not a word about "industries". Its significance can not be missed.

The justification of Grant's plea should be sought elsewhere. England had already been experiencing the impact of her Industrial Revolution. The concept of an agrarian colony as a permanent appendage to England's economy had been dawning. End of "Plassey Plunder" and setting up a new pattern of administration in India had been accepted as a matter of principle. 'Mutual understanding' through 'Western education' and the agency of the 'converts' could satisfy England's "self interest." (Later history, however, proved that historical objectivity might demolish Grant's wishful thinking).

Wilberforce Motion

Grant and his missionary allies, however, created some impact upon the English mind. During renewal of the company's Charter in 1793, Mr. Wilberforce, an M. P. and a philanthropist friend of the missionaries moved a Parliamentary Bill demanding free access of teachers and preachers to India on the plea that it was the 'bounden duty of Englishmen to promote the happiness and interest of Indians by religious and moral improvement and the spread of useful knowledge'. This would ensure *mutual understanding between Indians and Englishmen*. (It should be noted that one theme common to the views of Sullivan, Grant and Wilberforce was 'mutual understanding between rulers and ruled through English language and education').

The operative part of the motion required the Court to send out a sufficient number of suitable persons for teaching and preaching in India. The British Parliament, however, *negatived the Wilberforce motion* on political and financial grounds. Parliamentary speeches raised the American analogy that education had endowed the Americans with a nationhood which caused the loss of England's American Empire. Mr. Randle Jackson, M. P. said, "We have lost our colonies in America by imparting our education. We need not do so in India". Others simply covered their opposition

Defeat of motion

by the plea that India had a good system of faith, morals and learning which must not be disturbed. Moreover, those were the days of the highest tide of the French Revolution when England had to pass through days of crisis. Friends of the French were not lacking in India. English rulers were sensitive of the danger that might be created by any miscalculated intervention. Opinion of local administration in India also disfavoured any break with the past. Financial impediments were no less important. Moreover, the Orientalists claimed that although education and learning in India was at a low ebb, fostering State care could retrieve ancient learning, thereby firmly winning the upper classes and castes.

This attitude was further strengthened by the Vellore Mutiny and the crisis precipitated by the Serampore Trio in 1807. The administration did unequivocally reassure the Indians that the Minto Minute Govt had no intention to intervene in religious and cultural affairs of India. Governor General *Lord Minto* despatched a Minute in 1811 that Science and Literature had been in a progressive state of decay amongst Indians. Number of learned men had been diminishing and learned circles contracting. He suggested reforms of Calcutta Madrasah and Benaras College, establishment of 2 new Sanskrit Colleges and a few more Madrasahs at Jaunpur, Bhagalpore etc, with the object of preserving Hindu-Muslim learning in a high state. Evidently, the interest of ancient learning was still being fostered and financial patronage of the State prayed for.

CHAPTER II

CHARTER ACT OF 1813

A Prelude to Western Education

(Serampore Mission & Fort William College)

No sooner had Lord Minto despatched his minute than a shift in the attitude of the British Parliament became evident. These were days of rapid changes in Indian conditions and their reflections on British attitude causing quick shifts in policy from co-operation to non-cooperation and again to co-operation with the missionaries. Although official thought on education till the first decade of the 19th century was not tuned to the theme of western education, socio-economic forces and cross currents had been already operative in Indian life gradually preparing the field for the same.

In late 17th century Sutanuti, Kalikata and Govindapur had been tiny villages full of ponds, marshes and jungles. The old fort was built in 1701. Company's trade was geared up, municipal services were first introduced in 1704. In 1752 Calcutta's population became 117364, whereas in 1710 it had been 12000.

Most of the native inhabitants of Calcutta were either menial employees of the shahibs or Dadni Merchants, Banians, Dalals and other people connected with the Company's trade and Commerce. Even before Plassey, some opponents of the Nowab had sought Company's shelter in Calcutta. This immigration developed into a constant stream after Plassey.

English victory at Plassey enhanced the importance of Calcutta, which, for all practical purposes, became the defacto capital of Bengal, although Murshidabad remained the de jure capital. Important offices of the Company's Govt. and the Supreme Court were located in Calcutta. Many people associated with these offices became residents of Calcutta. White Calcutta and Native Calcutta became two distinct parts of the town.

But the two sections interacted. This became further evident after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement when absentee landlords chose Calcutta as their place of hedonistic pleasure. Some of them, however became patrons of learning, arts and culture. Calcutta became

a great cauldron to mix up castes, creeds, colours. The traditional caste-aristocracy had to make room for monetary aristocracy.

Introduction of new economy, particularly the Permanent Settlement created problems of employment. Some people took to trade while others sought services. These people lost connection with productive enterprise and depended upon their intelligence and education. Thus arose the intellectual Baboo society. Interest of livelihood prompted these middle class people to learn English. They fathered a new culture pattern, the Calcutta Culture, with its typical characteristics. This class again became the harbinger of the Ranaissance.

The gradual introduction of new type education may be traced back to the early years of the 18th century. A start had been made by Chaplain Bellarmy in 1720. In 1731 was established the Charity School (with S.P.C.K. patronage). Another charity school was brought into being in 1734. The Free School was Christened in 1742. Ultimately in 1795 it came to be rechristened as Old Charity School of Janbazar with funds from the Old Calcutta Charity School and the Free School Society. Kiernander founded his school at Mission Church Lane in 1758. Other important ventures were Hedges Girls' School (1760)—the first girls' school; Hodges School (1780); Griffith's Boarding School at Baithak-khana (1780); Chitpore Boys' Boarding School (1784); Sherborne Academy (1784). Brown's Boarding School for Hindus was established in 1788. In quick succession 20 such schools were started, of which half a dozen were for girls. Ramjoy Datta's school at Kalootola (1791) was the first English School organized by a Bengalee gentleman. Then Came Union School (1798); Mr. Archer's School (1798); Farrel Seminary (1799); Calcutta Academy (1800); Mr. Reid's School (1800) etc.

As said earlier the socio-economic conditions created an urge for knowing English. Sri Ramlochan Ghosh of Pathuriaghata was the first English-knowing Bengalee. Many others followed suit and thereby caused the multiplication of institutions by private venture, most of them being profit making financial ventures. In short, by the end of the 18th Century the number of English residents increased to a considerable extent. Their children required to be educated in English schools. Indians resident in Calcutta and around and in

close association with the English, and particularly the Baboos felt the urge for English education. But, the missionaries, on account of their strained relation with the company were not in a position to fulfil the need. Private non-christian enterprise ventured into the field. A few such schools were enumerated above. And there were many more collective and individual efforts. In the opening years of the 19th century, the London Missionary Society established schools at Chinsurah and Vishakhapatnam. The Wesleyan Mission established schools at Agra, Surat, Meerut, Calcutta, Tranquebar etc. In 1800 A.D. the Fort William College was established. On its staff worked men like Carey, Colebrooke, Gilchrist. The most important role was, however, played by the Serampore Trio—Carey, Ward, Marshman.

Serampore Trio

A few names of Englishmen remain memorable in the history of modern culture in Bengal and India. N. B. Halhed, Jonathon Duncan, N. B. Edmonstone, H. P. Forster, John Thomas were such memorable ones. William Carey also ranked with them and attained more pre-eminence.

Carey had worked in 1786 as an Honorary teacher in England. In 1789 he became a clergyman and in 1793 he came to India under the inspiration of John Thomas. He appointed Ram Ram Bose (who had previously served John Thomas) as his Munshi. Carey, a propagandist, passed three years (1793—96) in Maldah. The first European style school had been founded there by John Ellarton. The second such school was established by Carey. While Carey had been working at Maldah and Dinajpur under administrative impediments, Mr. Ward, an expert printer, Mr. Marshman, a teacher, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Bransdon joined hands in 1799 in establishing the Serampore Mission, at Serampore, a Danish settlement. Carey joined them and in no time became the leader of the group. The Serampore Press was founded in 1800 A.D. Ram Ram Bose joined them in 1801. The activities of the Mission spread in three directions. Under Ward's leadership the Serampore Press became instrumental in printing almost all the printed matter for a score of years.

Marshman became the initiator in educational endeavour. Carey became a first rate linguist, propagandist, author and man of letters.

The three who worked together earned the epithet 'The Serampore Trio'.

As said earlier, the Trio established the Serampore Press in 1800 A. D. Charls Wilkins had been skilled in printing and had been in search of Bengalee black smiths to develop Bengali types. Panchanan Karmakar gave us such types and advanced the cause of the Bengali Press. In 1801, Carey translated the New Testament into Bengali. Subsequently it was translated into 31 Indian languages. Carey's Bengali Grammar came out that year. In 1801 was published the "Kathopakathan" (colloquies). The Old Testament, the Krittivas Ramayan and Kashiram's Mahabharata were printed in 1802. In 1803, 1807 and 1809 came out parts of the Old Testament which were used as text books in Fort William College. His "Itihashmala" (1812) was a collection of 150 popular anecdotes. Mention must be made of Carey's Anglo-Bengali Dictionary in 5 Volumes with 80 thousand words prepared between 1815 and 1825 A.D. Translation of the Anatomy section of Encyclopaedia Britannica came out in 1820 as "Vidyaharavali". He also wrote Marathi and Hindi Prose. Carey was also appointed Head of the Department of Oriental Languages at Fort William College.

Impelled by Christian faith and a liberal rationality the Trio brought out the propaganda booklet "Address of Hindoos and Mohammedans" in 1807. Some critical remarks about the religious rituals of Hindus and Muslims made in this publication infuriated the traditionalist leaders of both the communities. The Company's administration hastened to woo and reassure the conservative leaders by prohibiting the Trio's propaganda, ordering confiscation of the Press and even arrest of the offenders. Danish intercession saved the 'accused' although restrictions were imposed upon their activities. The Court of Directors openly reaffirmed the policy of cultural and religious neutrality.

Undaunted by inhibitory measures, Carey and Marshman established the Calcutta Benevolent Institution in 1810. In the same year Marshman established a boarding school at Serampore. By 1812, at least 10 Missionary Orders were operating in India's educational field. By 1815, more than 20 schools were established by

the Trio alone (majority of them, however, within 30 miles from Calcutta). By 1817, there were 115 schools. This momentum led to the foundation in 1818 of the Serampore College and encouraged the College to instruct Christian and non-Christian Indian youth in Western arts and sciences and to train teachers. This was the first English Missionary College in Bengal and was subsequently chartered in 1827 with the authority to award degrees. The privilege of awarding degrees in Divinity is still enjoyed by the college.

The Trio also successfully worked in the field of journalism. The first newspaper, Hickey's Bengal Gazette had been brought out in 1780. This path-finder encouraged the missionaries of Serampur. They started the Samachar Darpan in 1818 which became a polemical journal together with "Dig Darshan", another journal conducted by the Serampore Mission. This initial success in journalism opened the floodgates for the publication of other journals in quick succession, some of which became mouthpieces of Indian opinion and thereby played a vital role in the socio-political evolution in the 19th century.

To William Carey goes the credit of rallying a band of literary men at Serampore. One of them, Pandit Joygopal Tarkalankar had been for 3 years a Pundit of Colebrooke. From 1805 to 1823 he served at Serampore and was from 1818 to 1823 in the editorial department of the 'Darpan'. He was the real pillar of Samachar Darpan although the formal editor was J. C. Marshman. At Serampore he worked as a teacher in Mission School and from 1824 was for 22 subsequent years a teacher in Calcutta Sanskrit College. His literary contributions were 'Siksha-sar' for boys (1818); 'Patrer Dhara' for boys (1821); Kavikankan Chandi (1819); Valmiki Ramayana (1830-34); Mahabharata (1826); Persian Dictionary (1838) and Bengali Dictionary (1838). Most of the works of Carey and Joygopal were printed at Serampore Press. We must, therefore, unreservedly admit that the Serampore Trio immensely contributed towards the growth of Bengali language, literature, journalism and education and created a new atmosphere in the intellectual world.

Reference must also be made to Carey Shahib's Munshi Ram Ram Bose. In 1788 he had written the 'Hymns'. In 1800 he wrote the Gospel Messenger (a hundred line poem). In 1803 he gave a

biographical sketch of the Christ. Previously he wrote Raja Pratapaditya Charitra (historical biography). The next year was brought out his Lipimala. In fact Bengali pundits like Joygopal and Ram Ram were valuable assets to the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore.

Estimate of the Trio's contribution

The Trio had not established the mission with the object of serving Bengali language. They had embarked upon proselytising work. But the object of reaching the maximum number of people inspired them to use printed propaganda literature and thereby indirectly to serve the cause of Bengali language and literature. Of course, they had an inclination to pedagogic services. Their printing press printed not only spiritual matter, but also temporal and secular ones.

They contributed towards the development of Bengali Grammar. They initiated literary translations. These beginnings were pregnant with a fruitful and prolific future. Similarly valuable was Carey's Bengali Dictionary which included 85000 words including derivatives and syntax.

Mangal Samachar ("Mathew" of the Bible) prepared jointly by Ram Ram, John Thomas and William Carey is known to have been the first Bengali prose literature. This was followed by Itihashmala which included also satirical pieces. "Kathopakathan" was devised to help Europeans learn the colloquial words.

The Serampore Press gave a praiseworthy service towards the growth of essays and rational prose. Their services to language, literature and education forced the company's Govt. to seek their help in the preparation of books and as teachers in Fort William College.

The Serampore Mission and the Fort William College worked parallelly as independent institutions, but they supplemented each other although the Mission's work was denominational in nature while the F. W. College's work was basically secular. This secular trend stood the test of time and was incorporated as one aspect of the Govt's educational policy.

Things in India had been changing by this time. Bengal Presidency had been firmly brought under British administration. Absolute supremacy in the Deccan was almost complete. Administrative

reforms of Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis ushered in an era of settled socio-political life (with the exception of stray revolts here and there). A "baboo" society was fast developing in Calcutta. An Indian commercial class as well as 'Banians' and Agents working in co-operation with the Company was reared up. Consequent upon the Permanent Settlement of 1793 a new class of landowning aristocracy very much dependant upon English patronage had already been brought into being. As discussed earlier, these were the days of the origination of "Calcutta Culture." In and around the Company's centres of commerce and administration, the traditional Varnasramik society was fast crumbling down. Caste-aristocracy was being fast replaced by monetary aristocracy. This new trend was furthered by the Fort William College.

Fort William College

The activities of the Serampore Trio had been closely connected with the Fort William College. In fact, Rev. Carey occupies a major part of the early history of the college. Evidently, a complete estimate of Carey is impossible without reference to the development of the Fort William College and its role in the 19th century cultural developments in Bengal.

British victory at Plassey had led to what is known as Plassey loot. But uncontrolled loot had to be stopped consequent upon the industrial revolution in England and the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. A new look at administration became a need.

Since the last part of the 18th century the authorities of the company had been feeling the necessity of training the civilians involving native customs, values, laws and above all the languages. Governor General Lord Wellesley opined that European knowledge would form the core of the training while the external form would be Indian. With this objective, the Fort William College was established in 1800 A.D. under the initiative of Lord Wellesley.

The close contact that immediately developed between Indian society and men on the one hand and the European administrators on the other frightened the authorities of the company. From 1806 the training was provided at the 'East India College' in England. Although the role of the Fort William College as a training institute was thus

terminated, it continued to live till 1854 as a language institution for Europeans. The impact of the college upon languages, literature, culture and education was, therefore, tremendous. Between 1806 and 1854 Vidyasagar, Mrityunjoy Tarkalankar, Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan etc served here as teachers.

From 1801 A.D. Pundits and Moulvis were appointed in the college. William Carey accepted an offer to head the Bengali Department. He recruited a band of very able persons like Mrityunjoy Vidyalkar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan, Ramkrishna Tarkachuramoni, Mohan Prosad Thakur, Tarini Charan Mitra, Rajib Lochan Mukherjee, Hara Prosad Roy, Ram Ram Bose etc. Thus wrote Dewan Ramkamal Sen in 1834, "Study of Bengali language was made imperative on young officials. Persons versed in the language were invited by the Govt. and employed. A number of books were supplied by the Serampore Press which set the example. College pundits produced many excellent works. Among them Mrityunjoy Vidyalkar, Head Pandit of the college was eminent."

European scholars associated with the college included Neil. B. Edmonstone, William Kirkpatrick, Mathew Lumsden, Charles Stewart, John Baillie, J. B. Gilchrist etc.

Carey's 'Munshi' Ram Ram Bose authored many books, viz. "Raja Pratapaditya Charitra" (1801), "Jnanodaya", "Lipimala" (1802) etc.. Golaknath Sharma's Bengali translation of "Hitopadesha" came out in 1801. (Golaknath was not attached to Fort William College). Mrityunjoy Vidyalkar wrote "Vatrisha Simhasana", "Rajavali" and "Prabodh Chandrika". Tarini Charan Mitra's "Aesop's Fables" (Oriental Fabulist") (1803), Rajib Lochan Mukherjee's "Maharaja Krishna Chandra Charit" (1805), Ram Kishore Tarkalankar's version of Hitopadesha (1808), Haraprasad Roy's "Purusha Pariksha" (published in 1815 for students of the College), Ram Chandra Vidyabagisha's "Jyoti Samgraha" were important additions. Chandi Charan Mitra's "Tota Itihash (from Persian in 1805), Mohan Prased Thakur's English-Bengali Vocabulary (1810) and English-Oriya Vacabulary (1811), Kashinath Tarkapanchanan's 'Padartha Kounudi' must also be mentioned.

None of the Hindu pundits who were on the staff of the F. W. Collage or were associated with Serampore Mission embraced Chris-

tianity, although they had been expected to. They were held in high esteem by European scholars. J. C. Marshman compared Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar with Dr. Johnson, and commented, "His knowledge of the Sanskrit Classics was unrivalled and his Bengali composition has never been surpassed for ease, simplicity and vigour." John Thomas's autobiography records, "Ram Basu's daily conversation betokened also a deep conviction of the truth of the Gospel, and there was reason to hope he might soon be an acknowledged follower of Christ". It is further recorded, "He wrote Bengali hymns and, at a later date, some very effective tracts and almost down to his death in 1813, hopes were cherished that he might after all declare himself a disciple of Christ." But Ram Bose belied all hopes of the missionaries. John Marshman commented, "Ram Bosoo, though he contributed largely to the introduction of Christian truth into the country, never himself sought refuge in the doctrine of the Gospel."

Up to 1831 Dr. William Carey was at Fort William College. His genius helped to cover the wide field of creation by many scholars covering Bengali Grammar and Dictionary, writings in Sanskrit, Marathi, Oriya, Assamese, Panjabi, Karnat, The Bible in Bengali and other languages, Text Books and other books of interest including Agriculture, Geography, Botany, Zoology etc.

About Bengal and Bengalees Carey had written, "Bengal, seat of British Govt. centre of the commerce of the East, must be viewed as very important. Soil is fertile, population great; husbands, labourers and people in the lowest station, are often able to give that information on local affairs which every friend of science would be proud to obtain." About Bengali language he had written, "It may be esteemed as one of the most expressive and elegant languages of the East." "To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech capable of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future", observes a critic.

Carey's personal evaluation of himself is interesting. He wrote, "If he (a critic) give me credit for being a plodder, he will describe me justly. Anything beyond this will be too much. I can plod. I can persevere in definite pursuit. To this I owe everything."

The credit goes to the Serampore Trio as a whole. The work of

Serampore and the Fort Willim College should be considered together. The beginning they made in language, literature and education affected the whole cultural life of Bengal and prepared the soil for a new type of education—Western education.

William Carey's contributions towards the development of Bengali Prose literature cannot be over estimated. The Trio had initiated the publication of school and college text books. Most of the books used in the college were printed at Serampore.

The Fort William College had been established for the training of young officers of the Company. These young men had been reared up in the post French Revolution days and the atmosphere of the Industrial Revolution in England. They were imbued with new ideas. The College had both Indians and Europeans on its teaching staff. Within the precincts of the College and outside it, two cultural elements interacted. The stage was set for the Bengal Renaissance (which we shall discuss later). On the whole, there were signs of a new mental horizon with readiness to accept Western education.

Factors in favour
of change of
policy

The light that emitted from the Fort William College led to the multiplication of private institutions. Arraton Peter's school (1801), L. Schnabel's school (1802), Anandiram's school for Hindus (1802), Ramnarayan Mitra's school at Jorabagan, Khem Bose's school at Pathuriaghata, Nityananda Sen's school at Kalootola (1803) were a few of them. It is to be noted that many of the schools of this period were started by Indians. This tempo led to the establishment of the Hindu Vidyalaya in 1817.

Other factors had also changed very rapidly between 1793 and 1813 when the Company's Charter was again to be renewed. British possessions in India were now consolidated and the new administration was effectively operative. The Maratha power was almost crushed. The danger of the 'Revolution' and of Napoleon was waning. The momentum of the new economy demanded the operation of its cultural counterpart. The supporters of both Western education and Eastern education had suggested state intervention. Hence the Parliament considered the question of education in India.

The Charter Act of 1813

The Parliament had to decide upon two controversial issues, (i) attitude towards the missionaries, and (ii) the nature and extent of the role of the State in education. The Parliament dictated its own solution by inserting clauses in the Charter. On the first issue, the missionaries won in as much as *they were permitted to preach and teach freely in India* again. On the second issue the Directors' opposition on grounds of finance and apprehension of Indian reaction had to be encountered. Yet, *clause 43 of the Charter* required the company to spend *a lakh of rupees every year* for revival and improvement of the knowledge of sciences.

The decision was not adopted as smoothly as that. Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, Thomas Munro and Charles Grant (now an M.P.) were examined as witnesses. Hastings stuck to his policy of Orientalism. Munro even said, "If civilisation were to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that England will greatly benefit by the import of cargo". The missionaries, on the other hand, submitted as many as 850 petitions demanding free access to India.

The Directors were still in dilemma. In the first educational despatch (consequent upon the passing of the charter clause) sent out in 1814, they said that the clause had given two directions, (i) The Company should encourage the learned natives of India. (2) Help the promotion of the knowledge of Sciences amongst Indians. The Directors rejected the demand for establishment of public colleges on English model. They, on the other hand, suggested two modes of action, (1) Grant of gratuities to Indian pundits, (2) encouragement to Englishmen to acquire mastery of oriental languages and literature.

The then Governor General Lord Moira (Marquis of Hastings) agreed in 1815 to spend a large sum for the establishment and maintenance of institutions of higher oriental studies. He, however, turned his eyes to a new window. He expressed his desire to do something for poor village teachers. He also suggested the establishment of two experimental schools and a Home of Industry at the head quarters of each district.

Lord Hastings, however, failed to do anything. Political preoccupations and military campaigns kept the Govt so engrossed that nothing could be done to implement the charter clauses before 1823.

The nature of the charter clauses should be clearly understood. The Parliament directed the company to provide regular financial grant for improvement of learning and encouragement of learned men, but did not specify the type of learning that was to be aided, nor the medium of instruction. *Obviously it was a compromise solution which was very soon proved brittle.* In fact the Parliament could not firmly make up its mind as it could 40 years later. Similarly the missionaries were allowed to work freely, but they were not given monopoly privileges or absolute agency. To balance the missionary enterprise, the Parliament required the company to step into the field of education. This was the origin of a secular trend and temporal intervention in education under the agency of the State.

In spite of limitations, the charter clauses were of great historical significance. (1) They brought to an end the agitation of Charles Grant and his allies. (2) The missionaries did not get monopoly agency. Yet their activities got a spurt. With an extensive organisation and ready resources they entered into a new round of activities. (3) The company did not accept the responsibility to provide education, but recognised its "duty" to do the same. (4) A system of educational grants was initiated. The specified amount would not meet a fraction of the needs, but obligatory spending from revenue resources was a turning point. Prior to 1813, the company had provided financial aids indirectly through the missionaries. But now the State directly entered into the field as a positive factor. (5) The state aid would, however, cover a fraction of the needs. The rest was left open to private enterprise (*viz.* missionary enterprise). It was a sort of partnership between official and non-official enterprise which continues to this day. (6) The charter clause opened up a phase of controversies in regard to the type of education, the medium of instruction, the extent of state responsibility and the mode of educational administration. (7) Educational movement thenceforth became a movement for (a) extension of state responsibility, and (b) determination of educational policy in the interest of greater and greater numbers of Indian people.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION

The Charter Act of 1813 was *basically a policy decision in respect of 3 things* that (i) missionary enterprise might be renewed with vigour, (ii) The Govt's duty was admitted, (iii) State aid being meagre, the role of unofficial agencies was recognised. Educational developments in the subsequent years followed these broad tracks. Missionary enterprise in this period was undoubtedly the mightiest. We should start with as assessment of that. New work was added to those already done or was being done by the Serampore Mission.

Between 1813 and 1833 missionaries arrived from various western countries (mainly Protestant) and selected their respective spheres of influence. The General Baptist Missionary Society worked mainly in Orissa, the London Missionary Society in Bengal, the Church Missionary Society selected Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the Wesleyan Mission preferred Trichinopoly and the Scotch Mission worked at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. After renewal of Charter in 1833, more missionaries came between 1833 and 1853. The important immigrants were Basel Mission Society, The Lutheran Society, Women's Association for Education of Females in the Orient (founded in Berlin), The American Baptist Union, The American Board and American Presbyterian Mission.

The most important role in Bengal was played by London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society and Scottish Missionary Society. Under Rev. May's leadership, the London Society alone established 36 schools around Chinsurah, between 1810 and 1818. The Church Missionary Society founded 10 indigenous type schools around Burdwan, and in 1835 this Society conducted as many as 107 schools. The American Marathi Mission founded 2 schools in Bombay. The Wesleyan Mission established schools in Madras and Nagapattam while the Irish Mission was active in Gujrat. The Bishop's College in Bengal and Wilson College in Bombay were creations of this period. Gradually the whole of northern India felt the impact of missionary educational work.

Changed nature of missionary work

The nature of missionary work after 1813 was different from that before 1813. Prior to 1813, the missionaries had worked mainly in the field of primary education through the modern Indian languages and proselytised where and when possible. After 1813, although they did not withdraw from primary education, their attention was gradually shifted to secondary and higher education. English was consciously adopted as medium. Bible reading was made compulsory in mission schools and conversion was particularly attended to. The clientele of such higher education became gradually limited to the middle and upper strata of society. The new type of education led to the establishment of new types of schools—the secondary schools. Women's education was a special field of missionary work.

Rev. May's Girls' School at Chinsurah (1818) initiated a movement for women's education. William Carey founded a girls' school at Serampore in the following year. In 1820, the Calcutta Female Jevvenile Society conducted 18 schools. Immediately after her arrival, Miss Cook established 8 schools in 1821 and 4 more in the following year. Together with the 3 Rs. history, geography and needle work were accepted as curricular subjects. Indirect Govt. patronage came through the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education formed in 1824. With a handsome donation of Rs 20,000 from Raja Vaidyanath, the Central School was established in 1826 by Mrs. Wilson (formerly Miss Cook). Teacher-training classes were also initiated.

Modern women's education was contemporaneously initiated at Madras and Bombay also. The first school in Madras was established in 1821 and by the middle of the century, the number rose to 7.

The first school in Bombay was founded in 1824, and in the next decade the number rose to 10. Girls' schools were established also at Benares, Mirzapore, Allahabad, Bereilly etc. in North Western Province (i.e. Uttar Pradesh).

Missionary enterprise was amply supported by the leaders of the Renaissance, particularly Raja Rammohun. The Young Bengal leaders extended whole hearted support. The momentum of the movement influenced even the traditionalists like Raja Radhakanta Dev. Schools were established in Howrah and Sibpore. Khulna, Backergunj and Chittagong did not lag behind. Rev. Adam in his report referred to the

existence of girls' schools in Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Krishnagore, Murshidabad. Girl's schools at Circular Road, Creek Row, Chitpore and 'Thanthania in Calcutta acquired fame. Depending upon wholesale Indian effort, schools were established at Uttarpara, Jessore, Barasat in Bengal and Poona, Ahmabad, Bombay and other places outside Bengal. Mahatma Phule was the pioneer in Poona. The 'Students' Scientific and Literary Society in Bombay conducted 9 schools. Rao Bahadur Maganbhai Karamchand made a donation of Rs. 20,000. In Bengal, the Bethune School, initiated by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune was established in 1849. A strong foundation of women's education was thus laid even before 1853, and we must recognise our debt to the missionaries in this respect. Their contribution to the development of language and literature were previously discussed. In fact, our culture-pattern was immensely influenced by the remarkable contributions of the 19th Century missionaries in the fields of (i) Western education, (ii) Language and Literature, (iii) Women's education, and (iv) Pioneering efforts in Teacher-education.

Missionary policy in this period was vitally influenced by the leadership of Rev. Alexander Duff of the Scottish Mission. Duff's opinion was that full-fledged Western education and love for the Bible would ensure moral uplift of Indians. Hence, conversion of Indians of upper social strata should be a prime objective of the missionaries. And educational efforts should be concentrated in the upper sections of Indian Society.

Alexander Duff

After survival from ship-wrecks on two successive occasions on his way Alexander Duff of the Church of Scotland reached Calcutta on 27th May, 1830. He rented a house near the Hindu school so that he might easily contact the students of the school. The ground floor of that house was christened a "lecture-hall". Rev. Lalbehari Dey writes of the first lecture delivered here by Bishop Hill, "That lecture fell like bombshell among the college authorities". Even before five months had elapsed, Duff established his General Assembly's Institution on 13th of July, the same year only with five students. He received Rammohan Roy's cooperation in this venture. Rammohan helped him to secure accomodation for the school in "Phiringi" Kamal Bose's

house on Chitpore Road. He also received Rev. Carey's sympathy. These were the days when the Derozio affair had raised a storm on the socio-cultural horizon of Bengal. After the death of their master, the young Derozians also joined hands with Duff. Before the expiry of three years from inception, the roll strength of the Institution reached 120.

Lord Macaulay came to India in 1834 and was nominated by Lord Bentinck to presidentship of the G.C.P.I. The Oriental-Occidental controversy was brought to an end in 1835 by Lord Bentinck with unequivocal support from Lord Macaulay. This naturally strengthened the stream of students to Duff's school. Reports on the academic excellence of the school supplied fuel to the language controversy and strengthened the hands of the occidentalists. The construction of the buildings of the present Scottish Church College was started in 1837. Classes started here in 1839 when the roll strength had come to 700. Duff divided the school courses into 2 stages - 14 years' preparatory or Normal and 4 years' college sections.

The account of Rev. Lalbehari Dey, author of the Folk Tales of Bengal who had been a first year student at the college in 1843 throws light on the standard of the institution. The texts prescribed for the terminal examination included Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, Bacon's *Novum Organon*, Brown's *Letters on Moral Philosophy*, also *Analytical Geometry*, *Magnetism*, *Steam Navigation*, *Sanskrit Grammar*, "*Mugdhabodh*", *Gulistan*, *Wastan* (Persian) and various scriptures. Yet, most peculiar and noteworthy feature was that inspite of this high academic standard and inspite of his being a staunchest upholder of modern English education Rev. Duff had declared that none without reading and writing proficiency in his mother tongue would be admitted to the English class.

A fissure in the Scottish Church in 1843 caused a fissure in Duff's institution too. Duff established a separate school—the 'Free Church Institution' and collected donations for a separate building. The great crisis of 1857, however, brought the two groups again together. Duff and Ogilvie again joined hands. (A few words on the subsequent history of the institution;— In 1883, while lecturing in the English lecture gallery of the college on Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*, Rev. Hasty said that the calm, quiet and illuminating figure described in

the poem had a parallel in Ram Krishna Paramhansa of Dakshineswar. Young Narendranath Datta, one of the audience received his guiding light of life.

Sri Satishchandra Bose in 1904 established a gymnasium at the place where the present science departments are located with the objective of "creating new and youthful India in mind and body". Two years later in the same gymnasium in Madan Mitra Lane at Manicktala was born the Anusilan Samity which in its turn fathered many of the firebrand revolutionaries of Bengal.

In 1908, the General Assembly's Institution and the Free Church Institution merged to form the present Scottish Churches College. Upon his expulsion from Presidency College, Subhaschandra Bose got admitted to this college in 1917. The college experienced a students' strike for a month in 1927 on the question of students' right of Self-Govt. Subhas Chandra delivered lectures in support of the strike. When in 1930, during the centenary celebrations of the college, Subhas Chandra expressed his unwillingness to preside over the function if Governor General Lord Arwin inaugurated the celebrations, the college authorities prevailed upon Lord Arwin to desist from joining the inaugural functions.

The lamp that Rev. Duff had lighted is still being held high by many institutions like St. Margaret's School, Duff School, St. Ninians School, Christ Church School, Holy Child School, Scottish Church School etc.)

The Objectives of early missionary enterprise in the 18th century had been to get roots in Indian soil. They could secure converts from the poorer and lower classes of Indian society. They had to concentrate upon primary education through the mother tongue of the people.

Missionaries of the 19th century were very much conscious of the new social metabolism. They readily understood the importance of the middle classes for the administration of the colonial empire consequent upon the industrial revolution in England. Without completely giving up primary education, they now particularly concentrated upon secondary and higher education through the medium of English with the belief that English education and Christianity would produce a new class of people who would be the bricks and mortar of British

administration in India. This new thought was spearheaded by Duff and his associates.

For all practical purposes, Alexander Duff led a full-fledged movement. He held that (i) the "Secular" schools of the Company were offensive, because ungodly education was no education ; (ii) those schools were more expensive, (iii) with their experience, organisation and moral right, the missionaries alone were competent to cater education. Hence the state should provide financial assistance to the missions and withdraw itself from the field of education. Duff also condemned Lord Hardinge's proposal to select candidates for Govt employment by examination on the basis of the syllabus pursued in Govt schools, and demanded a prerogative of the missionaries in this field also.

However great the contributions of the Missions might have been, the above noted aggressiveness contained the roots of their ultimate failure. There is no denying that a small fraction of the upper-class Indians had embraced Christianity, but the majority of the middle classes had not. Most of them would accept western education without Christianity. Thus a conflict developed between denominational western education and secular western education. The Company was more interested in winning over these middle class people of social importance. Hence a conflict arose between the Missionaries and the Govt.

Other Contributions

Awakening was not limited to Bengal alone. It affected, although unequally and in differently spaced periods, the other parts of India. Two illustrious names may be referred to in this connection. *Jagannath Sankarset* of Bombay upheld the cause of secular education, women's education and Indian enterprise in modern education. But he never desired wholesale Westernisation, nor did he like English as a compulsory medium of instruction. Similarly, *Mahatma Phule* established girls' schools at Bombay and also schools for Harijan Children. His demand for mass education had sown the seeds of the future movement for compulsory primary education.

Non Official European enterprise (apart from missionary enterprise) was also not negligible. In many cases, non-official European enterprise

and non-official Indian enterprise became complementary to each other. *The Bombay Education Society* (1815) took over the responsibility of conducting charity schools that had been established previously and also founded new schools. "Non official, non European enterprise" *Bombay Native Education Society*" (1822) initiated the establishment of English schools, the Printing of Text books and the Training of Teachers. In 1848, Prof. Patton organised a "Students' Literary and Scientific Society" which had *Dadabhai Naoroji* on its membership roll. In Madras also a School Society was formed. In N. W. Province an English school was founded at Benaras with an endowment from Joynarayan Ghosal (1818) and the Agra College with an endowment from Gangadhar Sastri.

Bengal, however, led the field. *David Hare* conducted a junior school. Rammohan had his Anglo-Hindu School. And above all the Hindu College was brought into existence.

There were other developments too. "*The Calcutta School Book Society*", formed in 1817 adopted the task of producing text books for students and distributing them. It was a very successful venture. "*The Calcutta School Society (1819)*", formed with Indians and Europeans started establishing English and Bengali schools and also pedagogic schools. Within the span of a few years it earned the credit of conducting more than a hundred schools. In 1821 it ran 115 schools. The Society supervised these schools, supplied text books for students and conducted examinations.

The Company's Govt was not oblivious of the changes in Indian Society. The basic objective of the Company in the 18th century had been the stabilisation of political authority. Hence they did not wound the susceptibilities of the Indian millions, adopted the policy of benevolent neutrality toward socio-cultural issues and even upheld classicism and patronage to the conservatives.

Consequent upon the Permanent Settlement and English Industrial Revolution they had to adopt a new attitude to the Indian colony. They had to rear up a colonial system of education and culture as an aid and adjunct to colonial administration for which they should rely upon the new-grown middle class intelligentsia. They opposed and persecuted the young Derozian not for their love of English educa-

tion, but for the flecks of anti imperialist spirit with which the young Bengal movement was fraught.

The govt, therefore, adopted an official policy of occidental education. The Renaissance helped the adoption of this new policy.

"The Renaissance"

The East India Co's educational policy after the Charter Act of 1813 was to a large extent influenced by that socio-cultural movement which came to be designated as the Renaissance.

When two cultures come in contact with each other, they must interact. If one of them is immensely mightier, there is every possibility of its overwhelming the other. But if they are comparable to each other, there is every possibility of adjustment, inter-polation and synthesis. The socio-cultural throbbing created by such interaction may infuse new characteristics into an ancient but moribund culture and thereby re-enliven it. Such a situation may be called a Renaissance. Such a new awakening in India started with Bengal, the centre of the then commerce and Govt. of India, and the area most influenced by English language and culture. Hence it came to be termed as Bengal Renaissance.

Mediaevalism in our social life, including casteism and purdah had functioned as stranglehold upon social development. The true spirit of Hinduism had been buried deep under heaps of mediaeval superstition and priestly mysticism. Scientific concepts which had been a feature of ancient Indian thought had made room for irrational fatalism and blind faith. The worth of the individual was denied by a feudal socio-economic order. The common man had no place in the political order. Creative literature was a matter of the past.

When such a corrupt and decadent political, economic and social order combined with religious superstition and social conservatism to sap the vitality of the society, when the world of culture and education had been in a static state leading to decomposition, we were awakened by a tremendous thrust under the impact of a new type administration under British rule, a commercial monetary economy, liberal socio-political ideas consequent upon the American war of Independence and the French Revolution which shook the foundation of our socio-economic life. A new ideology was born under the influence of Western science, philosophy and political ideals. The changes that occurred in

our religious, social and political thought and the consequent upheaval in our literary pursuits, in rational thinking, in reform movements and our value system came to be designated as Bengal Renaissance.

There were, no doubt, differences between the background and the causes of European Renaissance of the 15th century which ushered in the modern era in European life, and the Bengal Renaissance of the 19th century. But there were unmistakable similarities in features. In both of them, there was an urge to discover and reclaim ancient knowledge by a rational analysis of classical literature. Such an enquiry led, in both the cases, to religious reformation movements. As the European Renaissance had led to the birth of National languages and humanistic literature, so did the Bengal Renaissance lead to the development of Bengali language and literature simultaneously with the penetrating analysis of the classics. The recognition of the worth of the individual led to the concept of individual liberty and emancipation of women. Attachment to rationality and scientific knowledge had been a feature of the European Renaissance. The Bengal Renaissance also initiated a scientific attitude and the urge to accept the knowledge of science even if it came from the West and through the English medium. Urge for new education was a reflection of this ideology. In short, the replacement of an old value system by a new system was symptomatic of the renaissance.

There is no denying that a small number of new born middle class people were the torch bearers of this movement and were most benefited by the fruits of the movement. True it is that the Bengal Renaissance failed to reach the social roots and stir up the society as a whole. True also is the observation that the Bengal Renaissance failed to produce vital changes in the life of the common man or the social structure. This explains the controversy whether it can be termed a 'Renaissance'. The period has therefore been designated variously as "Jagaran", "Nava Janma", "Navayug" etc. and not as a total national resurgence.

A solution of this tangle is not required for our present purpose. We may, in short, point out the characteristics of this age, viz—(i) rational analysis of religion, (ii) new trends in literature, (iii) Humanism and love for freedom, (iv) opposition to unpurposive classicism, (v) attachment to freedom of opinion, including freedom of the Press.

(vi) understanding of the value of Western education and its culture-values. (vii) urge for social reform, (viii) early signs of nationalism, (ix) hope for a better future, (x) A positive attitude towards the sciences etc. This movement infused a new momentum into Indian society, gave it a new dimension and was fraught with the urge for freedom and internationalism.

The sober leaders of the movement neither totally abandoned the oriental glories of the past, nor rejected the new wave from the West. A happy synthesis between the best of the East and the best of the West was their objective. It was a century-long movement developing in a few phases with distinctive peculiarities of each phase. The first phase was led by Raja Rammohan Roy. In the second phase the leader was Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, and Rabindranath's life and work witnessed its consummation.

Raja Rammohan Roy

Well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, English and other languages, the Raja was also well versed in Hindu, Jaina, Buddhist and Christian theology. Free from mediaeval superstition, he propagated Upanishadik monotheism, simultaneously criticising the aggressive narrowness of the Christian missionaries. He took upon himself the task of making the East and the West known to each other. He was ready to accept the best from the Occident, but at the same time was intent on retaining the best of the Orient. While ready to accept Western learning, he was ready to cull the best of Vedantic learning. He accepted English as a language of education, but came also to be known as the father of modern Bengali prose. Voltaire, Euclid, Astronomy and Mechanics found place in the syllabus of his Anglo-Hindu school established by him in 1822 for the education of Bengali Hindus. David Hare, Rev. Adam helped it. Debendranath Tagore was a student of this school. His Vedantic College (1825) offered lessons in Hindu Philosophy and literature together with English and Science. Rammohan helped the Serampore Trio, Rev. Adam and even the aggressive Duff in establishing schools. His voluntary effort was extended towards the setting up of girls' schools. He was one of the well wishers of the Hindu School founded in 1817. And when a proposal was mooted in 1823 to establish a Sanskrit College in Calcutta,

Rammohan and his friends submitted a memorandum to Lord Amherst demanding public expenditure for useful western knowledge. This outright demand from the progressive section of enlightened Indians supplied the fuse to the heat-generating Oriental—Occidental controversy. Rammohan had the courage to say that even Nyaya was of little value. The memorandum said, "The Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness". It demanded "a liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy with other useful subjects." Rammohan's desire was "effective knowledge" which he had been trying to cater through his Anglo-Hindu school.

The success of the Hindu College might have inspired Rammohan to demand modern western education, although he had not himself been admitted into the Board of Governors of that institution. The G.C.P.I. which was dominated by orientalist lashed out at him and outright rejected a plea from "an Indian who had been cast out from his own society" for his rebellious thoughts and deeds.

But the time had been fast changing. The company's Court of Directors had its well calculated designs. In 1824 it was written to the local authorities in India that the "great end" should be "not Hindu learning, but useful learning." About Hindu and Islamic literature the Board wrote, "You bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned". It is to be noted, however, that although the views of Rammohan and the Court of Directors were similar to each other in respect of the desired subjects of study, the objectives were different as we shall discuss later.

Historians of different views have, in course of the last 15 years, developed a controversy about the real value of Rammohan's work and his place in history as a pioneer in various fields. The long standing concept that the idea of the Hindu College was first mooted at an Atmiya Sabha meeting at Rammohan's house and David Hare was one of the initiators has been seriously challenged. This much, however, is clear that Rammohan was kept out of the Governing Body of the college and David Hare joined it in 1819. There is no denying, however, that Rammohan Roy had been all out in sympathy for the college and helped it in various ways.

As said earlier, Rammohan was a path finder for new education and social reforms. In religious and social views he was unquestionably liberal. He founded the Atmiya Sabha for free and open discussions on religious and social reforms. Idolatry, Casteism, Polygamy, Suttee, child marriage were the main subjects of discussion. In the wake of this venture, Rammohan founded in 1828 his Brahmo Sabha for reform of Hinduism on the basis of true Upanishadik Philosophy. This plant gradually sprouted into a big tree with many branches, all of which played important roles not only in socio-cultural life but also in the political life of India.

Rammohan upheld a liberal political thought. In his journals he upheld the struggle for freedom in China, Greece, Naples, Ireland and of the Spanish Americans. He showed respect to the French Tri-colour Flag of revolution. In a memorandum to the British Parliament in 1831 he lodged protest against imposition of rent on rent-free land, many of the damaging features of the Permanent Settlement, and in favour of separation of the judicial and administrative departments and Indians' right of recruitment to administrative offices. His role in the matter of the abolition of suttee is so well known that it needs no further elucidation.

The Govt was ready to introduce English education and Rammohan was ready to accept English education. The objectives, however, were poles apart. The govt wanted to impose a colonial bondage in education. Rammohan desired to modernise Indian society which would result in self consciousness and ultimately lead to a national awakening. What Rammohan wanted was a synthesis, not blind servitude. That is why he brought out a Bengali Dictionary and encouraged modern Bengali prose literature while he advocated western learning.

Rammohan's contributions to other aspects of social and literary life were highly valuable. True it is that Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar, Ram Ram Bose, Rajiblochan, Carey etc. had preceded him in the field of Bengali prose literature, yet it must be admitted that Rammohan contributed a style and standard which facilitated the development of Bengali Prose as a vehicle of stories, novels as well as polemical literature.

It is well known that he was in favour of widow remarriage, although he had his misgivings about the society's acceptance or

reaction. Similarly he had been the foremost propagandist for abolition of Sutte although he had his misgivings about law-making and legal processes. Rammohan was eloquent on the beneficial aspects of British rule, even the part played by indigo farmers in raising the standard of living of the peasant, yet it was he who stood for freedom of the Press, criticised the Govt's measures in regard to the Jury system, and in 1831 represented the case of India to the Parliamentary Select Committee, against many of the wrongs done by the Permanent Settlement. His 'An Appeal to the Christian Public' (1820), the papers conducted by him—"The Brahmanical Magazine" (English, 1821), "Sambad Kaumudi" (Bengali, 1821), "Meerut-ul-Akhbar" (Persian, 1823) sought to establish rationality in thought and social action. As a humanist, Rammohan upheld the cause of human liberty everywhere in the world.

Many of the intellectual and social trends which were furthered by Rammohan Roy had been gradually developing even before the days of Rammohan. But his vitality and undaunted spirit brought the matter up to the surface, expedited the movement of the New Age and created a social upheaval with far-reaching consequences. He propagated a rational analysis of religion, understood the cultural values of Western Sciences and Literature and the need for western education, opposed useless expenditure on non-utilitarian classicism, preached Humanism and love of freedom, upheld the freedom of the Press, protested against the baneful aspects of British administration. These were characteristics which characterised the Bengal Renaissance. He was not the sole creator of the New Age. But he was a great representative and exponent of that age and showed the way which might lead to the birth and growth of a modern India. It was not for nothing that he was called "Bharat Pathik".

It is to be remembered that in his memorandum to Lord Amherst he demanded Western Knowledge, but did not demand English as a sole medium of that knowledge. As said earlier he upheld the cause of a rational study of the classics. His basic objective was modernisation of India under the influence of Modern Sciences and the discovery and firm establishment of India's own "self" by a synthesis between old and new. Excepting the conflict on the question of religious dogma and practices, and some aspects of the nature and methods of social reform, the conservative leaders and Rammohan Roy might stand on the same

platform, particularly in respect of education (of course with some differences). The development of the Hindu College may be considered in this connection.

Critical Estimate of Rammohan Roy

True it is that the credit of initiating Bengali prose literature is not only Rammohan's due. Carey and a few others had preceded Rammohan. Yet it must be admitted that he had initiated a style, standard and momentum which helped the growth of story, novel and essay forms rapidly.

A major feature of Rammohan's movement was his attempt to make the Hindu society and religion mobile on the basis of vedic monotheism, anti-casteism, and freedom from blind superstitions. He never claimed that Brahmoism was a new dogma. He rather claimed it to have been a reformation movement for the reinstatement of pure Vedic religion. This was a challenge not only to the conservative Hindu doctrines, but also to the tall claims of Christianity. This movement loosened the conservative knots and accelerated the Renaissance as a whole.

The social and religious trends that Rammohan Roy fostered had actually started from pre-Rammohan days. But his vitality and boldness transformed the mild stream into a stormy river, and heralded a future pregnant with immense possibilities. In fact, it is the time and society that create the man of the time, but the man of the time influences the time and its movement.

Of course Rammohan Roy was not alone on the road. He had associates and fellow travellers like Kalinath Rai of Taki, Manmatha Nath Mullick, Rajkrishna Sinha, Dwarkanath Tagore, Tarachand Chakraborti, Chandrasekhar Dev etc. Yet, there is no denying that he led the way. That is why he is called the Bharat Pathik.

Two historic comments on Rammohan will suffice for our purpose. In appreciation of Rammohan's struggle against feudal values, Bipin Chandra Pal commented a century later that the priceless value of the Raja's efforts was his struggle against medievalism, for which he is recognised and honoured as the father of the Renaissance.

And Rabindranath said that the Bengali society had been ghostly. Rammohan advanced to deliver this society from its bondage. He illumined the then Hindu Society. The foundation of the present

Bengali Society was laid by Rammohan. All Bengalees are his inheritors and are sheltered in the house raised by him.

Although Rammohan Roy stood for a synthesis of cultures to rouse India from stupor, the stir created by his movement created multiple reactions and widespread ripples. The three streams of reaction were represented by (1) the extremists known as young Derozians or Young Bengal, which included Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Radhanath Sikder, Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyay, Jnanendramohan Tagore and Michael Madhusudan at the tail end, (2) the conservative-traditionalists led by Raja Radhakanta Dev including Prosannakumar Tagore, Ramkamal Sen, Bhowanicharan Bandyopadhyay, Iswarchandra Gupta and Bankim Chandra at the tail end, (3) the synthesist centrists led by Debendranath Tagore and Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and ultimately Rabindranath. We shall have to refer to them in our subsequent discussions. The ripples referred to above are still to be felt. The immediate effect was, however, registered in the Hindu College.

Biographical sketch of Rammohan

He was born on 22nd May, 1772, at Radhanagar in Hooghly district in a priestly family of Pundits. His ancestors, however, had gradually shifted to administrative and revenue services.

Received earliest lessons in Subhankari in home under a private tutor. Then had primary education in Pathsala, Chatuspathi and Maktav (to study Arabic and Persian). Went to Patna for higher education where he studied English and Aristotle in Arabic and Persian versions, as also the Quran and Sufi literature. Went to Benares to study Sanskrit and Hindu theology. Back to Radhanagar at 16 years wrote a tract against idolatry. Had to leave home under social ostracism. Wanderings in and beyond India, including Tibet. Came back 4 years later and was accepted by father.

To Calcutta in 1797 where he began to learn English. Productive friendship with civilian John Digby. Finally settled in Calcutta in 1814 and was admitted into the aristocratic society. Formed Atmiya Sabha in 1815 which included Gopimohan Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Munshi, Nandakishore Bose, Brindaban Mitra, Brojomohan Mazumdar, Nilratan Haldar etc. Started direct movement in 1818

with a tract against Suttee, which was followed by a second in 1819, and a third in 1829. Anti-Suttee legislation was passed on 4th Dec. 1829. The Privy Council rejected the appeal preferred against it by the Orthodox group. In the meantime wrote "Brief remarks regarding the modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females according to Hindu laws of interitance."

Went to London in 1830. Also visited France. Back to England where at Bristol he died on 27th September, 1833.

Some Extracts

On the Missionaries, Rammohan wrote, "I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles are quite different from those human inventions which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess."

Rammohan's opinion was further elucidated in "Precepts of Jesus" and three tracts of Appeal to the Christian Public. The nice exposition of Rammohan won over Rev. William Adam who declared himself a Unitarian and was expelled from his Order.

On the other hand Rammohan wrote to John Digby about Hindu orthodoxy, "I not only employed verbal arguments against the absurdities of the idolatry practised by them, but translated their most revered theological work, namely Vedant into Bengali and Hindustani and also several chapters of the Ved in order to convince them that the unity of God and absurdity of idolatry are evidently pointed out by their own scriptures."

On the rights of women : In 1829-30 Supreme Court Justice Grey followed the Mitakshara laws against the age old Dayabhaga in the matter of women's right to property. Rammohan quoted the unequivocal authority of Jimutabahana himself, the author of Dayabhaga and referred also to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. He quoted relevant observations of Yajnavalkya, Katyayana, Narada, Vrihaspati, Vyas etc. and declared "All the ancient law givers unanimously awarded the rights of women to property."

On polygamy : Rammohan wrote, "The horrible polygamy among Brahmins is directly contrary to law given by ancient authorities who specified the causes which might allow a second marriage."

On Suttee : Rammohan compared the views of Angira, Vyasa, Harita etc. on the one hand, and Manu, Veda, Vrihaspati, Yajnavalkya etc. on the other hand on the question of con cremation and post-cremation and showed that most of the law givers had prescribed an ascetic life for widows and not self-immolation. (It may be noted that the appeal preferred against prohibition of suttee was rejected by Privy Council in 1832 when Rammohan was in England.

Aspects of Rammohan's political views

On the Jury Bill Rammohan wrote, "In his famous Jury Bill, Mr. Wynn, the late president of the Board of Control has by introducing religious distinctions into the judicial system of this country, not only afforded just grounds for dissatisfaction among the Natives in general, but has excited much alarm in the breast of everyone conversant with political principles. Any Natives, either Hindu or Mohammedan, are rendered by this Bill subject to judicial trial by Christians, either European or Native while Christians including Native converts are exempted from the degradation of being tried either by a Hindu or a Mussalman Juror, however high he may stand in the estimation of society. This Bill also denies both to Hindus and Mussalmans the honour of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of follow Hindus and Mussalmans."

"If it were indeed necessary to protect the Christian population of Calcutta from the possible operation of Hindu and Muslim prejudices in the administration of criminal justice, surely it would be at least equally necessary to protect Mussalmans and Hindus from the operation of Christian Justice." (128 Hindus and 116 Muslims had signed the memorandum).

It may be noted that after a prolonged agitation Charles Grant, the then president of the Board of control moved a Jury Bill in 1832, when Rammohan was in England, remedying the points raised by Rammohan, and the Bill was passed.

On freedom of the Press : Lord Wellesley had curtailed freedom of the press which was restored in 1818 by Lord Moira (Hastings).

But the same year the Calcutta Journal of Mr. Buckingham was taken to task. But Rammohan now stepped into the field. In 1821 he founded his 'Sambad Koumudi' and in 1822 brought out the Mir-at-ul-Akhbar in Persian. These papers discussed socio-political problems and were managed fully by Indians. Officiating Governor General Mr. Adams imposed restrictions on the Native Press in 1823.

Rammohan Roy led a few other intellectuals to submit a representation to the Supreme Court requesting the latter not to register the ordinance. The memorandum ran, "The memorialists have the misfortune to observe—that His Excellency, the Governor General in Council has lately promulgated a rule and ordinance imposing severe restraints on the press and prohibiting all periodical publications even at the Presidency and in the Native languages, unless sanctioned by a license from the Govt. which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Govt that a publication has contained anything of unsuitable character. ...Your memorialists are extremely sorry to observe that a complete stop would be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translation into the popular dialect of the country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. ...Your memorialists are persuaded that the British Govt is not disposed to adopt the political maxim... that the more a people are kept in darkness, their rulers will derive the greater advantage from them...your memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance."

(The signatories were Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Rammohan Roy, Hara Chandra Ghosh, Gouricharan Banerjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore).

The Supreme Court, however, registered the Ordinance. And Rammohan appealed to the King in Council that, "The existence of a free press is equally necessary for the sake of the Governors and the Governed. ...The abolition of this most precious of the privileges is the more appalling to your Majesty's faithful subjects, because it is a violent infringement of the civil and religious rights which, under the British Govt, they hoped would be always secure". (Though the memoranda did not bear immediate fruit, the restrictions were withdrawn a few years later).

Early specks of Internationalism : When Austrian soldiers trampled the freedom of Naples, Rammohan wrote a letter to Mr. Buckingham, Editor of the Calcutta Gazette, the last lines of which were, "Enemies of liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful."

On Education : As said earlier, educational activities received a spurt after 1813. The London Missionary Society established the first English school in 1814. This was followed by other missionary and non-missionary attempts. The Hindu school with which Rammohan had full sympathy was founded in 1817. In 1822, Rammohan established his own Anglo-Hindu School with Rev. Adam as the superintendent and Mr. More Croft as the principal. Debendranath Tagore was a student of the school. Voltaire's "History of Charles XII of Sweden" was a text adopted here.

Rammohan accepted western education as a means of temporal gains and social welfare. Hence he could not support any moribund knowledge. He, rather, emphasised the study of Politics, Economics, Law. He stood for industries to repel poverty. For the growth of industries he desired material and scientific knowledge of the west, even in English medium. Rammohan authored a geography book in Bengali and English, the Goudia Vyakaran, and translated a book on Astronomy for the Calcutta School Book Society.

Letter to Lord Amherst ; Dec. 1823 : When a proposal to establish a Sanskrit College in Calcutta was mooted, Rammohan wrote to the Governor-General, "We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum will be laid out in employing European gentlemen with talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences. ...we now find that the Govt are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge. Neither can such improvement arise from such speculations which are the themes suggested by the Vedant...they deserve no real affection and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. In

representing this subject to your Lordship, I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen."

Rammohan's Trust Deed stands witness to the catholicity of Rammohan's religious views. The Deed of the Brahmo Samaj, dt. 8th June. 1832, between Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Ramchandra Vidyabagish, Rammohan Roy, Baikuntha Nath Roy, Radha Prasad Roy and Ramanath Tagore defined the objective—for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the universe, but not under or by any other name, designation or title, used for and applied to any particular being or beings by any man or set of men whatsoever."

Some observations on Rammohan

Keshab Chandra Sen—"His name shines in undying glory not only in India, but in England and America for the valuable theological works which his mastermind indited, and religious and social reforms which his philanthropic heart promoted."

Bipin Chandra Pal said that the Raja should not be viewed as the founder of a new religion or sect as Jesus, Muhammad, the Buddha or Chaitanya.

He was a humanist. He believed in rights of man to freely pursue religious doctrines or preach social reform. These rights could not be suppressed under any plea. Hence, he opposed the Suttee, supported the property rights of Hindu women, stood for rights of peasants. He stood for individuality and unity. Bepin Pal also said that Rammohan delivered India out of medievalism and he was therefore the father of the Renaissance.

And as said earlier **Rabindranath** calls Rammohan the torch bearer and Bharat-Pathik.

Brojendranath Seal opined, "The old order changes and the race grows evermore. Yet Rammohan Roy shall be honoured as the prophet and precursor of Universal Humanism."

Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar—"He...reflected in himself many distinguished features that heralded Renaissance in Bengal."

The Hindu College

The leading personalities in Bengal, both Englishmen and Indians, sensed the Indian readiness to accept Western Education as also their apprehension in regard to the objectives and activities of the missionaries in the field of education. The urge for non-christian western education was apparent. This urge was not limited to the pronounced Anglicists, but was equally strong among the so called traditionalists.

The outcome was the Hindu Vidyalaya (1817) with the object of providing 'good education' to the sons of Hindu gentlemen. The College imparted lessons in English (both language and literature), and other languages, the Sciences, History, Philosophy etc. The Hindu School had three distinctive elements of identity—(i) The Governing body was formed with Europeans and Indians alike on the same footing, (ii) the instruction imparted in the higher classes was at collegiate level, (iii) Secular instruction was adhered to. The collage had to face a two-pronged opposition from (i) the extreme conservatives, in as much as the Oriental Classics were not given special privilege, and (ii) Missionaries, because of its secular instruction. Yet, the College became a model for secular modern institutions of western learning conducted by private enterprise. (In 1854, the Vidyalaya was renamed Presidency College). The popularity of this institution influenced the Govt's subsequent decision in regard to nature, type and medium of education.

Respectable Bengalee gentlemen of the time made their desire for a secular and modern institution known to the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Edward Hyde East. At a meeting in his house attended by Indians, including Pundits, it was decided to establish a school. A committee was formed with 20 Indians and 10 Europeans, and financial contributions were raised. (David Hare was not a member of the first Governing Body and Ram Mohan Roy was not included in deference to an objection raised by conservative Hindus because of his religious "heresy." (It is, however, said that Rammohan personally stepped aside with the intention of seeing the institution established). Muslims, till then, avoided Western Education. Naturally Hindus contributed to and governed the institution created for good education of the 'sons of Hindu gentlemen'. This explains the nomenclature 'Hindu' college.

This was the first of a kind of national institutions non-officially founded, maintained and governed. The Hindu college, established on 20th January, 1817, offered courses in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Geography, Mathematics, apart from English language and literature. The first principal was Isaac de Anselme. It provided 'free' education for a son or nominee of a gentleman against a lump donation of Rs. 5000/-. A fund of Rs. 1,25,000/- was thus created out of which an amount of Rs. 61,000/- was deposited with Joseph Barreta Co, and interest drawn therefrom. The Calcutta School Society sent annually 20 to 30 selected students and paid their tuition fees of Rs 5/- p.m. David Hare was appointed superintendent on behalf of the Society in 1819. This was his first formal association with the institution.

The Board of Governors included respectable Hindus, including Radhakanta Dev and Ramkamal Sen. Lt. Francis Irvin served as European Secretary and Vaidyanath Mukherjee as Native Secretary. Ramkamal Sen became the administrative officer. Hindus, both rich and poor, were admitted, the non-affluent ones coming from the School Society and Hare's Pataldanga School (subsequently christened as Hare School).

For the first 7 years the school did not receive any aid from the Govt. But things changed when the British India Society of England sent some scientific books and equipment for the Hindu College. Govt. aid for an English School established by Indians first came through the G.C.P.I in the form of expenses for a teacher of science. In exchange for this help, the college had to accept a nominee of the G.C.P.I, on its governing body. Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the then secretary of the Public Instruction Committee, was the nominee and was made the 'Visitor'.

The school, also known as Anglo-Indian College, had been first housed in a rented house at Bowbazar. In 1825 it was shifted to the newly constructed Sanskrit college building. In the meantime, the college again fell into a financial crisis due to the failure of the Barreta Co. Fee-paying admission increased. The G.C.P.I. came forward with more help in return for more control. The college was saved although the Governors' powers were curtailed. David Hare was made a Governor in 1825. In the same year Kashikanta Ghosal and Vaidyanath Roy made a donation of Rs. 10,000, which the Govt. handed over to the

G.C.P.I. It was decided to spend the interest in giving scholarships to good students for subsequent higher studies. (This was the indirect beginning of Post Graduate studies). The G.C.P.I thus became a partner in Western Education. A conflict of policies in the shape of the language controversy lay inevitably in the nature of things.

Dr. H. H. Wilson, with the help of Mr. David Hare reshaped the college. Previously it had 10 classes. For the four higher classes there were teachers, whereas Monitors served in the six lower classes. 13 classes were now organised, the four higher classes forming the Senior Department, and the rest forming the Junior Department. College hours were increased from 5 to 7 hours. Terminal and Annual examinations were introduced. New teachers replaced the monitors. H. L. V. Derozio was appointed 4th teacher in 1826. Governors Radhakanta Dev and Ramkamal Sen actively helped these measures.

Some of the students showed eminence, particularly in their knowledge of English. They included Prosanna Kumar Tagore, Chandrasekher Dev, Kashiprosad Ghosh Tarachand Chakraborti, Shiv Chandra Tagore etc. Brilliant students of Derozio included Pyarichand Mitra, Radhanath Sikdar, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Ramtanu Lahiry, Harachandra Ghosh, Rashik Krishna Mullick etc. The roll strength, originally 70/75 (including Society's nominees) shot up to 400 in 1827-28. There were three categories of students viz society's nominees, 'free' students, fee-paying students (including students from Hare's school, Rammohan's school, Parental Academy etc). The college, thus, became a representative institution of the Hindu society.

In 1829, Credit Performance in the examination was shown by about 25 boys including Tarini Charan Mukhejee, Raj Krishna Mitra, Digambar Mitra, Amritlal Mitra together with Ramtanu, Ramgopal, Shivchandra, Radhanath, Harachandra, Rashikkrishna and Krishna Mohan Banerjee. The students nominated by the society had also to appear at the society's examination. Adam's first report said, "The society's scholars are said to rank among the highest ornaments of the college." The 5th Report (1829) on the activities of the college said, "Many of these young gentlemen appear properly to appreciate the value of knowledge and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible. They have formed societies among their friends, at some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition

on literary subjects and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengali."

But, once the intellectual vista had been opened up, a momentum caused the youth to cross the bounds that had been sought to be maintained by the founders of the college. The crisis was precipitated by the Derozio affair which shows the socio-intellectual cross-currents of the time and how social forces outside school acted upon the institution and vice versa.

After the Derozio affair (which we discuss next) and the tight restrictions placed upon the students, the centre of gravity of socio-intellectual conflicts shifted out of the college and found expression in the conflict between the Young Bengal and the conservatives, affecting all aspects of social life. The Hindu College was, however, placed on an even keel and it continued to serve as an institution for secular higher studies.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

Derozio, a student of David Drummond's illustrious Dharamtala School was a rationalist and humanist having been instructed in a school which taught Hindu and Firinghee boys together. Trained by an idealist teacher like Mr. Drummond he acquired love for literature (particularly poetry) and Philosophy. He acquired an excellent teaching skill mixed with love of students. It was but natural that such a young teacher would attract brilliant students. English was his mother tongue, but he loudly acclaimed India as his mother land. Harakumar Tagore, De Souza, William Kirkpatrick were his co-students. With profound knowledge of English, Philosophy, Latin and History, he completed his school education at 14 years in 1821, was appointed 4th teacher in Hindu College in 1826, and served there for 5 yrs (upto 1831). His erudition is borne out by the insertion in a Calcutta Gazette in 1817, "Henry Derozio, first in recitation, reading, geography, general extraordinary acquirements at 8 years of age. A gold medal."

As fourth teacher, Derozio taught English and History. But he was knowledge and teaching personified. The texts entrusted by the college authorities to Derozio included (1) Gold Smith's History of Rome and Italy, (2) Russell's Modern Europe, (3) Robertson's

Charles V. (4) Gay's Fables, (5) Dryden's Virgil, (b) Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, (7) Milton's Paradise Lost, (8) One of Shakespeare's Tragedies etc. His personality, modesty, fidelity and attachment to truth attracted students not only of his 4th class, but also of higher classes. Hence he had to teach out of class. The character of the boys developed through Derozio's love of truth. Hiramohan Chatterjee (a non teaching employee of the Hindu college) observes, "The College Boy" was a synonym for truth.....such a boy is incapable of falsehood because he is a 'college boy.' Pyarichand Mitra observes, "Of all the teachers Mr. H. L. V. Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects—social, moral and religious."

Derozio held discussions on various subjects and topics with the students. Some study circles thereby came into being. Some of the students visited Derozio's house to resolve doubts. This was the origin of the *Academic Association*, the first debating society with Derozio as President, Umacharan Bose as Secretary and David Hare as Visitor. Among others who attended the sessions were Dr. William Hodge Mill, Principal of the Bishop's College, Supreme Court Judge Sir Edward Rayan etc. The student-members read out their own compositions or delivered extempore speeches. Krishnadas Paul observes, "What the Oxford or Cambridge Clubs are to those universities, the Academic Association was to the Old Hindu College. As the greatest senators and statesmen of England cultivated oratory in those clubs, so did the first alumni of the Hindu College, who have in after life so eminently distinguished themselves, cultivated their debating powers in the Association."

The range of topics was wide and included religion and society, literature and history, atheism, agnosticism, idolatry, rites and rituals, customs, humanism and patriotism, education (including female education) etc. The members were critical not only of Hindu religion, rites and rituals, but also of Christian preachings and practices of clergymen. Important speakers were Rashik Krishna Mullick, Krishnamohan Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghosh. Important listeners were Ramtanu Lahiri, Shiv Chandra Dev, Pyarichand Mitra. Rev Lalbehari Dey writes, "It was a decided revolt against religious institutions. The young lions of the Academy roared out week after week, "Down with Hinduism ! Down with orthodoxy !"

The Academic Association served as a model for separate associations formed by other students of Hindu School, students of Pataldanga School and Rammohan's Anglo-Hindu School. Derozio had links with all of them although he was president only of the Academic Association. By the end of 1828 there were as many as 7 organised clubs with membership strength ranging between 17 and 50. They had weekly or fortnightly meetings and held even political discussions, of course through the medium of English. This had impact upon others. Some Bengali associations were also formed. The Academic Association used the Pataldanga school hall for bigger gatherings.

Social issues like suttee or women's education were now freely discussed. In 1830, the student members of the Academic Association brought out a paper—"The Parthenon." In its first issue such vital issues as women's education and permanent settlement of Europeans in India were discussed. Comments were made on corruption. This was the first English paper edited and conducted by Indians. But its first issue created such a row in the Hindu gentry that it was immediately gagged by Dr. Wilson. The first issue was its last issue.

Resistance of the traditionalists now got organized. They came out in open opposition when Rammohan Roy, at a meeting in the Town Hall, advocated permanent habitation of Europeans in India. The question of the social conduct of young men, particularly their anarchic behaviour and addiction to liquor became an issue. Dr. Wilson issued a circular in 1830 that, "The teachers are particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys, or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notion of propriety such as eating and drinking in the school or class rooms. Any deviation from this injunction will be reported by Mr. D. Anselme to the visitor immediately and should it appear that the teacher is at all culpable, he will forthwith be dismissed." Evidently it was an indirect warning to Derozio.

But things did not stop. While Rammohan's movement was idealistic and intellectual, the Derozians became practical. The practical aspects of the movement estranged the conservatives most. Things were made worse by some missionaries. Alexander Duff established his General Assembly's Institution and introduced compulsory lessons in the Bible which Rammohan Roy supported, and

the traditionalists severely opposed. Duff delivered a series of lectures where students of the Hindu College flocked in numbers. The Hindu College Governors issued a circular in 1830 that, "The management of the Anglo-Indian College having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies at which political or religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."

Thus the conflict between the Old and the New became acute on the questions of religion, customs, food and drink, rituals etc. Some of the boys were turned out of home, some others were chastised and penalised. 25 students had outright to discontinue studies, and 165 discontinued school attendance. The Governors of the Hindu College had to take the offensive.

They held a fateful meeting of the Governing Body in 1831 which was attended by Dr. Wilson, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhamadhab Banerjee, Radhakanta Dev, Ram Kamal Sen, David Hare, Rashomoy Dutta, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, Sree Krishna Sinha, Luxminarayan Mukherjee. They discussed a detailed memorandum submitted by Ram Kamal Sen.

The first motion tabled for the dismissal of Derozio on charges of incompetence had been a fussy affair. Wilson, Chandrakumar Tagore, Prosanna Tagore, Srikrishna Sinha and David Hare certified him as a competent teacher. Only Radhakanta Dev, Radhamadhab Banerjee and Ramkamal Sen called him incompetent. The motion was lost.

Then was tried an alternative. By that time, newspapers like Sambad Probhakar, Chandrika etc. made attacks on Derozio from the religious point of view. One Brindaban Ghosal had spread scandalous stories about Derozio's character. A dismissal proposal was moved to "pacify" the Hindus.

The decisions included (i) dismissal of Derozio, (ii) expulsion of offending boys, (iii) expulsion of antagonists to Hindu faith and customs, (iv) restricted admission (age of admission to be 10 to 12 and 18-20. Antecedents were to be considered before admission. After the school hours the students would not be allowed to remain in the school area. Students might also be given corporal punishment. (v) vesting

of more powers in the Head Master, (vi) recruitment of European teachers after enquiry into their antecedents, (vii) ban on societies and meetings, (viii) control of text books, (ix) emphasis upon Classics, (x) Students' meetings and associations would not be allowed. (xi) Emphasis would be placed upon the teaching of classical language and literature, (xii) Sanskrit would be specially emphasised. Radhakanta Dev, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhamadhab Banerjee supported the dismissal proposal strongly. Rashomoy Dutt and Prosanna Tagore supported in a low key. Hare and Wilson remained neutral. Only Srikrishna Sinha stoutly opposed. In spite of divided opinions about the role of Derozio, the committee dismissed him unilaterally. A counter offensive of traditionalism temporarily came out victorious. Derozio labelled it as a caricature of justice and submitted his resignation on 22th April, 1831, and died only eight months later. Thus ended a stormy phase in the history of Hindu College as well as the history of modern society and education in Bengal and India.

In fact, Derozio's personal character was so much blemished that even after his dismissal Mr. Wilson in a letter asked him if (1) he believed in the existence of god, (2) he considered it a moral responsibility of a son to be respectful and loyal to parents, (3) he supported marriage between brother and sister, and whether (4) he had propagated these views amongst his students. Needless to say, Derozio gave a spirited reply to these concocted charges.

The measures adopted against the extremist teacher and students enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Govt. The administrative authorities had been elated when Mr. Wilson forced the discontinuation of the Parthenon, because the first issue of the paper contained critical exposure of administrative corruption. The ban upon political discussions amongst students of Hindu Vidyalyay enjoyed the support of the administration. (In 1830, a major part of the financial requirements of the College were met from the public accounts and Govt control was extended proportionally.) Most of the members of the college governing body were rich people. In those days, the interest of the aristocratic and rich conservative Indians and of the British administration were close to each other. There was sufficient reason to be afraid of the growing patriotism and rebelliousness among the brilliant products of the time.

The Young Bengal

The movement for modernisation, so far as the leadership of Rammohan Roy was concerned, was a movement for reform and not for revolution. Even his Atmiya Sabha and Brahmo Sabha were not rebellious in character. Rammohan did not want to continue ancient traditions and mediaeval values just as he did not want any servile imitation of the west. What he stood for was a happy synthesis of the cultures and values of the West and East. But once the movement had started and multiple questions were raised, there were multiple reactions—negative or positive, conservative, extremist or moderate. The conflict found expression in every sphere—religious, social, cultural and educational.

The extremist movement was represented by the Young Derozians, otherwise known as Young Bengal. Derozio loved his motherland and wanted her regain the glory that once she had. Hence he led a relentless fight against intellectual sterility and infused the same spirit into his followers. Under pressure of circumstances H. L. V. Derozio had to take an extreme stand. Persecution of Derozio perpetrated by the leaders of the Hindu society led his followers to fight back with their backs on the wall, and to take a stand, in the name of rationality, in a manner that might not always be objectively rational. They stood for complete rejection of tradition and superstition and complete acceptance of Occidentalism. Some of them also embraced Christianity and practised a way of life that was considered improper in Indian society.

The Young Bengal reflected the influences of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the American War of Independence. As said earlier, their organ 'The Parthenon' (1830) was proscribed. The administration joined the traditionalists in stifling the Parthenon, because this paper had for the first time voiced Indian opposition to Imperialist misrule. From 1830 to 1835 the Young Bengal agitated for Trial by Jury, Indianisation of administration, freedom of the Press, and opposed the naked form of exploitation and the exportation of indentured Indian labour. In spite of their fascination for western learning and English language, they demanded the spread of modern scientific knowledge through the vernaculars. Rammohan had brought out Sambad Koumudi, in opposition to which Bhowani Charan Banerjee brought out Sambad Chandrika. The Young Bengal did not lag behind.

Their urge for new knowledge was propagated through their papers 'The Enquirer' (English) founded by Krishnamohon Banerjee immediately after the dismissal of Derozio from the Hindu College, and the 'Jnananvesana' (Bengali). When the Enquirer was gagged, the Y. B. brought out 'The Bengal Spectator'. The Young Bengal protested against the defects and short comings of the Charter Act of 1833. They established the "Academic Association" (referred to earlier) and "Sarvatattva Dipika Sabha" (1833). Their role in the foundation of the Calcutta Public Library (1835) was remarkable. 'Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge' (1838) and the "Mechanical Institute" (1839) were also their creations. Their urge for the social emancipation and education of women was exemplary. It was one of their members, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, that donated the land of Bethune School.

The Young Bengal, a rebel child isolated from the main stream of social life, had limitations in quantitative contributions to education of the time. Apparently it stood for wholesale acceptance of western education. Yet its movements let loose social forces which tremendously influenced subsequent development of education in India, and new educational ideals. This group of rebels included Rashik Krishna Mullick (1810-58), Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee (1812-78), Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813-85), Ramgopal Ghosh (known as Demosthenes of Bengal for his brilliant oratory) on the first row. These four were called the "Fire Brand." On the second row were Pyari Chand Mitra (1814-83), Harachandra Ghosh (1808-68), Shiv Chandra Dev (1811-90), Ramtanu Lahiri (1813-98), Radhanath Sikdar (1813-70). On the next row were Madhabachandra Mullick, Govinda Chandra Basak, Amitralal Bose, Tarachand Chakraborti, (a fellow traveller of the Young Bengal), Kishorichand Mitra and Michael Madhusudan Dutt. All of them were brilliant scholars and all of them excelled in different fields of social life. Some of them were Brahmos and some others embraced Christianity and demonstratively practised a western way of life which had a havoc-making effect upon the traditionalists, particularly the Pundits.

But, inspite of his being a lover of English, Krishnamohan Banerjee had written 'Sadadarshan' (Six schools of philosophy) and Aryan Witness. He had co-operated with the foundation of the Association

for the Cultivation of Science. Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee inherited a zamindari in the U. P. where also he brought out "Samachar Hindustani" in English and 'Barat' in Hindi. Canning College and Word Institution also were his gifts. Rashik Krishna Mullik established a Hindu Free School at Simulia.

During the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy they wrote in their journals, "G. C. P. I. were proceeding on erroneous principles in encouraging the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian languages which are not vernaculars in any part of India." They advocated the currency of the mother tongue together with English. With the object of disseminating practical knowledge of geography and similar subjects, they themselves initiated translation work. They wrote, "It becomes the paramount duty of our Govt, if it really have the good of the subjects at heart, spare no pains in its power to facilitate the education of the natives". During the foundation of Calcutta University Ramgopal Ghosh said, "The degrees of Calcutta University must be equivalent to those of any (foreign) University." Further more he said, "To keep an Exclusive Institution of English Education by the state is a mistake." They had suggested that the earnings from pilgrim tax should be spent for foundation and maintenance of schools and colleges.

The opinion of the Young Bengal on Women's Education is well known. Sarcastically they had commented that the ancient sastras did not concede the right of uttering the Vedic mantrass to the sudras and women. But woman were given the monopoly control of the kitchen.' In the Hindu Pioneer of 1835 they published an article "On Women" wherein they advocated the cause of the humanistic social rights of women for their fullfledged development. They said, "If education be spread among the women of this country, they will be like men, freed to do anything they please, throwing off the shackles of superstition which now bind them." After a lapse of a century and half we have been repeating the same.

Political Faith of the Young Bengal

Directly or indirectly Derozio infused the ideals of patriotism into his followers. He had felt the anti-British pulse in the folk-life of India. In many of his poems were depicted the glory of India in the oldened days, just as some others reflected his spirit of social reforms.

Reference may be made to his "The Fakir of Jangheera", "The Enchantress of the Cave," "The Ruins of Rajmohal," "On the Abolition of Suttee" etc. Campbell was his favourite poet just as Byron, the poet of liberty also was.

In the Fakir of Jangheera he wrote,

"O ! lovely is my native land
With all its skies of cloudless light ;
But there's a heart, and there's a hand
More dear to me than sky most bright.
I prize them—yes, as though they were
On earth the only things divine
The only good, the only fair—
And Oh ! that heart and hand are thine !"

Elsewhere he wrote,

"My country in the days of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow—
Where is that glory ! where that reverence now !
The eagle pinion is chained at last."

Or,

"O freedom ! There is something dear
Even in thy very name,
That lights the altar of the soul
With ever lasting flame."

Such a robust patriotism in those days was unique. Obviously it was injected into the disciples of Derozio. A book seller of Calcutta had imported one consignment of Tom Paine's "Age of Reason." He fixed the selling price at one rupee per copy lest the book should find no market in Calcutta. But the youthfulness of Young Bengal purchased the book so enthusiastically that the price was raised to five rupees. But the stock was exhausted in no time. After the French Revolution of 1830, they hoisted the French Tricolour by the side of the Union Jack.

They were not content with the use of pen alone. They also lectured in meetings to form public opinion. They dealt not only with social problems, but also questioned many baneful aspects of foreign rule. Rashik Krishna Mullick wrote articles in journals criticising the Charter Act of 1833 and demanding freedom of the Press. An imaginary story of rebellion against British rule caused Kailash Chandra

Datta to be labelled a sedition monger in 1835. But ten years later Sashi Chandra Dutt wrote a similar story. During the revolt of 1857, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee made secret contacts with possible supporters of the rebellion.

Apart from social questions, they raised their voice against different aspects of the foreign rule. They led the anti-slavery movement and were the mainstay of the Bengal British India Society and subsequently the British Indian Society. They led the agitation against special privileges of foreigners. They raised their voice against deporting indentured labour to British plantations abroad. The seed of an organised agitational movement imbued with early national consciousness was their contribution. In short they sowed the first seeds of nationalism. The story of Michael Madhusudan, a tail ender of the group bears this out. Michael had started with a blind emotion for western culture and education and dreamt of writing poems in English. But he had to come back and surrender to his motherland as is reflected in his 'Atmabilap'.

The Young Bengal had its limitations. It was a typical movement of the middle class intelligentsia which failed to reach or stir up the people. The small group isolated from the society at large and branded as rebels was short lived. Yet, the brilliant light emitted by it showed the road to the future. And the heat generated by their movement caused the ice of conservatism to melt. Under their impact and inspite of antagonism the conservatives also gradually mended their ways. By the middle of the 19th Century, the Young Bengal became more realistic and the conservatives became more rational and moderate. Another phase of the Renaissance characterised by synthesis ushered in, and was led by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and his compatriots.

The Conservatives

The conservative opposition to Rammohan and the Young Bengal was led by *Raja Radhakanta Dev*, Ramkamal Sen, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Bhowani charan Benerjee etc.

Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, as we said earlier, was a Sanskrit teacher at Fort Willam College and had authored many books. By 1817, he conducted his own Chatuspathi at Baghbazar. On the other hand he was a member of the Preparatory Committee of Hindu College and the committee for the drafting of the regulations of the school. He was also

a member of the Managing Committee of Calcutta School Book Society. (1817).

In 1817 he wrote an "Apology for the present system of Hindu worship". Against Rammohan's attack upon idolatry he wrote in 'Vedanta Chandrika' in 1819-20, "In defence of Hindu idolatry (on the vedent system)". On the other hand he exhibited sufficient rationality when in response to a query made by the Chief Justice of the Sadar Dewani Adalat on the problem of Suttee, he wrote in the "Friend of India," "The husband being dead, the wife may either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity or mount the burning pile. But, on viewing the whole, I esteem the life of abstinence and chastity."

Bhowani Charan Bandyopadhyay was a luminary of this period. The work for new education which had been started by some officers of the Company and some Missionaries at Chinsura, Serampore, Burdwan and Maldah aided by Pundits of the Fort William College was carried forward independently by Rammohan and Radhakanta Dev after 1815. Bhowani Charan helped Radhakanta in all his activities for the spread of modern education. But he was intellectually a traditionalist and by practice conservative. He was a leading spirit of the Dharma Sabha (1830) formed as a counterpoise to Rammohan's Brahmo Sabha. He was the editor of "Samachar Chandrika", in which paper he wrote a reply to the condemnation of Kulin Brahmanism. Bhowani charan subsequently became head master of Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalay. He wrote Naba Bubu Bilash, Dutibilash and Naba Bibi Bilash with sarcastic punches at ultra radicalism.

Radhakanta Dev, son of Raja Gopimohan Dev of Sobhabazar (b. 1793) the scion of the Hindu Society, led the crusade together with Ramkamal Sen as his lieutenant. They ostracised Rammohan as a heretic and socio-religious rebel. They did not allow Rammohan on the Governing Body of the Hindu College and would not accept even donations from him. They chastised the rebel students of the college and dismissed Derozio, the memorandum having been placed by Ramkamal Sen himself. While many other members showed hesitation, they consistently voted for punishment. They hailed the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, whole heartedly supported the G. C. P. I.'s policy of encouraging oriental classical learning, opposed the Suttee Act, Widow Remarriage Act etc. Till 1835 they had a firm influence on the G. C. P. I.

They harboured no doubt about the depth of Rammohan's learning. But they were mortally opposed to Rammohan's Brahmo movement, the Christianising education provided by the Missionaries, the Young Bengal's aggressiveness, the allurements and the anarchic life of the misguided youth and their drinking habits etc. Raja Radhakanta encouraged the foundation of Dharma Sabha, with a branch at Kolutola managed by Motilal Seal, as a counterpoise to Brahmo Sabha. He also patronised the Samachar Chandrika.

They were, however, eager to accept western learning within the framework of Hindu traditions and social value system together with an intensive study of the Classics, of course free from the influences of Rammohan and the like. Radhakanta Dev wrote a few valuable treatises in Sanskrit the most famous and monumental being *Sabdakalpadruma*. At the same time he (together with Ramkamal and others) was an initiator and Governor of the Hindu College. Radhakanta was a Governor of the School Book Society also. They established schools other than the Hindu College. They even tried to provide education of the girls. Thus, the conservatives also, in their own way, helped the cause of modern western education (although within a traditional shell). Radhakanta established the Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalay and wrote several tracts in defence of traditions.

This was a peculiar period in the socio cultural history of Bengal. The followers of Rammohan Roy had broken the barriers of orthodoxy. New questions were asked. The breach created by the leaders of Rammohan camp caused the gusty flow of orthodoxy from the other end. Radhakanta Dev and his associates stood for the retention of the socio-cultural framework by propping the super-imposed structure and fastening it with strings of orthodoxy. As said earlier, Radhakanta Dev was ready to accept western education and English language to the exclusion of missionary overzeal, Rammohan's betrayal of Hindu doctrine and society and the violation of norms by the young extremists.

But they might be seated on a common platform on issues of common interest. Radhakanta Dev could have no sympathy with Kaliprosanna Sinha's campaign against kulinism and for widow-remriage through his Vidyotsahini Sabha. But they held a joint public meeting at Sohhabazar in protest against derogatory remarks of Supreme Court Justice Mr. Wells about the character of Bengalees. Radhakanta,

Debendranath and Ramgopal Ghosh could speak from the same platform against missionary excesses and cry a halt to missionary overzeal.

In fact these were days of intense rationalist thinking. The conflicts provided materials for intense heart-searching and scanning the horizon. Every camp made contributions to education in its own way.

The total effect of these multiple movements caused the establishment of more schools between 1817 and 1835. A few of them may be referred to, viz Mackey's School at Nimtala (1820), Lindal and Arvey's Seminary (1821), Indian Academy at Suripara (by Rammohan, 1822), W. Rickett's Parental Academy (subsequently Doveton's College, 1823), Grammar School (Offshoot of Parental Academy, 1823), Madhu Sudan Chakraborti's Academy at Maniktala (1824), Church Missionary School (for poor Hindus, 1829), Govinda Basak's School and Joynarayan Master's School at Nimtala (both in 1830), Calcutta High School (1830), Duff's General Assembly's Institution (1830), Nabin Madhab Dey's Free School (1831), St. X'avier's College (1834) Calcutta Medical College (1834-35).

There were other institutions founded during this period, viz Calcutta School Book Society and School Society, as referred to earlier; Sobhabazar Benevolent Society patronised by Maharaja Kamal Krishna Dev (1833-34); and the various associations founded by the Derozians.

The total effect of this movement caused a situation when the G.C.P.I. had to review its activities and to adopt a definite policy about the type of education and its medium to be patronised by the Govt.

Special note should be taken of the following :—

(A) There is hardly any other case than David Hare's where a foreign gentleman who had established a profitable clock trade gave up everything for modern education of Indians. *David Hare* supported liberty of the Press and trial by Jury. He also favoured the acceptance of English in place of Persian as state language. He believed that English literature would regenerate the Hindu Society. But he showed no great regard for the Sciences and showed rather a contempt for Sanskrit. As said earlier, he was a friend and partner of Rammohan in the latter's efforts to introduce modern education. As Governor of Hindu College he devoted his time and energy for improvement of the school. Hare was also a leading light of the Calcutta School Society

which established English and Bengali schools as well as teacher training institution. The Society supervised them, supplied books, and examined the pupils. By 1821 there were as many as 115 Bengali schools under the society. Hare had his own Pathshala and the Pataldanga School which was renamed as Hare School. His educational endeavour also reached the field of primary education through the Calcutta School Book Society. On the other hand, he was greatly interested in the setting up of a Medical College at Calcutta.

(B) *J. E. D. Bethune* favoured secular schools for girls and compulsory instruction in Bengali (English might be an option). He was amply assisted by Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar and Young Derozians Ram Gopal Ghosh and Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee in establishing the Bethune School for Girls.

(C) *Jagannath Sankarset* (1803-1865) supported secular education. He felt the need for private Indian enterprise, but never believed in exclusive westernisation and strongly opposed English as compulsory medium of instruction.

(D) *Mahatma Phule* (1828-70) was the first Hindu to open a girls' school in Bombay. (His wife was trained up as an assistant). He was also the first Hindu to start a school for Harijans. His greatest contribution was advocacy for mass education to the extent of compulsion.

Official Policy

Consequent upon the Charter of 1813, the first recorded Educational Despatch was received in India in 1814. The local authorities were directed to encourage "learned natives" and to promote knowledge of the sciences. But nothing more was actually thought of than the bestowal of marks of honour. Even in 1815, Lord Moira's minute simply stated in ambiguous terms, "The sum will be spent in improving school." Thus there was total absence of any clarity of idea and practical policy. One idea was, however, there that something ought to be done in the interest of the Empire itself, as is clear from Charles Metcalfe's observation—"The more blessing we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affection, and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our Empire". But the Govt's attention being

concentrated upon the Maratha affairs till the last part of the second decade of the century, nothing concrete of importance was done till 1823 in which year the "General Committee of Public Instruction" (G.C.P.I.) was formed and in 1824, the Directors wrote, "for improvement of education we are willing to make considerable sacrifices."

For a decade from 1823, the G.C.P.I. did some work in pursuance of a policy which it thought best. It reorganised the Calcutta Madrasah and the Benares College. The Calcutta Sanskrit College was founded in 1824. Oriental Colleges were established at Agra and Delhi. The Hooghly College was founded. It encouraged and directly did the work of printing and publishing Sanskrit and Arabic books. Translated Oriental editions of selected English books were brought out. English professors of law, medicine, literature etc. were appointed in Oriental Colleges.

But the first frontal attack upon this policy was led by Rammohan Roy when he petitioned the Govt for aid to Western education. Then came the Directors' attack when in 1824 they questioned if the expenditure for oriental learning was worthwhile. It may be noted that an educational movement was contemporaneously swaying England. And the new type officials of the 19th Century, unlike their predecessors were wedded to new ideas which supplied energy to occidentalism. Lastly, the Charter of 1833 opened up the scope of Govt. employment to educated Indians. What sort of education should this be? This and similar other overt and covert questions led to the famous Oriental-Occidental controversy.

Oriental-Occidental Controversy

As said earlier, the G.C.P.I. had been spending the money earmarked for education to (i) set up schools, (ii) appoint lecturers, (iii) revive ancient learning, (iv) introduce Western science by appointing European teachers in Oriental schools, (v) provide translation and to (vi) grant rewards and pensions to Pundits. But the Committee was now sharply divided on a matter of policy.

The *Oriental School* which had derived inspiration from Warren Hastings, Minto, Metcalfe, Jones, Wilson and others of the Asiatic Society was now led by Mr. Prinsep, with support from traditionalists outside the Committee. The Orientalist argument was that culture

which must be sustained by the soil could not be transplanted. Oriental culture was no inferior to Western culture. To avoid Indian prejudice, the best method to introduce Western learning was by way of translations. Moreover, it was doubtful if Indians could master English. And preservation of existing institutions would best serve the interest of the Govt. Hence, the Govt should encourage Oriental learning through the Oriental classical languages.

As against this the *Occidental School* which had received nourishment from Sullivan, Grant, Wilberforce, Duff, Rammohen and the Young Bengal had now in Mr. C. E. Trevelyan a stout spokesman. The essence of Occidentalist argument was that superior culture must overwhelm inferior culture. The worthless oriental literature full of superstition and mysticism ought to be replaced by rational literature. Education must cater to cultural health, not to taste. Western knowledge should be directly introduced through its natural medium—English. The language difficulty might be overcome by codifying law in English which would create an additional motivation for learning English.

The Anglicist school drew inspiration from the Directors' advice issued in 1824 that efforts should be made to introduce English education, and another declaration of 1827 that the purpose of State sponsored education should be the *production of efficient Govt employees*. In 1829, Governor General Lord. W. Bentinck made a statement that the policy of Govt was to introduce English as State Language. This was upheld by the Directors in 1830.

It is to be noted that even the Orientalists did not adhere to blunt classicism. They had introduced English classes, Science classes and Extension lectures in the established Oriental Colleges. They made financial grants to the Hindu Vidyalaya and had taken steps towards the establishment of the Calcutta Medical College.

Points of
difference

Evidently they were pursuing a mixed policy of gradual introduction of Western knowledge by method of grafting. But they were now to make vital decisions about the objective of state patronized education, its content, the medium, and extent of Govt responsibility. In regard to objective, they opined that by alliance with traditional aristocracy through oriental learning

and classics, they would strengthen the base of British rule. In regard to the content they still stuck to oriental theology, literature and philosophy with the addition of translations. Such education through classical languages could not, by implication, be education of the masses. Obviously they favoured limitation of Govt effort to the upper social strata.

Occidentalists on the other hand opined that the objective of *Producing Govt employees at reasonable cost* would best be possible through English education through the English language. Such education would win over the middle class people of importance who could interpret the West to the East. It was not necessary, nor was it possible for the state to educate the millions. Educators of the masses should therefore be educated, so that they might in their turn educate their fellow countrymen. This was the so called "Downward Filtration Theory" with which the name of Macaulay became associated.

It is to be noted that in respect of the objective of education, both the parties desired firm establishment of British rule through education (though of different varieties). Neither of the parties stood for mass education. In fact, neither the Classics nor English could be the medium for mass instruction. The real problem of mass education through the vernacular languages was avoided by both the parties, although muffled arguments were raised by some thinkers outside the committee. The basic conflicts therefore were, (i) between English and Oriental classics, (ii) the method of Westernisation. While the Orientalists favoured a policy of graduation, the Occidentalists favoured outright westernisation.

The twain being unable to meet, the conflict boiled down to a legalistic controversy regarding interpretation of the charter clause of 1813. The Orientalists held that improvement of "literature" and encouragement to 'learned' natives as incorporated in the Charter, could mean Oriental literature and Oriental pundits. The Occidentalists held that it meant English literature and persons versed in Western learning. The matter was referred to T. B. Macaulay, Law Member of the Council and ex-officio chairman of the G. C. P. I. who submitted his famous Minute on 2nd February, 1835.

Points of Unity

Arbitration
called for

Macaulay Minute

Macaulay unequivocally stated in his minute that "literature" did not mean only Oriental literature, nor did "educated Indians" mean only those versed in Oriental classics, because Indians versed in Milton or Locke were also learned in the true sense. One question, however, may be raised. The charter clause had desired 'revival' and improvement of literature. The word 'revival' could apply only to a moribund literature and not to a vigorous literature as English literature was. Other arguments of Macaulay were, however, more important than this legalistic interpretation of Charter-provisions. He opined that Oriental knowledge was a bundle of irrationality, superstition and mysticism. All the wealth of Indian and Arabic literature could not equal that which was contained in a single shelf of Western books. To quote Macaulay himself,—“A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.” Moreover, Western learning alone was necessary for the reawakening and moral regeneration of Indians. No vernacular language of India was fit to carry Western knowledge. As against this “English stands preeminent even among the languages of the west.” The choice lay between the Oriental classical languages and English. The latter must be the unavoidable choice because English was the key to modern knowledge. It was the language of the rulers. It was the language of Commerce in India, and it was destined to be the language of Commerce in the whole of the Orient. He observed, “It was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health and not what was palatable to their taste.” Just as the classical European languages had contributed to the development of the modern European languages, so would Indian languages draw nourishment from English, and would one day become the competent media of education of Indians. It had been amply proved that Indians could very well learn English and they had a great urge to learn that language. Hence Macaulay favoured the introduction of Western education through English language. Moreover, the responsibility of the Govt should be limited. Lastly, the objective conditions favoured the introduction of Western knowledge, and it had been amply proved that Indians could very well master English and had a great urge for that.

Lord Macaulay has been acclaimed by some historians as a pioneer in English education in India. His *Minute* was acclaimed as prophetic. A diametrically opposite school of thought condemned him outright. Things to be noted in this connection are that, (i)

Macaulay as a
tool of history

Macaulay was not the creator of the urge for western knowledge. Opinions in favour of Western education had been developing in official as well as non-official circles from long before. (ii) Macaulay was not the introducer of a *new system of education*. A section of Indians had been demanding modern education, and English schools (including Hindu Vidyalaya) had been existent. The Directors had made up their minds. A controversy had been raging in the G. C. P. I. and the Anglicists had been gradually gaining ground. The way things had been developing was a sure indicator of the direction of educational-cultural wind. Macaulay or no-Macaulay, a decision in favour of Western education was historically inevitable. Macaulay only expedited the policy-decision. The interest of the British Empire heavily tilted the balance.

Critics were not rare to say that by introducing Western education Macaulay helped the growth of political consciousness which, in its turn, undermined Britain's colonial mastery in India. In this case also the charge is unfounded. Political alertness of Indians had been steadily growing since the days of Rammohan, and the Young Bengal supplied a great impetus to it.

What is distinctly condemnable is the extent of Macaulay's ignorance exhibited in respect of Indian culture, literature and education. His high browed attitude and outright rejection of the claim of modern Indian languages is also not justifiable. Macaulay's claim that Indian vernaculars would draw their life-blood from English just as modern European languages had drawn heavily upon Classical Greek or Latin, had also been a wrong analogy. The relation between European Classical languages and European modern languages was not equivalent to the relation between English and Indian vernaculars. Such an analogy might at best be drawn with the relation between Indian Classical languages and Indian vernaculars.

Macaulay's
limitations

Lord Macaulay had made two things explicit that— i) Govt's educational responsibility should be limited to the upper and middle

classes from where education would filter down. The educated gentry would educate their fellowmen. (ii) Secondly, he made the objectives of western education unequivocal. Education would create such a class of people as would remain Indians only by birth, but would become Englishmen in values, morals, intellect and attitude. Introduction of western values would complete a cultural conquest of India. Hence his objective was to create a *class of allies*.

The two expectations, however, were contradictory to each other. (1) While Macaulay had expected the western educated gentry to turn their attention to unfortunate compatriots, the "Anglicised" Indians turned their attention away and became isolated from the masses till a later time. (2) While Macaulay had expected that western-educated Indians would become devoted to the English masters, patriotism and urge for freedom found ready adherents from amongst the English educated gentry. Liberal education was one of the causes of such a development.

Macaulay failed to realise that a successful synthesis might be achieved between traditional Indian culture and modern scientific knowledge. Rejection of this possibility actually hindered the cause of mass education in India. His demand for complete divorce from tradition was also neither justifiable, nor historically sound.

It must, however, be admitted that English education was not simply harmful (although much harm was done to the cause of India's development). It bestowed benefits too. Contact with the West enabled India to discover herself and draw inspiration for a revival. There is no denying that modern rational knowledge enormously contributed to the birth of nationalism. Lord Macaulay should neither be irrationally eulogised, nor condemned. *His voice was the aggressive and carefree voice of a fast growing Imperialist power* as England in those days had been. Introduction of western education was made imperative by Britain's imperialist interest. The objective conditions were ready. From the historical point of view *Macaulay was simply instrumental in expediting the passage of the inevitable.*

Lord Bentinck's Hasty Award

The fact that Lord Bentinck's administration had been prepared for a major policy-decision, and had been awaiting an "expert" advice

to facilitate such a decision is borne out by Bentinck's action. Only a month after the submission of Macaulay minute, Governor General Lord William Bentinck made his famous policy announcement on 7th March, 1835 that the objective of state aid to education would be to *promote the study of European literature and sciences*. Hence financial aid would be devoted to the spread of English education. The previously established Oriental colleges would not, however, be abolished, nor would the pensions and stipends granted to teachers and students be withdrawn. But new responsibilities in this respect would not be shouldered, nor would the exchequer be any further taxed for the printing of oriental books. In short, Govt-effort would be limited to the spread of English language, literature and the sciences.

Thus the evolution of educational ideas in the 19th Century precipitated a *second major policy-decision* of the Government. *The first had been taken in 1813* to the effect that the Government would intervene in educational field and be a party to educational enterprise with monetary aids granted from revenue resources. *The second policy decision*

Policy-decisions
by stages

in 1835 meant that (i) State resources would patronise only western education through English medium. (ii) Oriental classics and cultural heritage were pushed back to a minor rank of importance. (iii) The objective of new education would be the creation of a body of western-educated gentry fit for the black-coated professions. (iv) Such a class might be expected to be allies of British Imperial administration in India. (Conversion to Christianity might be a by-product). (v) The question of mass education of the Indian people was thus cold-stored.

A dialectical development, however, became simultaneously apparent with the antithetical growth of an opinion in favour of mass elementary education. The ancient Indian system of education had

Lamentable fate
of indigeneous
education

practically gone out of existence. Some institutions of higher learning had retained their emaciated existence. Elementary schools had been damaged on a large scale. The missionaries of the 18th Century had no love's labour for the institutions of oriental theological learning. But they had kept up the flow of elementary education. Yet, the 19th Century agitation for western education had naturally bypassed the question of traditional indigenous education.

Realities of the objective world and self-interest of British Indian administration, however, forced the Government to allow an assessment of indigenous education although a firm policy in favour of western education had already been taken. This apparently contradictory development was inherent in the process of history.

The State of Indigenous Education in Early 19th Century

Consequent upon the downfall of the Maratha Power, the whole of Southern, Western and Northern India (with the exception of the Panjab and the Frontiers) had come under complete British hegemony. A new administration required to be set up in these newly acquired territories. A stock-taking of the previous order of things had to be made. The field of education also was brought within the jurisdiction of statistical stock taking.

A statistical compilation of 1822, initiated by *Lt. Governor Thomas Munro of Madras* showed the existence of a primary school for every 1000 people. Excluding the female population (because education of women was rare) the figure would come up to one school for every 500 people. About $\frac{1}{4}$ of age group 5—10 received schooling benefits. Of course, domestic education provided for 5 times the number of children attending schools. The curriculum included the 3 Rs, skill in drafting letters, contracts, deeds etc. Curricular limitations, absence of printed books and meagreness of teachers' erudition were matters of fact and constituted the major weakness.

Data for Bombay were compiled in 1823 under the initiative of *Lt. Governor Elphinstone*. It came out that villages without elementary schools were rare, although the school population consisted mainly of boys. Almost a third of the Brahmin population and about 70% of some aristocratic classes were literate. (In fact, the Bombay Education Society had remarked in 1819, that percentage of literacy in the then India was higher than the same in the then England). Of course, the drawbacks in Bombay were similar to those in Madras. The two reports supported each other in as much as the state of indigenous education, in general terms, had been. The data for Bengal, however, were more extensive, concrete and enlightening.

They may be accepted as reflecting the total picture of India with the exception of some backward regions and pockets.

Reports of Rev. William Adam

Rev. William Adam, a philanthropic clergyman ostracised by his Order for his liberal views had come close to the sons of Indian soil. His proposals for assessment of indigenous education had been rejected in 1829 and 1834. His insistence, however, bore fruit when in 1835 Lord Bentinck accepted his proposals and asked him to carry out the job. Rev. Adam submitted *three successive reports, the first two in 1835 and the third in 1838.*

The first report was a digest made from official papers, records of the G. C. P. I., Reports of the Missions submitted to their superior authorities, and news-sheet reports. Rev. Adam claimed that the then Bengal had 1 lakh elementary schools *i.e. one school for every 400 people.*

The second report reflected an intensive sample study of data collected from Natore Police station area of Rajshahi district. The report showed the existence of 26 elementary schools with 282 children in 485 villages. Moreover, domestic instruction covered 2342 children in 1528 domestic indoor schools in 238 villages. Hence the number of children in domestic schools far exceeded that in public schools. The schools were of various types viz. indigenous (traditional) pathsalas and maktavs, non-indigenous elementary schools, domestic schools, adult schools, English schools, a few girls' schools etc. Varied media of instruction could be located viz., English, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Bengali etc. Moreover, there existed 38 tols of residential and non-residential types for 997 students. Female education was little prevalent. Yet, the percentage of literacy in the area under survey was about 6.

Adam's third report was based on an extensive study of things in 5 representative districts viz. Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, Tirhut and South Behar. In the areas under survey there were 2567 public schools in addition to many more domestic schools. School population in proportion to total population was 1 : 73 ; and excluding female population it was about 1 : 36. In certain localities and amongst certain castes literacy was 8% to 12%. There was wholesale literacy in some of the higher castes as well as wholesale illiteracy in

some of the lower castes. *Rev. Adam divided the literates into 6 categories viz. teachers in higher institutions, teachers in elementary schools, non-teacher intellectuals, adult people with complete elementary education, persons capable of reading and writing, and persons capable of deciphering and signing their own names only.*

The data marshalled in Adam's reports led to a bitter academic controversy a century later, in the thirties of the current century. When Gandhiji and the national movement questioned the benefits

Adam's veracity
challenged and
established

bestowed by British administration and referred to the abominable state of education after 100 years of British rule in comparison with the state of affairs as had been revealed in Adam's Reports. Sir Philip Hartog voiced the English opinion that Adam's data were imaginery and illusory. In reply to this contention, Mr. R. D. Parulekar, Mr. Paranjpe and others upheld Adam's data. The real controversial issue, however, was the *definition of a "school" and that of "literacy"*. The standard of evaluation in mid-20th Century could not be the standard for early 19th Century. 'Schools', domestic or public, as they were accepted in those days, had been brought into Adam's assessment as also the standard of 'literacy' in the then accepted sense of the term. Adam's figures were not imaginery if the domestic schools were taken into consideration.

The *third report* incorporated Adam's analysis, estimate and recommendations, the important elements whereof are that—(1) There were two types of indigenous institutions—Hindu Tols and Muslim Madrasahs as institutions of higher learning. There were 3 types of Tols on the basis of differential curricula—(i) those specialising in Vyakarana, Ohhanda and Alankara ; (ii) Kavya, Nyaya and Sastra ; (iii) Darsan and Tarka Sastra.

These institutions offered instruction at the highest level. The theological spirit dominated the curricula and school atmosphere.

Formal &
traditional higher
education

Teachers were Brahmins and students mostly from the same caste. The classical language was the medium of instruction. The schools were not open to all castes, nor to women. But Brahmacharya in its spirit and practice, was no longer the corner stone of these institutions. The Tols and Madrasahs produced the elite of the society.

the Pundits and the Moulvis. Persian was still the official language. Hence Hindu students often learned Persian and a few learned Hindu teachers taught Persian also.

Tols and Madrasahs were maintained by endowments and donations from the richer classes. "Free" education, therefore, still prevailed. But financial stringency was visible, particularly because of the growing attention of the benefactors to Western education. Many of the school buildings were dilapidated. (These schools actually symbolised the state of a decadent society. Moreover, the academic and formal education imparted in these institutions was divorced from the practical life of the people. They represented isolated "glass-case" intellectual pockets in the vastness of ignorance.)

(2) The second type of institution was the elementary school, —Hindu Pathshala and Muslim Maktav. The curricula in these schools were almost identical—reading, writing and practical arithmetic with the addition of a few lines from the Holy Quran for the Maktav boys.

Most of the schools had no houses or buildings. The courtyard of a temple or mosque, the outhouse of a rich man or even shades of trees were used for routine school sittings. Of course a fixed time-table rarely existed. School timing was determined by the advantage of the teacher concerned. Pupils were not graded. The owner-teacher of the single-teacher school was often helped by a student monitor (known in native terms as "Sardar Poro").

The number of pupils in the average elementary school varied between 2/3 and 14/15. The lowest castes and classes enjoyed no schooling privileges. Harijans were mostly kept out. Attendance of girls was rare, although there was no formal inhibition. Teaching was no monopoly of Brahmins, but the teachers themselves had very little learning. Instructional methods were primitive and the rod was never spared.

The elementary schools enjoyed little patronage of the richer classes. Teachers, therefore, realised a nominal tuition fee in cash or in kind. The poor teacher had to depend upon a subsidiary source of earning. There was almost complete absence of furniture, instructional equipment or printed text books. In spite of this wretched condition and insurmountable odds, these elementary schools with

their practical orientation served the daily needs of the peasant, the small landowner, the tradesman or the "mahajan". This practical utility accounted for the popularity of the schools and their still-existent heart beat and throbbing pulse despite the fast growing inimical circumstances. With their roots in the soil they had been part & parcel of traditional society. Rev. Adam expressed his stout opinion that the administration must take the Indians with it if the good of the people was wished for. Voluntary association of Indians was impossible without sympathy being shown for the peoples' own institutions. Adam, therefore, unequivocally proposed that these traditional institutions be integrated with the total educational structure of the new era. The peoples' own school, best known to them, might be accepted as the foundation stone of a national system of education just as the traditional schools in England had become integral parts of English educational development.

Adam recommended official recognition and patronage for these schools with necessary modifications and improvement. His positive suggestions included—(i) wider and more intensive investigation, (ii) preparation, production and distribution of different text books in various languages and of different standards under the joint efforts of Europeans and Indians, (iii) improvement of school houses and equipment, (iv) enhancement of academic proficiency of teachers and their in-service teacher education, (v) grant of land to attract efficient personnel to the teaching profession, (vi) rewards on the basis of the performance of pupils at examinations, and (vii) the appointment of District Education Officers to inspect the schools and implement these reforms.

The voice of Rev. Adam remained a cry in the wilderness. Adam had been given responsibility for investigation in 1835 and in that very year, without awaiting Adam's findings, Lord Bentinck made his decision in favour of English education for the upper classes. The unsung and unhonoured reports of Adam found place in the uncultivated archives, only to be taken notice of by patriots a hundred years later. In fact, the Govt. was influenced more by political and economic considerations than by academic propriety in adopting a firm policy in favour of

Adam holds a
brief

Adam's
recommendations

Fate of the
reports

English education and language. The indigenous tree of education was uprooted and *India was given a transplanted system* which could never become India's own and merge with the national aspirations. This explains the subsequent growth of protestations and reform movements in different phases.

The rejection of Adam's recommendations had a far reaching adverse effect upon mass education in India. The traditional indigenous system of popular elementary education was allowed to die of privation and neglect. The vacuum was not filled in by any modern system of mass education for 50 years. At least two generations of Indian masses were denied the benefit of education. In this darkness originated many of our current problems of primary education. Our acute problems of literacy, universal primary education, teaching personnel and numerical provision of schools might not have arisen if Adam's recommendations were implemented. But this was not to be. *A colony of a rising Imperialism could not expect the blessings of that fortune.*

By setting aside the claim of mass education the Bentinck-decision introduced western education. *In spite of this genetic weakness the Bentinck award was a landmark in the modern history of education in India.*

Differential Developments and Experiments in the Presidencies

In spite of Lord Bentinck's decision, the introduction of Western education was not an 'accomplished affair'. Many other obstacles had to be removed before a full-fledged system of English education could be established.

Although the Supreme Council at Calcutta was the administrative apex of the Company's affairs, the administration was not yet so centralised as to guarantee uniformity of action in all the Presidencies. In fact, the different Presidencies acted on their own to a great extent and in many affairs. Two notable experiments were conducted in Bombay and U. P.

The Bombay Experiment

Out of the conquered territories of the Peshwa was created the Bombay Presidency in 1818. The Peshwa's traditional grants of Rs. 5 lakh for the priests were now diverted to Brahmanic learning. The

Poona Sanskrit College was founded in 1821. Almost simultaneously Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone had the state of indigenous education surveyed. The collected data gave an encouraging picture.

Ten years after the passing of the charter of 1813, the G.C.P.I. was formed in Bengal. In Bombay the Native Education Society was given responsibility for spreading modern education. The Court of Directors sanctioned a grant-in-aid for the society's work. The society functioned as the Govt's agency from 1823 to 1840.

Bombay Presidency had only 4 fullfledged English schools at Bombay, Thane, Panvel and Poone. But the society attached greater importance to primary schools in the mufussil areas. Of course those schools, unlike the primary schools in Bengal, were rather secondary schools with classes VI to X and subjects like 3 Rs, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidian Geometry, Trigonometry etc. The medium, however, was the Vernacular. (Evidently, authorities in Bombay had not introduced the Downward Filtration theory.) By 1840, there were 115 such schools. But English received a secondary importance. A few English schools were maintained for those who could gain from English education.

The Bombay Elphinstone Institution was established in 1834 with public donations and an equal matching grant made by the Directors. Two distinctively different objects were packed together. The objective specified by the Directors was "to raise a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration of India". It was hoped that the study of English would enrich the languages of India. (This was parallel to Macaulay's voice in Bengal).

The Indian contributors had a different idea and separate objectives. "The medium through which the mass of the population must be instructed must be the vernacular tongues, and neither English nor Sanskrit. Sanskrit is a grand store house of strength and beauty from which vernaculars may draw, but it cannot furnish from its stores the matter of instruction, nor can it ever be the medium of instruction to more than a few." Any way the Institution gave simultaneous encouragement to Sanskrit, English and Modern Indian languages.

A Board of Education for Bombay was formed in 1840 with 7 members (three nominated by the Native Education Society). The Society thereafter went out of existence and the Board lived till 1855 when (in pursuance of Wood's Despatch) the D.P.I. took over. The Board which inherited the total liability of the Society including the Poona College and Elphinstone Institution appointed one European Inspector and one Indian assistant inspector for each of the three Divisions. It drew up codes and regulations for English and primary schools. It undertook to establish a primary school in a village of 2000 people with school house being given by villagers and one anna per month of tuition fee being paid by parents. As a result, the figures for 1845 showed that only 761 pupils attended English schools as against 10616 in (vernacular) Govt schools.

The Board initiated a survey as per Adam plan. Normal schools were established at Bombay and Poona in 1845 and 1851 respectively. Mahatma Govinddas Phule founded a school for Harijans in 1852. He condemned the filtration controversy. Things thus had been going well. But Bombay was not spared of controversies. In 1843, Sir Erskine Perry, Judge of the High Court and President of the Board of Education initiated the debate by proposing that Bombay should follow Bengal, because—(1) Indians were eager to learn English. (2) Translations of English matter were costly and difficult. (3) It was politically expedient (such arguments had been earlier made by Grant, Sullivan, Wilberforce and Macaulay). Col. Jervis and three Indian members opposed. Thus ensued the "debate" in Bombay which continued from 1845 to 48.

One speciality of the Bombay debate was that neither party upheld the classics against the mother tongue. It was mother tongue versus English. Framjee Cowasjee, Md Ibrahim Mackba and Jagannath Sankarsett were very vehement, just as Col Jervis was. They opined, "When the native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the establishment of the Elphinstone College, they did so with an understanding that vernacular languages would not be neglected, but carefully fostered and improved and made a medium of instruction for great numbers of masses."

But alas ! Bombay had to submit to the direction that went from the Supreme Govt in Calcutta. Till now the British dominions in

India had no centralised administration. But, now that the whole of the Deccan, Western India, Northern and Eastern India was acquired, the need was to secure the gains through a centrally directed administration. A little concession was temporarily given to the North Western Province for specific reasons (which we shall refer to later).

But Bombay's resistance could not be totally by passed. English became the exclusive medium at college level and mother tongue was the accepted medium at secondary level. Thus came the Bombay experiment to an end. An attempt was made after the establishment of the Bombay University to offer the vernacular as a subject of study at the post graduate level. That again had to be abandoned.

The Case of Madras

Governor Munroe had also conducted a survey of indigenous education and recommended in 1826 that "attempts should be made to educate the masses by improving indigenous schools. The need is to prepare a better type of teachers." There were a number of Tehsildari schools.

But as early as 1830, the Directors advised concentration on English Edn.

Madras already had a Committee of Native Education existent. It was replaced in 1843 by a Board of Education. A policy to patronise indigenous schools with the Tehsil as Unit had been in force. Here too a directive of the Central Govt required the discontinuation of aid to Collectorate and Tehsil schools and ordered that Govt. grants would be made only for Western Education. Obviously, *English education secured priority advantage in Madras also.*

Experiment in North Western Province (U. P.)

Agra and Oudh were separated from Bengal in 1843 to form the North Western Province (the present United Provinces). There were three colleges at Agra, Benaras and Delhi, and 9 Anglo-Vernacular schools maintained by the Govt. Mr. Thomason, Governor of the new province accepted the principles recommended by Rev. William Adam overriding the downward filtration theory of Macaulay-Auckland school and stood for education through the mother-tongue, not English. His views, in short, were—

- (1) Incorporation of indigenous schools in an Indian system of education,
- (2) Creation of an education department to administer education,
- (3) Imposition of a local rate to finance mass education.

A statistical survey of 1845 revealed that the province had 7966 schools of different types and $\frac{1}{3}$ of children of school going age received instruction.

In 1845, Mr. Thomason, in a circular to the district officials made his point that indigenous schools scattered throughout the country, although in a moribund state, could be the means to educate the masses if their learning matter and teaching methods were improved and more schools were provided.

The Board made a plan to enhance the percentage of school going children. It was decided to provide one school for every 200 households and maintained through the Zamindars. In 1848 it was decided to establish a model school in every Tehsil. The curriculum was improved by the inclusion of History, Geography, Accountancy etc.

In 1851, Mr. Thomason proposed a system of local rates of $\frac{1}{8}\%$ on the land revenue payable by landholders and they were expected to pay it voluntarily. The Govt. would pay an equal amount. He also proposed the establishment of Halkabondi schools. A Halka was a circle of several villages, formed for revenue purpose. At a central place of the halka, a school would be established with local cooperation.

In 1851, Mr. Alexander, Collector of Mathura actually decided to establish one central school for every halka to be maintained by rates on revenue.

In the matter of administration he proposed that there would be a Govt. village school at every tehsil headquarters for an area of 2/3 tehsils; A pargana visitor would work there. There would be zilla visitors and ultimately a Visitor General for the whole province. Thus Thomason forestalled the schemes of inspection and local rates which were subsequently incorporated in the educational policy of the Govt.

It is to be noted that the Thomason plan received the support of Governor General Lord Dalhousie and the Court of Directors. The reasons were apparent. Persons who had some contact with the pulse of India like Munroe, Elphinstone, Adam and now Thomason proposed mass education through the mother tongue and 'if possible through the

indigenous school. The downward filtration concept had stood against it. But the impracticability of downward filtration was already felt. The agitational movements already started by the Anglicised middle classes prompted the astute politicians to try ways and means to make popular contacts through education. The cost of education might be partially borne by the people in the form of rate. Govt. control might be retained through inspection.

Moreover, the plan had some immediate value for the United Provinces where many of the Talukdars had been estranged by loss of titles under Dalhausie's regulation. A soothing balm in the form of mass education was considered necessary.

The Thomason experiment was historically important in as much as it helped policy making during the despatch of 1854, in which many of these features were included.

In spite of these positive features, N. W. Province was gradually brought under the impact of Bengal-policy. The new province of Punjab (formed in 1849) had started to emulate the example of N. W. Province. But here too the demand for English education became very soon irresistible.

In Bengal, the Orientalists continued to fight a lost battle with the object of turning a total 'rout' into a simple 'defeat'. They prayed for the maintenance of existing schools and continuance of aid for printing classical works. Governor General Lord Auckland considered it impolitic to transform the huge number of traditionalists into a camp of enemies. With the object of pleasing every one with a moderate policy he declared in 1839 that the existing Oriental schools and teaching posts therein would be maintained, necessary Oriental literature would be published and $\frac{1}{4}$ of students in Oriental institutions would be granted stipends. But simultaneously he circumscribed the field of activity of Oriental schools to 'the culture of Oriental knowledge'. (English instruction might be undertaken after fulfilment of this task). He made it unequivocally clear that the attempt to spread modern Western knowledge through the Oriental classical languages was not worthwhile.

While making some concessions for oriental studies. Auckland

actually strengthened the cause of English education. English was made the *medium in Govt Zilla Schools*. It was declared that

Govt's prime duty was to satisfy the huge number of Indians who desired complete education in European literature, philosophy and sciences.

Hence English Education would be more attended to. The Govt's decision to accord *equal advantages to Indians* possessing equal qualifications with Europeans also increased the Indian urge for English education.

It should be noted that the period of Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship witnessed the early beginning of a movement to make the Govt. recognise the modern Indian languages as media of instruction. *The lead came from the Young Bengal*. This group founded newspapers like 'The Enquirer' (in English) and 'Jnananwesana' (in Bengali), and established intellectual societies like the "Academic Association" and "Sarvatattwa Dipika Sabha" (1833). The "Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge" (1838) and the Mechanical Institute (1839) were also their contributions.

The contribution of the Young Bengal in terms of the number of schools founded by them was not impressive. They favoured Western education; but they also spoke of education of the "masses", education of women, knowledge of the sciences, and vernacular as medium of instruction. The signs of the future were reflected in their vision. The movement for vernacular-medium was now led by Rev. Krishnamohan Banerjee who was supported (as Rev. Adam did) by Europeans like Hodgson, Wilkinson, Ballentyne etc. The demand was naturally rejected. Thus *Auckland saved Orientalism from total extinction, but offered greater encouragement to Western Education* and did not abandon "Downward Filtration Policy". Hence Govt. efforts remained limited to higher education alone.

But things did not take a long time to change. After their victory in 1835, the Anglicists took the field in right earnest. In a couple of years the number of English schools conducted by them came up to 48. On the other hand (i) Judicial offices were declared open to educated Indians. (ii) In 1837 English replaced

Persian as official language, and (iii) In 1844 Lord Hardinge declared the policy of recruiting Indians for official employment on the basis of educational qualifications to be tested by competitive examinations. These measures facilitated the quick expansion of English education. Meanwhile in 1842, the G. C. P. I. was replaced by the Council of Education.

Administrative
measures facili-
tated English
education

After 1835, the strongest entrepreneurs in the field, however, were the missionaries. They considered the 1835 decisions as their total victory and tried to acquire monopoly agency in educational enterprise. This was the "Duff Age" when they established schools and colleges throughout India. Scottish Church College and Duff's Free Body Institution in Calcutta, Raipet College and Christian College in Madras, Noble College at Masulipatam, St. Joseph's College at Nagapatam, Hislap College at Nagpur. St. Joseph's College at Agra were contributions of this period. Some of them do still exist and some others developed into local universities.

Indian thinkers also adopted a new strategy. The polemical controversies of the twenties and thirties now died down and both the traditionalists and extremists adopted moderation. *Rammohan's principle of cultural synthesis and constructive reforms again came out victorious and was shaped in this second phase of the Renaissance by Maharshi Debendranath Tagore of the Brahmo Samaj and Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar of the Hindu Society.*

The new-formed Brahmo Samaj established the Tattwabodhini Pathshala in 1840 and the traditionalists led by Radhakanta Dev established the Hitarthi Vidyalaya. Many such schools cropped up in Calcutta and in mufussil districts. Govt. aid, however, was restricted only to the schools conducted by the Education Council and the previously established classical schools. Non-Official English schools were not given financial aids. *Hence the principle of 'grants' became an issue of controversy.*

Second Phase of the Renaissance

Despite the conflict between Traditionalism and Modernism, between Classical and Western learning, it is difficult to list out persons

who had unflinchingly been classicists. Even the prominent institutions could not be designated as belonging to one particular group. Many teachers of the Fort William College had also been on the staff of the Sanskrit College some time or other. In spite of their being Pundits, some of them recognised the value of the modern knowledge of the sciences. On the other hand, some others, who had been on the staff of the Fort William College or Hindu College, could not unreservedly accept everything modern.

Luminaries of mid 19th Century

As discussed earlier, *Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar* had been a teacher of Fort William College, a member of the preparatory committee of Hindu Vidyalaya and a member of the committee of managers of Calcutta School Society. Yet he was a staunch opponent of Rammohan Ray's religious and social reform movements.

Joygopal Tarkalankar served the Serampore Press and Mission School and had been a pillar of *Samachar Darpan* from 1818 to 1823. But he again served in Sanskrit College for 22 years from 1824.

Kashinath Tarkapanchanon served at Fort William College from 1823 to 24 and in Sanskrit College from 1825 to 1827.

Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan served in Sanskrit College, first as librarian, then as lecturer and teacher of literature from 1832 to 1844. He founded the 'Somprokash' which attained considerable fame. Books written by him included 'Nitisar', 'Upadeshmala' etc.

Madan Mohan Tarkalankar had been Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's co-student at Sanskrit College where he read Grammar, Literature, Alankar, Jyotish, Philosophy, Smriti. He accepted service under the Council of Education (which replaced the G. C. P. I.) and served successively in Hindu College Pathsala, Barasat Govt. School, Fort William College, Krishnagore College. He established a Sanskrit Printing Press (Sanskrita Jantra). The most interesting thing about him is that Ramgopal Ghosh, Dakshinaraman Mukherjee (both of the Young Bengal) and Madanmohan Tarkalankar formed the three pillars of Bethune Hindu Balika Vidyalaya. In spite of the danger of conservative criticism he got his daughters Bhubanmala and Kundamala admitted as students in Bethune School. He himself served as an honorary teacher in that school and wrote the famous primers—

"Sishu-Sikha" in 3 parts between 1849—50, as text books. In "Sarba Subhakari" (a monthly paper brought out by senior students of Hindu College) he wrote an exhaustive article on the need for women's education.

A slightly different career was that of *Bhudev Mukherjee*. Born and brought up in a typical pundit family, Bhudev had his early education in Sanskrit College, followed by courses in Rammohan Roy's Indian Academy, Nabin Madhab's School, Bholanath's School and Junior Department of Hindu College. Later he became head-master of Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalay, (Hindu Charitable Institution) established by Radhakanta Dev, Harimohan Sen and Debendranath Tagore. He also worked in Calcutta Madrasah and as head-master of Howrah School and Hooghly Normal School. The Chander-nagore Seminary was his own school established in 1847 as was also the Sreepore school. In 1862 he was appointed officiating Assistant Inspector of schools, Central Division, and he rose to the rank of a Class I officer in the Bengal Education Service. He was one of the 20 members of the Hunter Commission and also its Bengal Committee. The Bengal Report of the Commission is known to have been drafted by Bhudev Mukherjee.

Bhudev Mukherjee was an upholder of mass education through the mother tongue. In monthly "Siksha Darpan & Sambadsar" he wrote in 1864, "To receive education is the only purpose behind birth. There is no second need for the human body." In a series of proposals on education in 1856 he showed his liking for teacher training, dealt with the need for mass education and issued special notes for teachers on fundamentals of educational theory, methods of teaching to read and write, the methods of teaching Mathematics, Mensuration, Natural Science, Geography, History, methods of examination (including oral test), religious instruction, home guidance, teacher-pupil relation etc. He cited examples from the life and work of Pestalozzi and of Thomas Arnold.

But Bhudev was not one of the poor millions. There is no denying that his interests lay with the middle and upper classes. Obviously, when the question of choosing arose, he sided with the middle class. When in 1872 the Govt of Campbell proposed the demotion of status of Berhampur, Krishnagore and Rajshahi Colleges,

Bhudev wrote that rural society was destroyed, cottage industries vanished, rent soared high, English was language of Govt. and commerce, *national urge for mass education was absent*. "To sacrifice higher education in the supposed interest of the lower classes is simply to overthrow the foundation on which alone the whole system can possibly rest. A channel has been created through which ideas can be admitted and what we want is to distribute them widely".

Apart from theories and ideas, Bhudev's contribution includes a number of text books followed in schools and colleges viz. Natural Science in two volumes, History of England, Mensuration, History of Rome, History of Bengal. As said earlier, he wanted the dissemination of knowledge through Bengali, the mother tongue in Bengal and in Bihar through Hindi. In respect of social customs and norms, family laws and duties, Bhudev was a traditionalist and placed great emphasis upon ethical conduct.

Apart from pundits, there were other persons in mid-19th Century Bengal who enhanced the cause of education. Iswar Chandra Gupta, the famous journalist and poet was one such. He conducted several journals viz. Sambad Probhakar, Sambad Ratnabali, Sambad Sadhuranjan and Pashanda Piran. He was member of Tattwabodhini Sabha, Niti Tarangini Sabha (of Taki), Niti Sabha (of Darjipara, Calcutta). These names bear out that Gupta Kavi Iswar Chandra was a traditionalist.

Kaliprosanna Sinha founded the Vidyotshahini Sabha, of which Pyarichand Mitra was a member. Men of letters delivered lectures at its sessions on selected subjects. (C. G. Montague, headmaster of David Hare Academy lectured on 'Labour—its importance, Dignity, Piety and Triumphant results.' Sri Priyamadhab Bose spoke on, "Greatness of man." Sri Umacharan Nandi spoke on, "Harmful practices in Bengal." Kirkpatrick lectured on, "Sentiments proper to the age and country.") The Sabha conducted essay writing competitions among young men. It also organised receptions held in honour of Michael Madhusudan and Rev. Long.

The Vidyotshahini Sabha conducted "Vidyotshahini Patrika" (1855), 'Sarbatattwa Prokashika' (1856) in which Zoology, Geology, Geography, Literature, Arts were extensively discussed. It conducted a monthly—"Bibidhartha Sangraha" edited by Rajendralal Mitra, the

famous man of letters. Personally, Kaliprosanna made handsome donations to free schools, schools conducted without Govt aids, and provided prizes to students for literary or educational proficiency.

Kaliprosanna favoured English education, but was mortally opposed to the upstart practices of the Baboos. The Vidyotshahini Sabha robustly advocated social reforms. It submitted an open petition in support of widow remarriage and another mass petition for abolition of Kulinism. Kali Sinha was an eloquent speaker at a public meeting in 1861 in Sobhabazar House to protest against some derogatory remarks made by Supreme Court Judge Mr. M. Wells. Jatindramohan Tagore, Ramgopal Ghosh, Radhakanta Dev, Debendranath Tagore were other speakers or members of the audience. Such protest meetings, only 3 years after the Sepoy Mutiny, signified the palpable development of national consciousness.

The total effect of all these developments may be, at least partially, assessed from the activities of *Mid-19th century Trio of Debendranath Tagore, Akshoy Kumar Dutta and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar*.

Debendranath Tagore

Debendranath reorganised the Brahmo Sabha and started social reform movement on a new basis. His strategy was enlightening the public through education, and creation of public opinion through newspapers and journals.

Debendranath reorganised the Atmiya Sabha under his own Presidentship. This was a forum for discussion on social problems. He was the main spirit behind the Tattvaranjini Sabha, some of the objectives of which were (i) development of learning, (ii) Research, (iii) Public debates on Sastra. This association became Tattwabodhini Sabha (by its close relation with Brahmo Sabha) in 1839. The Sabha started its own journal "Tattwabodhini Patrika" which served a brilliant and much valued socio-academic purpose. The paper discussed religion, arts, sciences, archaeology etc. Although Debendranath's inclination was towards religious discourses, he could not gain his point unilaterally. The Paper Committee which screened and selected the articles included Hindu leaders also, including Vidyasagar.

The Hindu College chiefs had established the Hindu College Pathshala in 1840 to disseminate the knowledge of East and West,

through Bengali. Text books were also prepared. Accepting that model, Debendranath established the Tattwabodhini Pathsala in 1840 with the object that "The boys will receive religious education which is a new feature in the system of native instruction." It was a measure to counteract missionary influence, so that "religious knowledge may be imparted in our faith. The school will impart both spiritual and temporal instruction." The subjects of study included the Scriptures, Geography, Physics etc. Under Brahmo influence, similar schools were established in mufussil areas like Jessore, Dinajpur, Faridpur, Barisal etc. The total effect of Brahmo educational enterprise as against Missionary enterprise in this period was not negligible. This also is of interest that Debendranath's group and Radhakanta Dev's group cooperated with each other on many issues, while Radhakanta Dev and Vidyasagar could not always make a common cause, although both were Hindus. The Tattwabodhini group had links with Vidyasagar, mainly through Akshoy Kumar Datta.

Akshoy Kumar Dutta

Well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali and English, A. K. Dutta had command of Western Classical languages also. He was acquainted with Iswar Chandra Gupta and attended 'Bangla Bhashanusilan Sabha'. He was also a member of 'Niti Tarangini Sabha'. Akshoy Kumar's essay was adjudged the best in an essay competition organised by Debendranath Tagore for the selection of Editor for Tattwabodhini Patrika. A. K. Dutta was also Secretary of Atmiya Sabha, of which Debendranath was the President.

Akshoy Kumar said in a lecture that the soul of India was dying under foreign rule, foreign language, foreign torture. To challenge the overwhelming influence of English the task should be the spread of science-education through Bengali (of course together with religious lessons). Debendranath Tagore, however, says that while he sought the relation between God and man, Akshoy Kumar sought the relation between the objective and the subjective world. This signifies a scientific attitude. In fact, the Paper Committee of Tattwabodhini included (among others—and in the different periods) Debendranath, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajendralal Mitra, Rajnarayan Bose, Ananda Kumar Bose etc. while Akshoy Kumar was editor.

Akshoy Kumar Dutta conducted another journal "The Vidya Darshan" with the objectives of discussing subjects which would improve Bengali language as expressive of thought on all subjects and would provide translations of books on Science, History, Ethics and would fight against malpractices in Indian life.

Samaj Unnati Bidhayini Sabha (an association of friends for social improvement) was formed in 1854 with Debendranath Tagore as President and Kishorichand Mitra and Akshoy Kumar Dutta as Joint Secretaries. Other important members were Rajendralal Mitra, Harischandra Mukherjee, Pyarichand Mitra, Rashik Krishna Mullik, Radhanath Sikdar etc. Under Akshoy Kumar's inspiration and as proposed by Kishorichand Mitra, the society resolved to foster women's education, remarriage of Hindu widows, abolition of child marriage and polygamy etc.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar established many model schools in the districts of Nadia, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. He realised that very few teachers were suitable either academically or pedagogically. His proposal to the Govt, for the appointment of Akshoy Kumar Dutta as Head of the Calcutta Normal School is an eloquent testimony to the capabilities of Sri Dutta. Vidyasagar wrote, "He is one of the very few of the best Bengali Writers of the time. His knowledge of the English language is very respectable and he is well informed in the elements of General Knowledge and well acquainted with the art of teaching." Akshoy Kumar successfully discharged duties as head of the institution.

In his David Hare memorial lecture Akshoy Kumar made fervent appeals for educational donations and endowments. After acclaiming the Bengal British India Society, the Tattwabodhini Sabha, the Hindu Hitarthi institution for their role in education, he declared that the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlettered, Brahmos and Hindus and all sorts of people belonging to different castes, creeds and outlooks made a common cause for education which must be furthered. He imagined a brilliant future for India in the fields of politics, judiciary, agriculture, industry, commerce etc. He was confident that Indians would build seagoing vessels, bridges and steam engines. Swadeshi products would be made from Swadeshi materials.

In his description of a dream fantasy (Swapna Darshan) he depicted

the creeper of verses with ornaments (Alankar), the big tree of Jyotish, the tree of Mathematics which covered half of the forest, other trees of Chemistry, Physiology, Medicine, Smriti, Philosophy etc. in the large garden of learning with multiple vegetation. At the same time he condemned the vices of lust, drunkenness and hypocrisy and upheld the virtues of Sraddha and Jatna (devotion and perseverance).

It is evident from the discussions that most of the educational thinkers and workers of mid-19th century had three things in common viz. (1) Almost all of them placed great emphasis upon ethics and morals. Many associations also were established to re-establish "Niti" and conduct or behaviour. (2) Both Hindu and Brahmo thinkers had a religious stance in their thoughts. The first was a reaction to the excesses of the Young Bengal. The second was a reaction to the missionary excesses in denominational instruction. (3) The third feature was the early beginnings of a national sentiment which was specially prominent in Harish Mukherjee, Akshoy Kumar Datta. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar discarded the religious and caste stance, and sought to build up a secular system of education with emphasis upon mass education.

The Role of Iswarchandra Vidyasagar

Pandit Iswarchandra shone brilliantly in this period like a mid-day sun. His activities started with the formation of the "Society for the Promotion of Bengali Language and Literature" in 1836. His associates were Iswarchandra Gupta, Akshoy Kumar Datta and others. Vidyasagar's make up had been shaped when he served as a Pundit in Fort William College. While accepting modern thinking he did not sacrifice tradition and religion, and thereby proved that a happy synthesis was possible. As a Principal of Calcutta Sanskrit College he attached equal importance to English, Sanskrit and Bengali. He did not fear to replace useless themes of Oriental Philosophy with useful Occidental themes.

Iswarchandra had himself been a student of the Sanskrit College which had started with a 12 year "free" course only for Brahmins. In 1826, a 'Vaidyak' class was opened, thereby opening the doors of the college to Vaidya Youth.

After a brilliant academic career, Vidyasagar joined the Fort William College in 1841 as its Head Pandit in Bengali Department. While serving there, he mastered English by private reading. Acquaintance with Frederick James Halliday, John Peter Grant, Cecil Beadon, William Grey etc. stood him in good stead in subsequent years.

In 1846, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Sanskrit College where Rashamay Datta was the Secretary. On the basis of experiences in student life and his current office, Iswarchandra proposed some reforms, the main of which was improved teaching of Sanskrit by more economic and scientific methods, integration of classical learning with English knowledge, to prepare youth who could spread the knowledge of western sciences through Bengali. His suggestions being ignored, he resigned from assistant secretary's office in 1847.

He was, however, recalled in 1850 when he joined the college again as teacher of literature. He submitted another report to Mr. Mouat of the Council of Education. The secretary Mr. Rashamoy Datta resigned and Iswarchandra was appointed secretary of the college. The theme of this report again was 'reorganisation' of the Sanskrit College. He suggested that instead of over emphasis upon inert Sanskrit Grammar and outmoded texts, knowledge of fundamentals of Bengali Grammar should be imparted. Sanskrit Grammar teaching was reshuffled, by replacing 'Mugdhabodh' with 'Upakramanika' and 'Byakaran Kaumudi'. He compiled a Sanskrit reader by editing selected pieces from Hitopadesha, Panchatantra, Ramayana, Mahabharata etc. He wanted effective Sanskrit learning for the elite, and proficiency in the mother tongue for the common man. Translation of matter from physics and other sciences might be prepared. But English should be a compulsory subject of study. When in 1853 Mr. Ballentyne, Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College visited the Calcutta College and expressed opinion which opposed Vidyasagar's suggestion, the latter submitted another report in a mood of protest. He expressed himself unhesitatingly against Sankhya, Vedanta and Burkley which, in his opinion, were useless. Instead, he suggested the study of the advancing sciences of Europe. In short, Vidyasagar stood for a combination of Western and Eastern knowledge with emphasis upon English, Sanskrit and Bengali in particular.

Vidyasagar worked as Principal of the Sanskrit College from 1851 to 1858. In this short period he introduced a few important internal reforms. In 1851, admission was made open to Kayasthas. The system of closure on Sundays was introduced. Courses in Grammar were reshuffled. In 1852 an admission fee of Rs, 2/- was introduced. Through Vidyasagar's intercession, the Govt. agreed to recruit Deputy Magistrates from amongst Sanskrit College Graduates also. In 1853 the English department was reorganised and English was made a compulsory subject. In 1854, a system of monthly tuition fees was introduced. The college was made open to all students of 'gentle birth'.

Iswarchandra Bandyopadhyay's contributions were more prominent in the fields of *primary education and women's education*. In 1853 he had submitted a memorandum stating that the first need was mass education. He suggested the establishment of primary schools, preparation of text books and training of teachers on a new footing free from traditional superstitions. He wrote to Mr. Mouat, appealing for positive measures.

Primary Education : In 1854, during Lord Dalhousie's Governor Generalship, Mr. Halliday (first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal), recognised the hapless conditions of the indigenous schools, at a time when the Despatch of 1854 changed the 'filtration theory' and announced the Govt's willingness to help mass education. Vidyasagar and Halliday agreed to establish some model schools and to institute a system of inspection. The schools would provide instruction in Geography, History, Biographies, Geometry, Arithmetic, Natural Science, Moral Science, Political Science, Physiology, apart from the 3 Rs. and the medium would be the mother tongue (Bengali). Vidyasagar planned for 3—5 class schools under one Head Pandit and 2 assistant Pandits for each. A normal school would be started. Four districts (Hooghly, Midnapore, Burdwan, Nadia) were selected for operation in localities away from secondary schools. One inspector was appointed for Hooghly and Midnapore and another for Burdwan and Nadia. The Principal of the Sanskrit College would be Chief-Inspector in addition to his college duties. A normal school was founded in 1855 under the Principalship of Akshoykumar Datta to produce two batches (of 60 each) of teachers every year. Vidyasagar

was in the same year appointed Inspector of Schools for Southern Bengal. In a year's time five schools were established in each district.

Varna Parichaya

Halhed had written his Grammar before the rise of Vidyasagar. Carey had also written one. Rammohan wrote his Goudia Vyakaran. But Vidyasagar felt that something more was required to be done to take the Bengali language to the ordinary man. The missionaries had been very active just as the Young Bengal was. At this juncture only a well-laid track could advance the cause of Bengali.

Madan mohan Tarkalankar (b-1817) and Vidyasagar were friends. In the early days of career, they cooperated with each other's work. Tarkalankar's "Sishu Siksha" in three volumes had been published prior to Vidyasagar's Varna-Parichay. In an article on the value of the spoken language Iswar Chandra wrote that 'the first spoken language in a man's life is the language current in his immediate environment. This is the mother-tongue. The English being the rulers, every subject should of necessity learn English. But one must not learn English before learning the mother tongue well.'

Vidyasagar's Varna Parichay was an aid to people for the mastery of Bengali. It was a thorough reform of language by deleting many letters used in Sanskrit, but obsolete in Bengali. The number of letters was rationalised. Spelling style and science was introduced. Scientific pronunciation was emphasised. Graded lessons were incorporated to show the use of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, tense etc. Short stories were incorporated to provide lessons in sociality, morality, discipline etc.

This reform of the script and writing style helped the cause of primary education and particularly mass literacy.

Women's Education : In 1849, Mr. D. W. Bethune, law member of the Governor General's Council and President of the Council of Education, in co-operation with some prominent Bengalee gentlemen, established a 'free school' for secular education of Hindu Girls. The school was variously known as Calcutta Female School, Hindu Female School, Native Female School and lastly Bethune Girls' School. In 1850, Vidyasagar accepted secretaryship of the school. In the re-organised committee of 1856, Mr. Cecil Beadon became president with

Vidyasagar as secretary. The other members included Kalikrishna Dev, Hara Chandra Ghosh, Ramaprosad Roy, Kashiprosad Ghosh etc.

In the meantime, the Despatch of 1854 had spoken favourably of Govt's responsibility in women's education. Vidyasagar started a girls' school at Jaugram in Burdwan. With the concurrence of Mr. F. Halliday he made a plan to start girls' schools in villages where villagers would provide school houses. During 1858, twenty schools were started in Hooghly, eleven in Burdwan, three in Midnapore, one in Nadia, (35 schools in all). When the Govt. showed apathy to sanction aids for these schools, Vidyasagar established a "Nari Siksha Bhandar". Vidyasagar's undaunted spirit encouraged conservative Hindus also to open girls' schools.

College Education (English) : In 1853 Iswar Chandra had started an Anglo-Sanskrit free school at Birsinha, his native village. In 1857 he started the Jaugram girls' school, as said earlier. In 1859 some of his fellow travellers started the Calcutta Training School, with him as secretary. In 1861, it was renamed as Calcutta Training Academy. In 1864 it became the Hindu Metropolitan Institution (subsequently only Metropolitan Institution). It received no aid from the Govt, and was the first Indian college founded and managed by Indians with only Indians on the teaching staff. In 1872 it was recognised as a second grade college and in 1879 as a first grade one. From 1884 it opened Law Courses, and from 1885 B. A. (Honours) i.e. M.A. courses. The Shyampukur branch of the institution was started in 1884, Bowbazar branch in 1885, and Barrabazar branch in 1887. During financial straits and for the construction of its buildings the expenses were almost wholly borne by Vidyasagar himself. This success encouraged free enterprise of other Indians to establish English institutions including colleges.

In 1854, Iswar Chandra was appointed a member of the Board of Examiners instituted for examining I.C.S. cadre after abolition of the Fort William College in that year. In 1855 he was appointed a member of the University Committee when plans were made for establishing universities in pursuance of the Despatch of 1854. In 1857, he was made a Fellow of Calcutta University. In 1870 he became associated with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science and in 1876, a member of its Board of Trustees.

In 1839, Vidyasagar had become a member of the Tattwabodhini Sabha and was its last secretary in 1858. He was also a member of its 'paper committee' and also contributed to the *The Press* : Sarbasubhakari. The Somprokash was planned by him, although it was edited by Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan. He also salvaged the Hindu Patriot after the death of Haris Chandra Mukherjee.

A major aspect of Vidyasagar's contributions was constituted of his literary activities. As said earlier, he wrote Upakramanika, Byakaran Kaumudi (in 4 parts) and Riju Path. In *Literary work* : 1842 he wrote Basudev Charit, in 1846 Betal Panchahimsati, 1848—Banglar Itihash, in 1849—Jiban Charit and Bodhodaya, in 1855, Varna Parichay—Parts I & II, and in 1864—Sabdamanjory (a dictionary). He reshuffled the Bengali script to make it more easily usable and understandable. His series of primers facilitated the spread of mass literacy.

Other literary contributions of Vidyasagar, as is well known, included Sakuntala (1855), Sitar Vanavash (1862), Bhrantibilash (1869) etc. For use as university text books he wrote Meghadutam, Adhijnanam, Harsha Charitam etc. His two treatises on widow remarriage and two treatises on polygamy created a stir in social and intellectual life of Bengal. In fact, he polished Bengali and made it a vehicle of higher thought. His Bengali translations and adaptations made the classical matter accessible to the ordinary reader.

Some Humanitarian Services of Vidyasagar

During a famine in 1866, Vidyasagar established a community free kitchen from where food and medicine were distributed to 400/500 people a day for 4/5 months. During a Malaria epidemic in Burdwan villages Vidyasagar established a charitable dispensary for free distribution of medicine and prevailed upon the Govt to establish more such centres.

In 1872 he founded the Hindu Family Annuity Fund.

At Karmatar, he personally served the poor and ill clad Santhal children and was found even to oil and comb their hair.

His private support to the needy amounted to Rs 800/- per month in those days.

- 1856—Widow-Marriage Act Codified,
 " —First Widow Remarriage in Calcutta.

Tracts against Polygamy—1871, 1873

Two more tracts in reply to opponents.

Some of the Milestones of Vidyasagar's educational work

1850—Hon. Secretary, Bethune School

1853—Estd. a Free School at Virsinha

1855—Normal School

" —Five Model Schools each in Nadia.

Burdwan, Hooghly and Four in Midnapore

1856—One more Model School in Midnapore

1857—Fellow, Calcutta University

" —Seven Girls' Schools in Hooghly and one in Burdwan

1859—Anglo-Bengali School at Kandi, Murshidabad

1861—Secretary, Calcutta Training School (Metropolitan)

1863—Superintendent, Ward Institution

1864—Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society

1875—Metropolitan College, became 1st grade in 1879

" —Metropolitan School, Shyampukur Branch

1877—School at Gopal Lal Tagore's house for rich children

Tuition Rs 50/- Pm.

1883—Fellow, Punjab University

1885—Metropolitan School (Bowbazar Branch)

1890—Bhagwati School at Birsinha.

Intimate life with Santhals at Karmatar. Provided Food, Clothings and Education for the simple tribal folk. Established a school for Santhal children.

Died on 29 July, 1891.

As a matter of modest estimate we may refer to C. E. Buckland who says, "He combined a fearless independence of character with great gentleness and the simplicity of a child in his Estimate :

dealing with the people of all classes." And Michael Madhusudan Datta says. "He has the genius and wisdom of an ancient sage, the energy of an Englishman and the heart of a Bengali mother."

"Vidyasagar is known in the country for endless bounty....He also showed uncommon strength of character"...Tagore.

"In Vidyasagar we witnessed the strength of human character that a man of no means may establish in society..."

Shivnath Sastri.

"Alas ! Vidyasagar had no Boswell to create for him a place in human memory as Johnson had." Tagore,

"Like a tall tree he stood erect with little plants around." Tagore.

What is most important for our purpose is that Iswar Chandra proved by words and deeds, that a synthetic modern culture and education was possible and traditionalism and Anglicism should both be avoided. He also proved that social barriers to educational opportunity might be broken, if sincerely desired. He started in a major way, a movement for mass literacy and primary education. Similarly, he furthered the cause of women's education. His Metropolitan College set an example of new type Indian efforts for the spread of education. And above all his advocacy of the mother tongue as a subject of study and as a medium of instruction at primary level made its ultimate recognition almost irresistible.

Such changes in objective conditions had been affecting the Govt policy also. During the period of *Lord Hardinge*, the Education Council had begun to pay attention to elementary education. 101 Primary schools has been planned for Bengal with 3 Rs, Bengali Language, Geography, History of India as curricular subjects. A tuition fee of one anna per month was to be realised. A Normal School in Calcutta was established and school-inspection introduced. *Lord Dalhousie* further expanded this move. In 1852 the Council of Education took over responsibility of primary education too. It was decided in 1853 that on the model of the Thomason policy in N. W. Province, Rev. Adam's recommendations would be made effective in Bengal. The Govt. would extend aids to the indigenous schools and conduct some modern schools as models for them to emulate and Circle Pandits would be appointed for better teaching. Inspite of these laudable thinking, *the practical achievements were little*, because backpull was very strong. Only 8 thousand rupees a year were earmarked for primary education through the mother tongue and there were 33 recognised primary schools in Bengal in 1854.

The change in attitude, however, is more noteworthy. The weakness of the filtration theory had already become apparent. *English education did antithetically give birth to a national consciousness, and functioned as a 'boomerang'*. Criticism of British rule was voiced by the educated gentry. The most English-loving Young Bengal led the

field. The Charter Act of 1833 was vociferously criticised. The Bengal British India Society was founded in 1843. Agitations were conducted against slave labour and indenture of Indian coolie labour. The Freedom of the Press granted in 1838 was used against British 'misrule'. The Black Bill Agitation challenged the special privileges enjoyed by Europeans in India. The narrow base of British administration founded upon alliance with a small fraction of educated upper and middle classes, thus, showed instability. The Govt. considered it advisable to make direct contact with the masses. Mass education might be one of the methods. The outworn filtration policy, therefore, required to be abandoned. In these circumstances, redrafting of educational policies became imperative.

Genesis of Wood's Despatch

Mid-19th Century was a turning point in the history of education in British India. (A) The Govt. had in 1835 adopted the policy of English education, but there was yet no firm policy in regard to the *objective* of such education. There had been *three schools of thought from the cultural view point*—(i) the successors of Hastings—Duncan School; (ii) the successors of Grant-Macaulay School, and (iii) the successors of Jervis-Rammohan School. From the *political and administrative view point* there were *three types of thought*—(i) produce less costly officers, (ii) win the aristocracy over, (iii) ally with the middle classes. (B) The *missionaries* dreamt of 'moral and religious rebirth' through education. (C) The *Directors of the Company* wanted to secure properly trained servants. (D) *Liberal thinkers* of Munro—Metcalfe school considered it a duty of the sovereign to educate the subjects. (E) In regard to the *method of provision*, the Downward Filtration policy had been adopted on the analogy of English aristocracy. Education of the higher classes had been considered politically more important. Govt. care was to be bestowed upon a limited few who were expected to be interpreters of the West. But this policy was found infructuous and its reversal was called for. (F) English had been accepted as medium of education. But, with reversal of filtration theory, there was the *need to reconsider the language issue*, more so because the demand for the mother tongue even in post-primary education became more and more vocal. (G) The once condemned

Unsolved

problems of old :

indigenous schools had again to be brought into the focus. (H) *The limited span of Govt. responsibility* required to be widened. (I) *The Muslims* had so long boycotted western education. But now the Muslim leadership began to think anew and the govt considered it worthwhile to forge a link with the muslim masses through education. (J) The social reform movement initiated by Rammohan, Bentinck, Bethune, and carried forward by Vidyasagar had been breaking through the conservative wall. The question of *women's education* became a practical proposition. (K) In 1835, a decision had been made in favour of English education, but *the question of agency* had remained untackled. The missionaries had begun with a new burst of enthusiasm with emphasis shifted to secondary and collegiate education. The Govt. had also simultaneously entered into the field through the G.C.P.I. (subsequently the Council of Education). Private Indian enterprise had started. A clash of interests, therefore, became inevitable. The missionaries demanded that Bentinck's award had been practically a blank cheque for them and *they must be given monopoly agency* to provide education. They not only condemned the costly and godless education in the Govt. school, but also questioned the propriety of competitive examinations on the basis of secular courses and demanded monopoly right to produce text books. On the other hand a strong *Indian opinion had developed in favour of 'secular' western education*. The Govt. had, therefore to *decide upon the object of education, the place of religion in it, the agency and machine for educational provisions and extent, form and method of Govt. control*.

These were some of the old issues which had remained unsolved or were by-products of issues that had been previously solved.

Completely new problems, however, were not lacking.

New problems: In this Victorian Era, the British Empire had been enjoying the best fortune. Indian mines were dug out and investments made in Tea, Textile and Jute industries. The beginning of Public Work and Irrigation undertakings required the services of Civil Engineers. Lawyers were required for a full implementation of the new legal system. Obviously *the question of professional and vocational education* became a practical proposition.

Indians were now admitted into administrative and judicial services. The principle of equal opportunity for equal calibre was

announced (at least in theory). Urge for English education had grown. Competitive examinations had been introduced. It was, therefore, necessary to establish a complete "system" of education with proper gradations and with a University at the top as an examining and certifying body, whose certificates might be accepted by the appointing authorities. (The Council of Education had, in 1845, proposed the foundation of a University at Calcutta).

All these considerations led to a rethinking. The British Parliament again discussed things during renewal of Charter in 1853. The total policy was incorporated in a Despatch received in India in 1854. The Despatch became famous as Wood's Despatch of 1854. after the name of Charles Wood, President of the Company's Board of Control.

Wood's Despatch of 1854

The objectives of English education as enunciated in the Despatch included (i) bestowal of "moral and material blessings that flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge", (ii) Improved intellect and morality would ensure the supply of "servants of doubtless probity", (iii) Such knowledge would teach the "natives" the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital and rouse them to emulate 'us' in the development of the vast resources of their country and (iv) Confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce, and at the same time secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of our British labour."

An analysis of the objectives brings out the following components—
(i) English education would be so bestowed as to develop the agricultural resources of India so that she might ensure a perennial supply of raw materials for British industries and might become an endless market for the consumption of British's industrial goods. Thus, education must strengthen the colonial economic relationship. (ii) The immediate and more concrete objective would be the preparation of servile personnel for employment. A clerk-making education was thought of, and a direct link established between education and clerical employment.

The *content* of the education would be an improved academic study of European arts, science, philosophy and literature, i.e. Western knowledge.

The *medium* for such improved knowledge would be English although the vernaculars might be accepted on account of their traditional and social values, and also as the media for mass education. Anglo-Vernacular schools, and
 Content, medium and method : (if necessary) Vernacular High Schools might be established. *Indigenous primary schools would be encouraged* and text books printed in Indian languages.

As for *method*, the Despatch regretted the Filtration Theory and declared that 'upper classes can stand on their own legs.' Hence Govt's attention would be turned to the needs of the masses. The policy would be to impart "useful and practical knowledge *suited to every station of life*".

These two statements deserve a bit of analysis. The two together meant a denial of equal opportunities and ultimately led to the creation of a gulf between "Educated Baboos" and "uneducated millions". The Despatch simultaneously incorporated the principle of granting 'merit scholarships' to ensure an upward rise of the deserving, by the educational ladder. But niggardly grants made scholarships mere gifts of fortune for the few, and the majority could not go up the ladder. Yet, the reference to "useful and practical knowledge" was pregnant with future possibilities of development in vocational education.

The Despatch admitted the need for *professional education* in Law, Medicine & Engineering under the University and also stipendiary Teacher-education. Moreover, it assured Govt. grants for education of Muslims, and education of Women.

On the *question of religion*, the Despatch made an explicit declaration in favour of secular instruction. Govt. schools would be non-denominational as would be the non-official schools enjoying grants-in-aid. This was a clear
 Secular Education : negation of missionary claim for monopoly and denominational instruction. Simultaneously, however, it was announced that non-official agencies might impart religious instruction at their own cost, and this would be kept off the margin of Govt's attention. It was, thus, a *compromise solution*, with the object of pleasing both the missionaries and the secular Indian opinion.

The Despatch directed the establishment of a complete "system" of education with universities at the top and a network of graded schools beneath them. The university would be charged with the responsibility of determining syllabuses and standards of education, assessing attainments by examination and certifying the eligible ones. Universities would be established at the Presidency Head Quarters. They might introduce Honours courses and create professorial chairs for selected subjects. In fact, the establishment of universities and the gradation of schools meant an attempt to bring order out of chaos caused so long by unplanned and unequal growth of educational institutions. Under one controlling top, a *System of Education was thus established.*

A system of
education :

As for administration of this system, the Despatch suggested (i) autonomous administration of universities under acts of incorporation and the university's own rules and regulations, (ii) for administration at the lower stages it suggested the establishment of a Department of Education in each of the five provinces of the time, under a Director of Public Instruction (D. P. I.) helped by a platoon of School Inspectors. The Department would control Govt's educational endeavour. The Govt, however, would not maintain all the schools. A big role of non-official enterprise was recognised. The non-official (private) schools would be given grants-in-aid under salary, house building or development heads (as the practice even to-day is). The grants would, however, be subject to conditions viz. good secular education, local initiative and management, realisation of tuition fees, subjection to official inspection etc.

State Control of
Education :

The nature of these provisions should be clearly understood. (i) Partnership between official and non-official agencies in educational enterprise was the essence of the provisions. (ii) Missionary claim to monopoly agency was rejected and thereby the scope was created for non-official Indian enterprise. This scope was profitably utilised by Indians in the succeeding years to attain predominance in enterprise. (iii) On the other hand, the responsibility of the Govt. was kept limited by the grants-in-aid system. It was further announced that the Govt's policy would be gradual withdrawal, leaving the field open to private initiative. (iv) By the insertion of pre-conditions to grants-

in-aid the ultimate control, however, was retained in Govt. hands. It boiled down to a policy of control without responsibility.

The principle of making grants as adopted in 1813 was changed in 1854. The policy of 1813 was to disburse specific amounts irrespective of the nature of enterprise. The policy of 1854 was to limit State obligation and to disburse unspecified amounts subject to conditions to be fulfilled by non-official agencies.

Stanley's Despatch of 1859

No sooner had steps been taken to implement the Despatch of 1854 than the Mutiny of 1857 rocked the very foundation of the British Indian Empire. The frightened rulers apprehended that the Govt's intervention in education might have been one of the causes of the rebellion. In 1858, Lord Ellenborough ordered a freeze of implementation of the provisions of Wood's Despatch. In 1859 however, Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India again ordered implementation with certain modifications. He opined that the grant-in-aid system was not fostering the cause of primary education. Better attention should be paid to that field with more schools and teacher-training institutions. To raise funds for primary education he suggested the imposition of education cess. Thus, apart from emphasis upon primary education and a system of cess, this despatch did not add anything new. It was rather a supplement to the Despatch of 1854.

Assessment of Wood's Despatch

Some historians characterised the Despatch as a Magna Charta of Indian education. Such superlative eulogy is not only undue over-estimation, but also reflects a wrong analogy. Inspite of all its limitations, Magna Charta was a document of rights secured from an unwilling authority under duress. It laid the foundation of parliamentary prerogatives and the system of limited monarchy in England. The Despatch was not a document of educational 'rights' of the Indian people, nor a promissory paper for state responsibility. It was a Colonial Education Document of certain privileges granted by a foreign Govt. and that too with inherent limitations. The objective of education as defined in it was education for servility of a colonial country. It incorporated no ideal for universal literacy, nor any state obligation. It promised no

Does not deserve
superlative praise :

education for leadership, nor any for national regeneration or national productivity. Poverty still remained a bar to education. A centralised control of education inhibited the possibility of democratic initiative. A tight-jacket system inhibited the forces of flexibility. The system of Grants-in-aid forced the institutions to pursue a prefixed track providing no scope of variation or independent experimentations.

Yet the *positive features* of the Despatch cannot be denied. It was the first authoritative Parliamentary document of its nature. Even if Govt. "responsibility" was not admitted, its "duty" was squarely recognised. In spite of a hundred weaknesses, it *in-*

Positive features : *corporated the objectives of education*, however much we may condemn them. It enunciated a *secular principle*, abandoned the filtration policy and adopted a *positive attitude towards mass education*. Scope of higher education was created for the meritorious poor student in spite of all its limitations. An educational ladder was created in an integrated system. A *vast scope* was created for private enterprise. Above all, the anarchic efforts of non-official and official agencies during the preceding 50 years were now consolidated in a *system of education under centralised control*. From these considerations we may accept Lord Dalhousie's characterisation that the Despatch offered a scheme of education for all India, *far wider and more com-*

A fitting close to the second period of modern education

prehensive than the local or supreme Govt. could have even ventured to suggest'. The Despatch, in fact, answered many questions raised by previous developments. Hence we may concur with the opinion of Mr. James that "The Despatch of 1854 is

thus the climax in the History of Indian Education. What goes before it leads up to it."

It should, however, by no means be construed that it established a national system of education. It was not a system established by a national Govt in the nation's interest, nor did it belong to the nation as a whole. It was a *transplantation in the interest of a foreign ruler*. A *system* was no doubt introduced. But it was a *State System by its intrinsic nature*.

Effects and Significance

India acquired freedom a century later than the time of the Despatch. Yet, the effect of the Despatch was alive throughout the period and we are even today not free from its influences. The influence

of University education firmly established by the Despatch still holds good. The pattern of examination-dominated intel-

A Century long influence : lectual, academic and 'bookish' education introduced in those days swallowed the nation's intrinsic merit.

The Universities have not yet won the battle to be centres of "learning". The domination of the Entrance examination prefixed the curricula and methods. Teacher's freedom of experimentation was destroyed. University-oriented secondary education blocked the path of professional, vocational or elementary education.

Adverse effects : The mother tongue was accorded a recognition. But the monopoly of English in higher education ensured its monopoly in secondary education also. A duality of control (between Govt. and University) was initiated. The bureaucratic system of inspection not only made external discipline rigid and stereotyped, but also caused the loss of internal freedom. The state's responsibility was circumscribed and financial burden was transferred to the nation and the parents. This system of *state partnership and control* lives to date. This system of education with narrow aims unrelated to national interests and aspirations, in which the burden was borne by the nation while control vested in a foreign Govt. led to severe reactions which gave birth to the national education movement.

The most important truth, however, is that the *Despatch removed the obstacles to English Education* and created the scope for its expansion. Mental preparedness for the acceptance of Western Education had been developing since the last part of the 18th Century.

Removal of Obstacles to English education : After 1813, missionary and Indian enterprise had been steadily growing. But the absence of a firm educational policy of the State was a hindrance. The first step towards removal of the hindrance had been taken in 1835. But opposition of the Orientalists still continued and language controversy did not die down. Missionary excesses generated a doubt in the minds of the conservatives. These obstacles were removed by Auckland's policy of partial financing of Oriental studies which pacified the old school. English was made the official language and given due weightage in employment. The obstacles were thus further removed.

Lastly in 1854, Missionary monopoly was disallowed. The principle of secular education and equal privileges for all agencies allayed the doubts and sensitiveness of Indians. The policy of aid to unofficial enterprise and to Muslim and Women's education as also to elementary education removed the residual obstacles and opened up the scope for rapid expansion of English Education.

CHAPTER IV

Dawn of National Consciousness in Education

In consequence of the Despatch of 1854, Departments of Education were established in the Provinces in 1856. Educational expenses were budgeted under two heads—(i) Direct maintenance of Govt. Schools, and (ii) Grants-in-aid to non-official schools. Grants were disbursed for school development, salaries, incentives (on the basis of performances in examinations) and also time-bound ad-hoc purposes. Under the auspices of the Govt, Presidency Colleges were conducted in Calcutta and Madras, and colleges were established at Lahore and Allahabad. The three Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay were founded in 1857. The number was subsequently increased. More Universities were founded before 1882. The basic functions of the Universities were—(i) Granting affiliation to schools and colleges. (ii) Determination of the courses of study. (iii) Conducting examinations. (iv) Issuing diplomas and degrees to eligible candidates. Teaching and Research functions were late additions.

Missionary enterprise naturally accupied the most prominent position. Grants-in-aid to non-official schools were mostly channelled to missionary schools. Of course they also went it alone in certain cases. St X'avier's Colleges at Calcutta and Bombay, Foreman College at Lahore, Reed College at Lucknow, St Stephen College at Delhi were contributions of this period. Indian enterprise also gradually advanced to account for 65 colleges in 20 years. In the same period the number of secondary schools rose to 2000, although excessive weightage to Humanities and domination of English made secondary education a simple one-way traffic leading to University education. Education of girls, however, made some advance. By 1871, there were 137 middle and high schools for girls in India. Teacher-Training institutions were established. Professional education in Medicine, Law and Engineering made an advance so far as to have 18 colleges for such studies.

Although the Despatch had announced a policy of patronage to primary education, nothing substantial was immediately done. Roll strength in missionary primary schools far exceeded that in Govt. schools. The total output of various agencies was 82916 primary

schools in India in 1880-82. Some improvements were made in text books and teaching methods. But Govt. policy in this field was not uniform in all the provinces. Indigenous schools dominated the field in Madras, Bengal-Assam etc. Govt schools were dominant in Bombay, N. W. Province, Panjab. A middle path was followed in the Central Provinces area. In Bengal, there were 28 Govt. primary schools, 7374 aided schools and 3265 unaided primary schools. The minor role of the Govt. is evident.

The biggest problem of primary education was that of finance (as it is today). Local Cess, Municipal Contributions, students' tuition fees and private donations were the sources of finance. With the object of a better utilisation of these sources, the administration of primary education was considerably liberalised and decentralised, whereby the provincial governments were made responsible. Lord Mayo's administration inaugurated decentralisation in 1870. A cess varying between 1% and 1½% of land revenue was imposed. But resources were not strong enough to generate a momentum in primary education. In spite of the policy enunciated in the Despatch, the attitude of the Provincial Departments of Education did not foster a rapid expansion of mass education. But the impact of national consciousness accelerated Indian enterprise to an extent that missionary domination might be squarely challenged and the Govt's dilly-dally policy in sanctioning grants might also be questioned. *A conflict, therefore, was inevitable because the nation had by that time, developed a positive attitude towards mass education.*

The situation had come to such a pass that there were two alternatives before the Govt—either to acquire total responsibility or to withdraw totally from the field of education. In the absence of a firm policy, there were two contradictory developments—(a) the field of secondary and collegiate education was captured mainly by non-official agencies and (b) vocational education, primary education and indigenous schools languished. Quantitative progress was no doubt made, but even in 1881-82, 75% male and 84% female population of school going age in India remained untouched. In the backward provinces the figures remained 92% and about 100% respectively.

Growth of Political Consciousness

But this situation could not be perpetual because socio-economic forces had been advancing fast. British Imperialism, in the most

successful period of the Victorian Era, had been enjoying hey-day. But British liberalism scarcely moved beyond the Suez. The failure of the Mutiny had made the Indian Princes subservient junior partners of imperialism. The failure of the Wahabi Movement and the Mutiny destroyed the last bastion of Indian Muslims who had so long been inimical. Their boycott of Western education was terminated under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College and Aligarh Movement.

Aligarh Movement

As said earlier, the Muslims had a serious reservation about British rule in India. The British power had replaced the Mughul power. English language replaced Persian as the state language. The Muslims considered themselves victims and had been in a sullen mood. The Hindus, on the other hand, had accepted western education and language. Most of the new type schools were meant for Hindu children. Educated Hindus had been securing employment under the state. Voluntary quarantine which had been a feature of Muslim society had kept them out of the focus of advantages.

Sir Syed Ahmed wanted to infuse a revivalism in the Muslim community by reforming Islamic religious rituals, by fighting superstitions, by introducing social reforms and by spreading modern Western education amongst the Muslims. He undertook a voyage to England and after his return therefrom founded the "Anglo-Oriental College" at Aligarh. The principal and most of the teachers of the college were Europeans. They gradually caused infiltration of communal passion into this socio-educational movement.

It was nothing wrong on the part of Syed Ahmed to initiate a socio-educational movement amongst Muslims just as Rammohan had done amongst Hindus. He started the Anglo-Oriental College just as Rammohan had started the Anglo-Vedic College. If Rammohan cannot be condemned, Syed Ahmed too cannot be. In fact, the benefit was utilised by Muslim middle classes. An India-wide trend in favour of Aligarh-like efforts and the turning of all mid-class Muslim eyes to Aligarh came to be known as "Aligarh Movement". This movement too failed to reach the life and thought of the poor Muslim masses and remained limited to upper and middle class Muslim interest. But the emphasis placed here upon study of the scriptures.

theological texts, Islamic history, languages and traditions introduced a new element in our educational orbit. It is to be noted that during Khilafat—Non-Cooperation movement, the boycott of official education started here when a group of nationalist students and teachers seceded to establish the Jamiat-i-Ulamah.

British administration worked from within the college and from without it to make it a communal education movement. In fact, the non-Muslims had so long been in close contact with the administration. But they had already shown their rebellious mood. With a communal and "divide and rule" vision, the Govt began to champion the cause of education of the Muslims. When the Morley-Minto reforms were in the offing, it was from here that the Aga Khan deputation waited upon the Governor General to demand separate electorate for Muslims. It is known that the British staff including the Principal Mr. Baker had inspired the move and that the memorandum itself was drafted by the principal. That was the beginning of the end of India's unity.

Whatever might have the political motives been, the objective fact remains clear that the Govt began to attend specifically to the question of the education of the Muslims. This found expression in the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. The intransigence of Muslims having thus ended, *it seemed apparently that Her Majesty's Administration in India had no more thorny problems.*

But simultaneously with this complete victory of British imperialism there was the birth of Indian national consciousness which very soon found an organised shape leading to the freedom movement. The English-educated gentry of India had not joined the rebellion of 1857. But tyranny and illiberalism of British administration during and after the rebellion was an eye-opener. The middle classes became disillusioned to a great extent. *National consciousness dawned and the ideal of self-determination found roots.* Between 1858 and 1880 the situation developed very fast. A series of fast-moving incidents enhanced the consciousness by degrees. The Indigo Agitation, the formation of Patriots' Association, the Hindu Mela, the growth of agitational societies of Indians in Bombay, Madras, Punjab, the agitation against lowering of age limit for I.C.S. Examination, Protest against Govt apathy to devastating famines causing the death of millions, agitation against spending Indian Revenues for expansionist

imperialist wars, and agitation against Arms Act and Vernacular Press Act were but a few incidents in the march of history. The Indian Association was formed in 1776. The Ilbert Bill agitation was conducted and a call was issued for the formation of a National Organisation, which materialised in the shape of the Indian National Congress (1885).

The period between 1858 and 1885 was a period of growing restlessness of the educated Indian mind. The Govt. sensed danger and wanted to stem the tide by *an innocent dose of reforms*, apparently characterising it as the first step towards autonomy. Reform of Local Self Govt, including an elective principle was this dose of reform.

Growth of national consciousness produced a desire to educate the nation. This urge, together with grants-in-aid, caused a rapid expansion of higher education. Attention of the educated gentry was turned to education of the "*people*". A clear consciousness of a "national system" of education as against a "colonial system" could not be expected so early. *But dissatisfaction was generated*, the worthwhileness of education given by foreigners began to be questioned and impediments to the expansion of education were sought to be removed. *Indianisation of educational administration was naturally demanded.* The Govt felt the strain of these developments and the *stage became ready for a dose of educational concessions too.*

Other developments must not be lost sight of. The first Cotton Mill in India was established in 1853 at Bombay. The first Jute Mill was established at Rishra in quick succession. British Capital was invested in Plantation Industry. A railway network developed fast. Agency Houses became very active. *The need was felt for skilled labour and commercial clerks.* Secondary education, which had so long been absolutely academic, required a practical slant (in the interest of profit-earning industries mostly incorporated in England). *Educational reforms were called for.*

Hunter Commission : its Background

Application of Wood policy led immediately to *fresh problems*. The questions of Govt. attitude to indigenous schools, imposition of education cess or tax, primary education's claim to state finances, and the status of the missionaries caused *conflicts*. The Despatch had

not accorded monopoly agency to the missionaries, but they were the strongest entrepreneurs in the field. They opposed the policy of secular education. But, they had now to face a growing intransigence of Indians. Controversies about contents of text books, school inspection, grant-in-aid principle featured as conflicting issues. The missionaries sent an S.O.S. appeal to England in 1877 where their cause was taken up by the General Council of Education in India formed in 1876. As against this, Indian opinion now found a shape. These problems together with others discussed earlier created the need for a thorough survey of the Indian field of Primary and Secondary education. *The outcome was the institution of the first Indian Education Commission under W. W. Hunter (1880-82).*

The terms of reference were wide. The Commission had to assess the effects of the policy of 1854. It was called upon to (i) assess the importance and position of Govt. Missionary and Indian enterprise in education, (ii) formulate a policy on primary education, women's education, Muslims' education and the fate of indigenous schools, (iii) consider the problems of religious instruction, text book, language and teacher preparation, (iv) formulate principles in regard to financing and administration of education. Although the fields of technical education, university education and education of Europeans were kept out of the Commission's perview, it had to express positive opinion in some respects.

The Commission, however, had a number of Indians on it, including Bhudev Mukherjee and Ananda mohan Bose.

Hunter Commission Report

The recommendations incorporated in Hunter Commission's illuminating report were :—

A. The policy of 1854 had not been implemented in letter and spirit in all provinces. It offered a fresh advice that *Govt. should gradually withdraw* from the field of secondary education in favour of non-official enterprise, and primary education should immediately be transferred to the care of non-official agencies. The Grant-in-aid Code should be amended on more liberal basis.

B. *Education should be secular* in Govt schools. No aid should be given to non-official schools for religious instruction. Attendance of students would not be compulsory if any school provided religious

instruction. As an alternative to religious instruction there should be provisions for *moral instruction* about the duties of man and citizen. The 'School Book Society' should be responsible for text books. Thus the *missionary claims were defeated*. Moreover, the Commission opined that *non-official enterprise should mean non official Indian enterprise which should have the greatest claim to Govt. finances*.

C. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage. Managers of Middle Schools might elect either English or mother tongue. Nothing explicit was said about the secondary stage. Obviously English continued to be the medium. And predominance of English at collegiate and secondary levels made the option allowed for the middle-school stage practically infructuous. Hence, the *domination of English remained as before*.

D. In certain other respects, the Commission's views were positive. It wanted to make professional training a precondition to permanent appointment to teaching posts. Positive recommendations were made in regard to the education of women, Muslims, backward people, training institutions for women teachers, a separate inspectorate for women's education etc.

E. Very positive suggestions were made in regard to the nature and curricular organisation of secondary schools. It proposed *two equivalent and parallel courses—'A' course for academic studies and 'B' course for practically oriented studies*. This would include 'commerce' courses also. Thus, there came forth a suggestion for termination of the 100 year long tradition of the monopoly of academic studies. Practical effects, however, were negligible. Yet, this was the dawn of thinking about 'diversification' in secondary education. The Commission could not take stock of higher education. Yet, its suggestion about diversified secondary education made it make parallel suggestion for the introduction of *diverse studies in Universities*.

F. Most important recommendations were made in respect of primary education. The Commission *redefined indigenous schools* as those established by Indians and conducted by them in Indian style. The popularity of these schools made them worthy of state benefaction. In return for state-aid, these schools should open their doors to all, irrespective of caste or creed. More aid and an Indian Inspectorate were prominent recommendations. Aid should be reciprocal to 'result'.

G. For the *qualitative improvement* of primary education the Commission recommended a reorganised curriculum including Mathematics, Accountancy, Mensuration, Natural Science, Agriculture, Handicraft, Physical Exercise etc. so that primary education might be life-oriented education through vernacular medium. Practical lessons should be imparted in agriculture and the sciences. There should be flexibility in the selection of text books, the school time-table and standards. The schools should be adjusted with local life. More Normal Schools should be provided.

H. Planning, management, maintenance and administration of primary schools should vest in *Local Self Govt Bodies*. Local funds from cess should be earmarked for primary education alone and $\frac{1}{3}$ of total expenditure should come as subsidy from state exchequer. To guard against preferential treatment of urban areas, the Commission suggested separate funds for urban and rural areas. The entire cost of inspection and teacher-training should be borne by the state.

The Commission had received many representations and memoranda demanding compulsory primary education. It stopped short of that, but made far reaching recommendations about expansion, flexibility, diversity and linkage with life. The *policy of financial aid on the basis of examination-results* (payment by results), as enunciated by the Commission, however, militated against all these positive recommendations.

Evaluation and Effect

Hunter Commission's recommendations included both positive and negative features. Recognition of the priority of Indian enterprise meant an attempt to narrow down state responsibility. Patronage to indigenous schools remained a pious wish. The Local Bodies with responsibilities, but without sufficient resources, were destined to fail. The scope of vernacular education remained still limited. The principle of *payment by result* operated against the cause of mass education.

But positive features were many. Diversified studies at university stage and parallel courses in secondary education were new concepts. Positive recommendations for the education of women, Muslims etc. were worthy. The principle of *secular education* was unequivocally restated. Improvements in primary education were concretely

suggested. Local Control created the scope of mass education. And recognition of the priority of Indian enterprise created the scope of rapid expansion of education.

Hunter Commission removed the last obstacles to the expansion of Western education. Its recommendations, combined with political consciousness of Indians, led to rapid expansion of education so that by 1901-02, the number of colleges conducted by Indians became 42, as against 37 conducted by missionaries. The urge for higher education expanded. The universities swelled. But the absence of practical education made higher education simply one-sided education in the Humanities. There was a rapid expansion of women's education too. The numbers of girls' colleges, schools, primary schools and training institutions became 12, 422, 5305 and 45 respectively in 1901-02. The Aligarh Movement facilitated the expansion of Muslim education.

At the secondary stage, the 'B' course was introduced in various provinces, but it attained only limited success. While 'A' course candidates in 1901-02 were 23000, 'B' course candidates were only 2000. This failure had some objective causes. 'Indian' investments in industry and commerce had still been negligible. Moreover the 'B' course was not a genuine course for industrial vocations. *Even Indian opinion in those days had not been free from the illusion of academic studies and black-coated professions.* 'B' course education was scarcely considered as real "education". That is why general education at secondary stage recorded rapid progress. In 1901-02, there were 5214 schools against 3916 in 1881. Indian enterprise led the field. In fact, the Missionaries had to admit defeat. They continued to nurse the previously established institutions. But their attention was now turned more to the tribal areas. *The "Missionary problem" was thus solved,* and seeds sown for fresh problems in special areas.

Sufficient change ensued in the field of primary education. The Self-Govt bodies formed in pursuance of Lord Ripon's Local Self-Govt Act of 1882 were given responsibility of primary education. Their resources were earmarked and grant-in-aid rules were changed. Improvements were effected in school buildings, curriculum and methods. Girls were admitted as also were some Harijans. Better teachers were recruited. But the indigenous schools were not patronised in practice. Moreover, the principle of payment by results

affected the expansion of primary education. The teachers began to pay more attention to examinations and strict promotions. Wastage and stagnation increased.

Moreover, *the Self-Government bodies had their inherent weakness.* Lord Ripon himself had declared that local self-Government did not mean decentralisation of power. *The powers and resources of these bodies were limited.* The public representatives were inexperienced. *These institutions, born through 'concessions' could not attain genuine popularity.* In many provinces, the powers delegated were very limited in span and depth and the State Grants were insufficient. Sometimes, the budget for primary education was diverted to other purposes.

Despite these limitations, it must be admitted that *although the Indian Education Commission could not initiate any new education policy, it removed the obstacles, untied many knots and created conditions for very rapid expansion of education* by supplementing the Despatch of 1854. Some new light was thrown on some issues of public interest. And it will be no exaggeration to say that *modern primary education owes a great debt to the commission led by W. W. Hunter.* It must at the same time be admitted that the *growth of national spirit generated a new consciousness which influenced the deliberations and suggestions of the Commission.*

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

As seen earlier, *there were two contradictory forces in the field of education in the last part of the 19th Century.* On the one hand, Western education spread rapidly, while on the other hand a discontent against that education found rapid expression. This was enhanced by the growth of the national movement after 1885. The missionaries were defeated in the race although they established first grade colleges at Indore, Sialkot, Kanpur, Rawalpindi etc. *A new type of idealists*

A new edge in education :

now replaced them. They constituted a band of idealist Indian educational workers. B. G. Tilak's Fergusson College at Poona (1882), Dayanand Anglo-Vedic college of Arya Samaj at Lahore (1886), Annie Besant's Central Hindu College at Benares (1898), were a few of the new-type institutions with a new spirit. The founders were inspired by a patriotic urge.

Apart from these famous institutions founded by famous men, there had been a general expansion of schools and colleges consequent upon the atmosphere of patriotism, acceptance of educational work as a national work and utilisation of more liberal grants-in-aid after Hunter Commission's work. There is no denying the fact that rapid expansion of mono-type education transformed the Universities into affiliating and certifying machines. One-way and examination-dominated education caused erosion of standards. Educated Indians had so long been almost assured of employment in clerical or administrative offices. But now the situation began to change. Colonial economy did not provide for

Vital realisations : multiple avenues. The employment market failed to keep pace with educational expansion (as the situation even to-day is). The problem of unemployment of the educated began to rear its head. Lord Lansdowne sounded a note of warning as early as 1889 that expansion of higher education at the then rate would precipitate a crisis of unemployment before long. The educated Indian gentry began to feel the pinch that the wrong lay in the system and pattern of education planted by a foreign ruler and unrelated to the real life of the nation and her aspirations. *In this context developed the urge for a national pattern of education.*

Revivalism & Extremism

The consciousness had a gradual growth since the days of Hindu Mela or National Mela. The Arya Samaj (1875) propagated the ideal of life and culture as had been rooted in Vedic civilisation. The Theosophical Society (1878) propagated the Indian ideal of life. *Emergence of New Thoughts:* Rajendralal Mitter's Saraswat Samaj, Keshab Chandra Sen's Brahmo Vidyalaya, Dayanand Saraswati's Anglio-Vedic College, Sraddhananda's Gurukul at Hardwar—propagated the ideal of ancient Indian education. From its inception in 1885 the National Congress demanded educational reforms. In response to the call of Vivekananda, the Ramkrishna Mission (1897) took up the cause of man-making education. And Rabindranath's "Sikshar Herfer" condemned the lifeless system of Western education. The Dawn Society of Satish Mukherjee propagated the cause of education according to India's genius. It was widely felt that a foreign system of education, unrelated with Indian traditions and life was inimical to India's system of values. This education had denationalised, despiritualised and dehumanised the educated Indians. It created a new class contradiction in society, and suppressed national urge. Even from the official platform of the University, Sir Goorudas Banerjee declared that the official system of education did not satisfy India's needs.

Cultural Revivalism was associated with political extremism. It was natural for a country (with rich traditions) smarting under foreign rule and with a bleak future, to look back and draw inspiration from past achievements for its endeavour to break through. This was the essence of cultural revivalism which was used by political extremism.

The Congress had, since its foundation, been led by Moderates pursuing "prayer-petition-please" policy. Before long it was realised that prayer-politics must end and a policy of mass-agitational movement adopted. This new thought in politics represented mostly by younger leaders from Bengal, Maharastra and Panjab came to be known as extremism. *The challenge of extremism prepared the ground for a movement for educational reforms.*

As said earlier, the new trend in education was associated with related trends in social and religious reforms. The ideas and views of the leaders of these movements should, therefore, be profitably referred to.

Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj

Rammohan Roy had established his Brahmo Sabha in 1828. The Raja, however, had not completely withdrawn reliance upon the Vedas. Debendranath Tagore, who later joined and led the movement since 1843, had also openly declared the Vedas as divine revelation. But the younger Brahmos like Akshoy Kumar Datta were critical of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas. This view was strengthened by Keshab Chandra Sen who conducted hectic propaganda campaigns in Madras and Bombay where also the Brahmo movement spread. The conflict of ideas led to the division of the Brahmo Somaj into conservative and liberal factions, the former leading the *Adi Brahmo Samaj* and the latter "*The Brahmo Samaj of India*".

Although Keshab Sen fostered the cause of education, he was soon proved a conservative within his own group. He held conservative views on female education and female emancipation. In his opinion, higher university education would not be suitable for women, and free mingling of men and women, or the total abolition of the Purdah was fraught with grave danger to society. The younger rebels, therefore, formed the "*Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*" in 1878. They advanced a radical programme of social reforms including removal of Purdah, widow remarriage, and provision of higher education. The cause of education, thus, received a new spurt which influenced the Hindu Society also

"*The Prarthana Samaj*" which had deep roots in Maharashtra owed a heavy debt to Justice Mahadev Govinda Ranade. Instead of religious reforms, the chief attention of this organisation was devoted to social reforms viz remarriage of widows, improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes. It established asylums, orphanages, and above all the Deccan Education Society (1884). Education in South and West India received a spurt in consequence of the activities of this samaj. The society started with the idea that the education of the young should be remodelled so as to fit them for service of the country which the existing system of education had failed to perform. The members of the society undertook to serve for at least twenty years in educational institutions on a nominal salary (Rs. 75/- to start with). That is why it was possible to start the famous Fergusson College in Poona and Willingdon College at Sangli, with a number of feeder schools. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a life-member of the society.

The Hindu revival movement owed largely to the Theosophical Society which worked extensively in South India. Its most outspoken leader was Mrs. Annie Besant.

Arya Samaj and Ramkrishna Mission

The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were largely inspired by Western ideas, particularly the idea of Nationalism. Two other reforming movements received their inspiration from India's past and derived their basic principles from her ancient scriptures.

The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) who hailed from Kathiawar, and was a good Sanskrit scholar without English education. He even disregarded the Puranas and adopted the motto - "Go back to the Vedas". He wanted to shape society and education on the model of the Vedas. He was a monotheist, against casteism, child-marriage, prohibition of sea-voyage. He encouraged widow-remarriage and education of women. He, however, lacked a critical attitude to the extent that he claimed that any scientific principle or thought considered to be of modern origin might be proved to have been set forth in the Vedas. On the whole, however, his "Commentaries on the Vedas" and "Satyartha Prakas" caused a tremendous impact upon the people. Moreover, Dayanand preached directly to the masses in a language understandable to them, and did not confine his teaching to an intellectual elite. He could, thus, sweep the masses in the Panjab and United Province.

Dayanand's work was continued after his death by his followers like Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Swami Sraddhamanda. The Arya Samaj movement could not escape the influences of modern ideas and western sciences. A section recognised the value of English education of a more liberal nature. Its chief exponent was Lala Hansraj and its most important symbol the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore. Another faction led by Swami Sraddhanand continued to seek the revival of Vedic ideal in modern life. Their creation was the famous Gurukul of Hardwar, founded in 1902.

The Ramkrishna Mission also stood for religious and social reforms and received its inspiration from the ancient culture of India. Its greatest strength was its belief in the truth of all religions. Hence it aimed at the development of the highest spirituality inherent in

man. Without exhibiting any aggressive proselytising zeal, the mission remained a monastic order disseminating reforming ideas and pursuing a programme of social service and philanthropic work. It opened many schools to uplift the manhood of India, spurred by the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda.

Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra

It is a famous observation of Swami Vivekananda that, "Education is the manifestation of perfection already in man. Like fire in a piece of flint, knowledge exists in the mind. Suggestion is the friction which brings it out." In his educational ideas, the first concern was the body. He wanted the exercise of mind to establish control over the senses and to instil ethical values. The need was concentration, which again required Brahmacharya and chastity. By Brahmacharya one could acquire even unfailing memory.

A collection of extracts from his speeches and writings may be repeated as, "Divine light is concealed in every man. We cannot teach the child just as we cannot create a tree. That education which speaks of educating the child as adult people, ought to be rejected. The first condition of life is freedom. To pack the brain with information is no education. That education is needed which will create character, mental strength, intellectual brightness and strength of selfhood."

As for methods of education he said, "Attention, concentration and meditation (dhyān) would constitute the method. One who observes Brahmacharya for an unbroken period of 12 years can master strength of power. The tradition of 'śraddha' has to be reinducted. Education of character and mind is real education. Through education would develop personality. Yoga will help the organisation of personality."

He upheld gurugrihabash for teacher-people relation. The teacher should be learned and tyagi. The student must concentrate upon Moksha.

The Swamiji stood for (i) formation of habits, (ii) will force as the key to character, (iii) "Śraddha", (iv) self reliance. (He said, "He is an atheist who does not believe in himself"), (v) healthy influence of nature. (vi) healthy influence of the teacher in a Residential Asramik school, (vii) collective life of students, (viii) social service.

His religion was religion of humanism, optimism and peace. He, therefore, did not stand for a conservative doctrinaire education

Education of the masses was what he preached. He observed, "our great national sin is the neglect of the masses and that is the cause of our downfall. No amount of politics would be of any avail until the masses of India are once more well educated, well fed, and well cared for." He stood for mass education through the mother tongue with history, geography, literature, science, general knowledge as curricular subjects. He favoured the utilisation of the mass media of culture. He decried the degradation of women caused by priestly dictum against women's right to recite the Vedas. Hence he favoured women's monasteries with girls' schools and advocated a curriculum consisting of language and literature, grammar, a bit of English together with cooking, needle work, mother craft etc.

Vivekananda had also an eye turned to the future. Hence he could say, "we need technical education and all else which may develop industries, so that men, instead of seeking for service, may earn enough to provide for themselves and save something against a rainy day." Technical education should be combined with academic studies, including the classics. At the same time he wanted art to be combined with utility.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, the Rishi of Bandemataram, also sang the praise of manhood. In his opinion, manhood is determined by adjusted development of instincts. Happiness of man lies in manhood. This happiness comes through Dharma. Education is a part of Dharma. Human powers are divided into (1) Physical and (2) Mental aspects of life. Fulfilment of both is a guarantee to manhood. In the collegiate education of the day no attention was paid to the body, which caused the failure of the mind. Jnan, Karma and Emotional feeling are the three aspects of development. The education of the day placed emphasis only on the first. The need was equal emphasis on all of them.

Satish Chandra : The Dawn : The Dawn Society

The simultaneous development of propaganda and constructive work came from Satish Chandra Mukherjee. He upheld the ideals of secularism, social service and atheism, i.e. the religion of humanity. Satish Chandra and Ashutosh Mukherjee had been class mates in South Suburban School when Shivnath Sastri was the Headmaster. He was also a class-mate of Vivekananda for a while in Presidency

College. Satish Mukherjee and Ashutosh Mukherjee joined a students' demonstration in protest against the arrest of Surendranath Banerjee in 1883.

In 1895, Satish Chandra established the *Bhagawat Chatuspathi* with Durga Charan Sankhya Vedantatirtha as Headmaster. The causes behind this initiative had been (i) a sense of inadequacy of the system of university education. (ii) failure of that system to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the nation, (iii) its failure to equip the students with industrial and technical training.

The traditional Tol was the model for the *Bhagawat Chatuspathi*. But its objective was not only spiritual knowledge but also study of western sciences, philosophy and industrial arts. The plan was to develop it as a free Hindu Public Religious Institution, open to all outsiders, to offer facilities to study Hindu philosophy and Sastras in original. It was to be residential with two classes (i) for prospective teachers, (ii) for laymen interested in spiritual culture. The subjects of study were Sankhya, Vedanta, Brahma Sutra, Nyaya, Smriti, Itihasa. The *chhatuspathi* attracted aged students already famous in other fields. Some of its students were Ramesh Chandra Mitra, Motilal Ganguly, Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Among the residential students were Haran Chakladar and Akshoy Kumar Sastri.

The Dawn was originally started as organ of the *Chatuspathi*, although in the course of its life it became the organ of the Dawn Society and lastly of the Swadeshi Movement. It was sought to be made a vehicle of higher western and eastern culture. It published higher religious or philosophical writings as well as articles on science, history, economics, sociology. The list of contributors included Mahendralal Sarkar, Jadunath Sarkar, Brojendranath Seal, Hirendranath Datta, Bepin Chandra Paul, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Sister Nivedita and Mrs. Annie Besant who wrote particularly on educational problems.

In 1902, the paper was made an organ of the "*Dawn Society Education Movement*." Its motto was "To love the country we must know the country." It, therefore, published various types of articles on history, geography, demography, regional specialities of India and Bengal etc. The 'students' section, among the contributors to which were Rajendra Prosad and Surendranath Das Gupta, inspired sociological and economic studies.

From 1907 the Dawn became an organ of Indian Nationalism. It reflected the cultural and economic aspects of nationalism as also National Education. It vigorously promoted researches in ancient Indian history and culture, arts, architecture, maritime enterprise etc.

The "*Dawn Society*" was formed as an action-wing of the Dawn. After Lord Curzon's convocation address of 1902, Satish Chandra's article "An examination into the present system of University Education in India and a scheme of Reforms" created a stir. After the formation of the University Commission (1902), other articles on education were written by Rabindranath Tagore, Brojendranath Seal, Surendranath Banerjee, Ramananda Chatterjee, Ramendrasunder Trivedi, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Heramba Chandra Maitra etc.

The aims and objectives of the Dawn Society were (i) impartation of religious and moral instruction to college students, (ii) supplementation of even the ordinary academic education given in colleges. It held discussion classes, conversation classes, social meetings, reading of select books, interviews of younger members with older members. The society also invited erudite personalities viz. Rabindranath, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, Nivedita etc. to deliver lectures.

The character of the Dawn Society was also interesting. It was (i) a product of private initiative unconnected with the Calcutta University or the Govt's department of education, (ii) wholly a students' organisation led by students who had brilliant academic career and realised the inadequacy of the official pattern of education, (iii) non political institution of culture and nationalism, and it had (iv) a voluntary and gratuitous character. Its patrons and donors included Rashbehari Ghosh, Gurudas Banerji, Chandramadhav Ghosh, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Manindra Chandra Nandi, Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Sister Nivedita, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Hirendra Nath Dutta, Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sarkar.

The Society conducted classes in a general section and also in an Industrial section to provide vocational training. Exhibition of its industrial products drew public attention. By 1905-06, the society organised elementary lessons in modern industry, technology, investments, banking, insurance, co-operative, managements of mills and

factories. The members expected that the Calcutta University could be turned into a national university. But they had, under pressure of circumstances, to initiate the National Education Movement in which Satish, Chandra Mukherjee was a leading spirit.

Mrs. Annie Besant

Mrs. Annie Besant, a leading light of the Theosophical Society joined the said society in 1889 and settled in India in 1893. Apart from social service and reforms, she also played a vital part in the political movement of the period. During the First World War, she (together with Tilak and others) organised the Home Rule Movement and was elected to the Presidentship of the National Congress. Her special field of work, however, was education. Mrs. Besant held that the problems of India could be solved by the revival and re-introduction of her ancient ideals and institutions. In her autobiography she writes, "The Indian work is first of all the revival, strengthening and uplifting of the ancient religions. This will bring with it a new self respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future, and, as an invisible result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation."

Besant was a contributor to the Dawn and often wrote on educational problems. She, in co-operation with *Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya* started the Central Hindu School in Benares as chief means of achieving her objective. She lavished her resources and energy on this institution, which gradually developed into a college and ultimately into the Hindu University in 1915. During 1905-07, she carried on an extensive propaganda campaign against the repressive measures of the govt causing immense suffering of the students. Even in 1908, in her public speeches she outlined her idea of a National University. By that time, views within the camp of National Education Movement were sharply divided. In her own way, Mrs. Basant wanted to see her college develop into a National University, while the other leaders of the new movement were not ready to sacrifice the cause of the National College in Calcutta. Whatever the ultimate differences, there is no denying that Mrs. Besant's fight for the revival of ancient educational values was a great source of and inspiration to the National Education Movement.

Sir Gurudas Banerjee

Protest against the official system of education came not only from revivalists and agitators, but also from persons who were closely linked with the official system. Sir Goorudas Banerjee, who was appointed Vice-Chancellor, the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University in 1890, was one such person. He was associated with Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (1894) and was a member of the 5 man subcommittee to devise the inclusion of Bengali language and literature in the Calcutta University syllabus.

Sir Goorudas did not keep himself engaged in theorising and philosophising only. He discussed problems to the extent of discussing pedagogy. As a member of the Universities Commission of 1902, he recorded a note of dissent to some aspects of the report of the said commission. In "A Few Thoughts on Education" (1904) he delineated his ideas on the stages of development, educational system, vocational education, technological education and national education. In "Siksha" (1907), complete in six chapters, he discussed the aims of education, the educand, the teacher, the curriculum, the methods of teaching. His ideals were further elaborated in "Jnan-o-Karma" (1910). In "The Educational Problems of India" (1914) Sir Goorudas explained his ideas of educational reforms.

The diagnosis of India's educational ailments as made by Sir Goorudas Banerjee from the official position of Vice Chancellor and openly ventilated from the official pulpit during convocations was educative enough. In his convocation address of 1890 he made particular reference to the need for ethics in academic and social life. In the next convocation address he said explicitly that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction and the University must encourage women's education. He also said. "I fully see the importance and necessity of technical education. In the days of keen competition and hard struggle for existence, unless we can utilise and improve the products of nature, and unless our artisans are trained in the application of science to art, we can never hope for the material prosperity of the country."

In his convocation address of 1892, Sir Goorudas touched upon many vital points of education. Firstly, he placed emphasis upon physical education. "Any attempt to improve the mind without invigo-

rating the vital energy would be like an attempt to increase the efficiency by mere internal adjustment, without supplying adequate motive power." said he. On the system of examination he said, "Examination, like fire, is a good servant, but a bad master. It should serve as a test for diligent and thoughtful study, instead of making study serve its peculiar requirements." About the medium of instruction he said, "One great reason why our university education fails to awaken much original thinking, is because it is imparted through the medium of a difficult foreign language—the costly foreign drapery in which our students have to clothe their thoughts, taxes their limited mental resources to an extent which does not leave enough for the proper feeding and fostering of thought." Again he said, "The majority of students are so completely ground down by the weight of the burden imposed upon them, that they find no opportunity of exercising their own powers, and they feel little pleasure in their study."

Sir Goorudas Banerjee, thus, unequivocally criticised many of the glaring defects of the then existing system of education. It helped the cause of an educational reform movement which was to start very soon. And when the movement started, he became closely related with the National Council of Education. He, however, had dis reservations about the political bias and implications of the movement. He wanted it not to be linked with politics. His opinion was—"the national system of education would not run contrary to the official system." But such an opinion was expressed also by many other moderate leaders of the time.

Sri Aurovinda Ghosh

Although Aurovinda Ghosh became "Sri Aurovindo" at a later time, and although he resigned from the service of the Baroda State and accepted Principalship of the National College in 1906, he had been developing his educational thoughts from before that time and had been conversant with the goings on in Calcutta, particularly the activities of Satish Mukerjee and the Dawn. His early educational thoughts, however, developed in a period covering a few years before 1905 and the years of the National Education Movement and thereafter.

The aim of education, according to Aurovinda Ghosh, is to prepare man for a Divine Life. He says, "Man, the individual, is a conscious

manifestation in Nature of the Universal self and spirit." Man, in his opinion, cultivated in him a mental, an intellectual, an ethical dynamic and practical, an aesthetic and hedonistic, a vital and physical being. and at the summit of his ascent he rises to something greater than them all, into a spiritual being. Our cultural conception of humanity must be in accordance with our nation's ancient vision of the universal manifestation in the human race. In his opinion, therefore, true education will be only that which will be an instrument for the real working of the spirit in the mind and body of the individual and the nation.

The aim of education, according to Sri Aurovindo, is to help the fruition of the human spirit and therefore to strengthen those powers which would help spiritual progress. He says, "...nothing can be taught. The teacher is not an instructor or task master. He is a helper and a guide. He does not impart knowledge to him (pupil), he shows him how to acquire knowledge for himself." His second principle is that the mind has to be consulted in its own growth without any predetermination. He says, "Everyone has in him something divine, ...the task is to find it, develop and use it. The chief aim of education should be to help the growing soul to draw out that in itself which is best and make it perfect for a noble use." Elsewhere he says that the body itself must reach perfection through the formation of healthy habits. He wanted a well formed and graceful body attainable through free exercise and games which would also help impart a spirit of cooperation and sportsmanship and guard against undesirable emotions and sexual perversions. He also placed emphasis upon character-formation and development of aesthetic taste. This is best possible in a healthy environment.

In "A system of National Education" Sri Aurovindo says, "You can impose a certain discipline on children, dress them into a certain mould, lash them into a desired path, but unless you can get their hearts and natures on your side, the conformity...becomes a cowardly compliance." In the matter of moral education he suggests personal example, books with lofty examples, great thoughts of great souls, records of history and biography. He says, "The real virtue of the dynamic and vital being, the Life Purusha, can only come by his finding a higher law and spirit for his activity within himself."

Sri Aurovindo particularly emphasised the education of the mind which would benefit both the individual and the society. Cultural gain would be the best individual gain, and co-operation with others and earning a living would be the best social gain. He condemned unassimilated memorisation and upheld proper acquisition of stored human knowledge, discovery of new knowledge, application of knowledge. The process should be acquisition, formation of concepts, systematisation of old and new knowledge and application of it through the operation of intelligence.

All the aspects of Sri Aurovindo's educational thought had not developed before the beginning of the national education movement. But the growing process of his thought helped the said movement with which he subsequently became vitally related as the first Principal of the National College.

Rabindranath Tagore

The man, who simultaneously with Satish Chandra Mukherjee, contributed effectively towards the growth of ideas and also participated in the national education movement was Rabindranath Tagore. His addresses at different meetings of students and adults made his views clear. "Sikshar Her-Fer" was published in the 'Sadhana' in 1892. Herein he pointed out the dichotomy between life and education caused by English education. Instead of creative and progressive adjustment with life, the then education imparted only bookish knowledge, and that too in a foreign language. They fail to assimilate the truth and the beauty. The real 'meaning' remains hidden and unrealised. There is starvation of body and mind. It causes the loss of the power of thinking, imagination and discovery. These were the baneful effects of the bondage of foreign education through a foreign language. The result is complete lack of connection between life and education.

If a satisfactory shape of the mind may be processed from boyhood and if sufficient value is attached to thinking and imagination (instead of dependence upon rote and formal examination) and if the learning matter be presented in proper sequence with chronological growth of the learner, the child may sail happily to boyhood and thence to adolescence and ultimately to adulthood. Only this may straighten the spine which is otherwise bent under heavy pressure of inert load.

Language and concept must develop together. But in a system of education through a foreign language, the growth and expression of concept is obstructed by the labour spent in learning the language. And when the language is learnt, the mind fails to offer the concepts for expression. This happens due to dichotomy between life and language. The poet also placed emphasis upon the study of the nation's history and geography and close belongingness to the nation's values. The future of the country was the basic question.

In an address to the students in 1905, Rabindranath said that a total education was possible by a combination of modern western knowledge and the freedom of pupils in the national context. Unfortunately, in the then system of education, the native land remained totally unknown to them. Instead of bookish patriotism, the students should learn to love their country by being acquainted with her, through their acquaintance with the country's language, literature, history and sociology. What the students read, must be experienced in life. Hence they should apply themselves to a limited known sphere of experienced environment.

And lastly Tagore advised the students to prepare themselves for service to the nation. They must hold high an ideal of life attainable not by self gratification, but by self-sacrifice and service. Patriotism, in his opinion, did not mean agitation and oratory. It meant knowing and loving the country and serving the fellow countrymen. He, therefore, desired the students to order their life as the students in ancient India had done in the Tapovanas under the guiding spirit of the Rishis of old. With this objective he established the Brahma-charyasram at Santiniketan.

These views of Rabindranath, as also the views of other thinkers of the time irrigated the field for a movement of educational reforms. When the 'mind' of the people was thus gradually prepared, the question of the partition of Bengal and its aftermath supplied the flint for ignition.

Other factors were not wanting. British administration had made some industrial development to intensify their colonial exploitation, exploitation of the peasant in respect of raw materials, and exploitation of the labourer in respect of industrial wages. No scope was allowed to productive investment being made by Indians. In the system of tariff, preference was allowed to the import of British goods to the

detriment of Indian products. The exchange ratio between rupee and sterling was fixed to the latter's advantage. As against this, the urge for national industries found roots in Indian minds and a concomitant urge for technical, vocational and scientific education began to grow. A natural reaction developed against education for "black coat and white tie professions. This was further intensified by the shadow of unemployment. The Govt offices and mercantile offices had little capacity for absorption. Forces thus developed from the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of Indian life to demand a thorough and meaningful reform of education. It was at this juncture that Lord Curzon came to India as Governor General.

Lord Curzon's Education Policy

Thus, the leaders of Indian thought from before Bankim chandra to the days of Rabindranath, one after another, irrigated the field for an education movement. The resultant of social, economic, political and cultural changes made the demand for educational reforms imperative. Political extremism and cultural revivalism combined to create a readiness for struggle.

In a Congress session Rabindranath sang, "Oyee Bhubana Mana Mohini". In his poems he urged for "food, life, light". He expressed preference for mother earth even to heaven and wanted god-gifted strength to keep the head aloft against odds. This attitude stirred the minds of the youth to thousand-fold strength. The middle classes, who considered themselves to have been led into a blind educational alley were affected in particular.

In fact, the last quarter of the 19th Century had been a period when Bengalee intelligentsia scanned the horizon in expectation of new fruition. It is an astounding fact that in a short span of time Bengal produced a skyful of meteors who illuminated the world of thought and work with their brilliance. A chronology is worth while—

Keshab Chandra Sen 1838-1884

Mahendralal Sarkar 1833-1886

Rajendralal Mitra 1824-1891

Rajnarayan Bose 1826-1899

Ramesh Chandra Datta 1848-1907

Brahmabandhab Upadhyay 1861-1907

Jagadish Chandra Bose 1858-1937

Brajendranath Seal 1864-1938

Bipin Chandra Pal 1855-1932

Dinesh Chandra Sen 1866-1939

Rabindranath Tagore 1861-1941

Prafulla Chandra Roy 1861-1944

Jadunath Sarkar 1870-1958

Abanindranath Tagore 1871-1951

Bhupendranath Datta 1850-1961

Amongst them Keshab Chandra raised new questions in religion. Brajendanath lightened the field of philosophy. Rajendralal Mitra led the way in the study of history. Mohendralal Sarkar was a pathfinder for later scientists. Prafulla Chandra Roy advanced far on the path of scientific researches. The hidden treasures of Bengali Language and Literature were discovered by Dinesh Chandra Sen. The Bengal School of Art was founded by Abanindanath. Nandalal Bose followed suit. Political, sociological and economic studies were fostered by Ramesh Chandra Datta, Brahmabandhab, Bipin Chandra, Rajnarayan and Bhupendranath etc.

Sister Nivedita

And the name which is still held dear in the hearts of millions of Bengalees and which had shone like a dazzling star in the cultural and patriotic sky of Bengal was that of *Sister Nivedita*. Miss Margaret Elizabeth Nobel had become Nivedita. It is said that the name of Nivedita tops the list of those non-Indians who had genuinely loved India.

Vivekananda himself had introduced Nivedita to Jagadish Bose and Lady Abala Bose. After the demise of the Swamiji, Nivedita came close to Rabindranath, Abanindranath, Surendranath, Gaganendranath etc. of the Tagore family.

Nivedita appeared in the life of Bengal as a comet. The influence of her work pervaded many fields and many people's lives. With the ideal of women's education and social service she established her girls' school and worked there as a teacher. Even in those days she used teaching aids like "magic lantern", microscope, and various toys. She worked hard to raise funds for the school. She served the famine stricken men of East Bengal and Orissa; raised a volunteer brigade during the plague epidemic in Calcutta. Rabindarath himself reported

how at Selaidah she became one with the poorest womenfolk in the villages.

On the other hand she came in contact with Brahmandhab Upadhyay. After her meeting with Aurovinda she joined the Bengal revolutionaries. In 1903, she handed over to Aurovinda a series of books on Nationalism from her own library. In 1902 she established the Vivekananda Society and said, "My work is to arouse this nation." When she thus associated with the Bengal revolutionaries, the authorities of Ramkrishna Math asked her to leave them and her school or to give up politics. Nivedita left the Math and even her school.

The Dawn Society had been established in the meantime. Sir Gurudas had presided over the foundation ceremony. The speakers on various subjects at the different sessions of the society included Brahmandhab Upadhyay, Ramesh Chandra Datta, Rabindranath Tagore, Brojendranath Seal, Principal Nogendranath Ghosh, Durga Charan Sankhya Vedanta Tirtha, Jadunath Sarkar, Dinesh Chandra Sen and Sister Nivedita. Nivedita contributed with her pen as well as her speeches. Her theme mainly was Nationalism and National Education.

In the meantime Lord Curzon had, in a convocation address, thrown aspersion to the character of Bengalee people and commented that the views of oriental people were always exaggerated and coloured. Immediately after the meeting Sister Nivedita went to the Imperial Library with Sir Gurudas and proved from Curzon's own writing, "The Problems of the East" that Curzon himself was a liar. The next day she gave a fitting reply to Curzon in the columns of the Amritabazar with necessary comments and quotations.

Thus, in the last part of the 19th century a new thought had taken hold of the Bengalee intellectual life about patriotism and a patriotic style of education. But the objective condition and the mental makeup was not yet ripe for the establishment of an independent national system of education. There were only experiments with reforms by rectifying the lags in the official system of education. The discontent against non-fulfilment of aspiration found shape through the Bhagwat Chatuspathi, the Gurukul or the Ashramic School at Santiniketan.

And gradually when the mental world had become ready, a flint was supplied to the explosives of disaffection by the neglectful and unsymp-

athetic attitude of authorities. Lord Curzon's utterances and actions created the blaze in the shape of the anti-partition boycott movement and its corollary—the National Education Movement.

Even the bureaucrats of British administration had sensed that an explosion had been brewing. In 1889 Antony McDonell had remarked that the Indian system of education had its failings and gaps which required to be remedied. London Times of England, the organ of British rulers had observed that the economic crisis had affected the vast clerical army of educated Indians. Curzon's biographer Valentine Chirole remarked that western education had created a clash between western education and India's own world of thought and culture. Many Englishmen including Herbert Spencer admitted that Indian education was bookish, unscientific and antagonistic to industrialisation. At such a juncture Lord Curzon stepped on to the stage and precipitated the crisis.

Lord Curzon was, no doubt, one of the ablest Viceroy's endowed with many qualities. Yet he was an arrogant Imperialist without any soft corners for Indian sentiments that had been proceeding towards an explosion. *A clash between imperialist arrogance and revivalist extremism of Indians was inevitable.* The field of education was not spared, more so because it was most sensitive.

Curzon started with an *educational conference at Simla (1901)* where non-official Indian opinion went unrepresented. The conference opined that there had been an unbalanced development of education in a top-heavy pattern. 80% villages were without school, $\frac{3}{4}$ of boys had no provisions made for them, and only 2½% of girls had been provided for, while secondary and higher education had advanced far. Salaried employment had been the aim of education. This had caused an overemphasis upon examination, which again was intrinsically defective. University Senates composed of varied elements, and ad-hoc nature of Syndicates made university administration only farcical. The colleges had turned into coaching institutions preparing candidates for examinations. Teaching and Research at the highest levels had been lacking. The discontent and indiscipline of the younger generation turned the schools and colleges into a good breeding ground for political extremism.

Simla

Conference :

On the basis of these preliminary findings, Curzon appointed the first "*Universities Commission*" in 1902. (with the inclusion of some Indian members). The Commission spoke against the establishment of new universities and suggested a re-delimitation of the territorial jurisdictions of universities like the Calcutta University. The Senate was proposed to be limited to 50—100 members and a statutory Syndicate would act as the executive organ of the University. For academic affairs the Commission suggested Boards of Studies with teachers' representation and acceptance of teaching duty by the University itself, specially at the postgraduate level.

In regard to *Undergraduate Colleges*, the Commission recommended an improvement of standards by rigidity of affiliation and recognition. The colleges were required to abide by stringent terms in respect of buildings and equipment, library, laboratory and teaching staff as well as hostels and students' welfare services. Curricula and standards of teaching (particularly English) were to be improved and examinations reformed. A stiff Entrance Examination would make it impossible for anyone other than the meritorious to get admitted to higher studies. In short, the Commission's recommendations amounted to a suggestion that *second grade colleges should wither away*. No candidate should be allowed to appear at a university examination without being sent up by a recognised college. This would militate against the unhealthy race to establish sub-standard private colleges. The affiliated and good colleges should provide also for the meritorious poor and they would be amply rewarded with grants. A high standard, thus attained, would help the university become a centre of learning and research conducted by efficient teachers.

In pursuance of these recommendations, the *Universities Act* was passed in 1904. The territorial jurisdictions were re-delimited, and University administration was reformed. Financial assistance to Universities was squarely promised.

Curzon's intervention did not spare other fields viz-medical and engineering or agricultural studies. The Pusa Agricultural Institute was founded. Attention was given to forestry and veterinary sciences, arts & crafts, vocational and commercial studies, apprenticeship system, scholarship for higher studies, preservation of ancient monu-

ments etc. Substantial grants were made for women's education. In short, Lord Curzon adopted a policy of making *liberal grants in return for Govt. control*. Separate grants were made for separate types of education. With the object of centralising Govt. control, the office of Director General of Education was instituted. This initiative led subsequently to the acceptance of an 'Education Member' on the Governor General's Council. It cannot, thus, be denied that Lord Curzon's educational policy had many positive features as we may now evaluate rationally. But this *policy of 'quality by control' could not be accepted by nationalist India* which had begun to think of more extensive education and meaningful education. A clash was inevitable.

Secondary and Primary Education

The inevitable corollary of the policy in higher education was Curzon's intervention in Secondary education, because the secondary schools were feeders of the Universities. It cannot but be admitted that the rapid expansion of secondary education after 1882 had considerably undermined the nature and standard of secondary education. Curzon adopted some positive measures enunciated in the form of a *Govt Resolution in 1904*.

Study of the vernacular throughout the secondary course, application of the Direct Method in the teaching of English, Science courses, improved teacher preparation at University level, diversified curriculum with more emphasis upon the 'B' course at school leaving stage were some of the positive aspects of Curzon-policy.

But here too, a *policy to weed out the sub-standard schools* by stricter rules of administration and recognition was adopted. A strict control of the University upon secondary education was proposed. And above all, the practice of Govt. recognition of schools in addition to university affiliation was insisted upon. Right to send up candidates was given only to affiliated schools, and right to enjoy govt. grants was reserved for the recognised schools only. Recognition was subjected to strict inspection and severe rules. Thus the policy of qualitative improvement by quantitative control of Secondary education was the essence of Curzonian policy.

Policy in primary education, however, had an element of departure. Primary education had not expanded to the desired degree after 1882. Curzon declared that expansion of primary education was a major

responsibility of the State and primary education had a major claim to Provincial and District Board budgets for education. Together with this announcement he adopted a policy to improve the curriculum, introducing physical education and nature study, linking primary education with village life and two-year teacher-training (including agricultural training) etc.

Govt aids to primary schools were increased. School buildings and equipment bettered. Instead of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the educational expenses of local bodies, the Govt began to bear as much as 50%. The policy of 'payment by result' was abandoned. Thus, in the field of primary education, Lord Curzon *combined quantitative expansion with qualitative improvement*. The freedom of local bodies was to some extent compromised (on the plea of inefficiency) and administration of primary education was bureaucratised. Yet, the increase in Govt attention was reflected in the increase in the number of primary schools which rose from 93604 in 1901 to 118262 in 1911-12.

Evaluation of Curzon Policy

Lord Curzon had not basically changed the nature or objectives of education, nor did he overhaul the structure or system of education. His efforts were limited to qualitative improvement through administrative control. But, his attempt at improvement of curricula, recognition of the vernaculars, introduction of the sciences etc. sowed the seeds of subsequent developments. Improvement of university administration, and attention to agricultural, technological, medical and commercial courses was pregnant with future possibilities. The acceptance of teaching responsibility directly by the university laid the real foundation of higher education. In fact, Govt. attention to all aspects and stages of education was a productive contribution of Lord Curzon. A rational and judicious analysis of Curzon's policy justifies praise. Had the Curzonian policy been thoroughly implemented since then, many of our present educational problems might not have been born with their present intensity and extensity. Today we propose many things which Curzon had proposed eighty years ago.

But, the present standards cannot be applied to an assessment of the past. The past must be assessed in the historical perspective. That perspective leads us to conclude that Curzon's policy cut across the

nation's aspirations. Curzon had bypassed not only the Indian sentiments, but also the opinion of the educated leadership which was considered a 'microscopic minority'. Curzon wanted to centralise educational administration and to combine Govt. aids with Govt. control. Improvement of university administration was mixed up with Governmentalisation. Sadler Commission itself had to remark a decade later that Calcutta University was the most Governmentalised one. Total Govt responsibility in education was not admitted. The policy of control simply obstructed non-official enterprise to spread education. This amounted to squeezing and limiting higher education. This could not be admitted by nationalist India. Curzon's logic was that the "expansionist policy" of 1881 had outlived itself. Haphazard expansion not only undermined the standards, but made education politically motivated. Hence Govt must not withdraw from the field of education. (This was a reversal of the previous policy of gradual withdrawal). Rather, a more extensive Govt effort and intensive control should be combined.

Lord Curzon adopted a policy of control, but did not take over responsibility. In essence it meant the raising of a wall before unofficial enterprise. It was impossible for the nationalists, particularly the middle class people to submit to this policy of circumscribing secondary and higher education. Immediately after publication of the Universities Commission recommendations all the papers like Bengalee, Indian Mirror, Amritabazar, Bangadarshan, Prabashi and Dawn criticised them in severe terms. Yet, the Universities Act was passed. Pass mark for English was raised from 34 to 37. This too was criticised in newspapers. "Sandhya" of Brahmabandhab, 'Bandemataram' of Bipin Chandra and 'Yugantar' of Bhupen Dutta were most vocal. Valentine Chirole wrote that instead of considering it as an aid to higher education, the nationalists considered the Act as an instrument for limiting education.

Such a policy could not be admissible to India which was seething with discontent and enthused with revivalism. Indian attention had been drawn to Indology, study of the vernaculars, nationalistic history and geography, mass education and Indianisation of educational administration. Expansion of education was more desired. In short, *discontent against British Rule became correlated with discontent against the British-given system of education.* Curzon's arrogant,

egotist and unsympathetic methods had injured the nation's feeling. He had not given any recognition to enlightened Indian opinion in the Simla Conference of 1901. He had slighted the educated gentry in his Calcutta University Convocation Address in 1905. He adopted a bureaucratic method of reform. Such things at a time when political extremism was a growing feature in the national movement were sure to lead to a clash. Partition of Bengal during Curzon-administration crowned everything. *The partition question supplied the fuse to the explosive situation.* Anti-Partition Movement produced its corollary in the National Education Movement.

National Education Movement

We have already discussed how discontent against the established system of education had been developing since the last years of the 19th Century. Some reformation efforts had started. Rabindranath's 'Brahmacharya Asram' at Bolepur (1901) was an attempt to revive the ancient Indian tradition in education. Dawn Previous efforts : Society of Satish Chandra Mukherjee conducted a campaign through its organ "The Dawn." Bhagawat Chatuspathi was an attempt to regenerate the Hindu ideals in education. Some new features were introduced in a few schools in the form of religious instruction, attention to the study of the classical languages and literature, study of the history and cultural heritage of India. Criticisms were sounded from officially recognised platforms also, as will be evident from the addresses of Sir Gurudas Banerjee as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. But it was still a reform movement with the object of remedying the imbalances and defects of the official system of education. The idea of a parallel system of education beyond official control had not been shaped.

But things changed speedily. The Boer war, Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war and the subsequent Russian Revolution of 1905, nationalist movement in Persia, the Young Turk movement in Turkey had sent a thrill to the Indian mind. *Extremism was rapidly advancing in Indian politics.* Only a spark was necessary to start a conflagration. Lord Curzon's "partition-policy" supplied the spark. The national movement could not admit that 'partition' was simply an administrative measure. It was characterised as a device to cripple

anti-partition and
national educa-
tion movement :

the national movement by territorial *dismemberment* and communal disharmony. The nation's reply was Boycott and Swadeshi.

The call of *Triple Boycott* meant boycott of Law Courts, Foreign Goods and Foreign Education. Students responded by leaving schools and colleges en masse. The Govt replied with repression. It was notified that severe penal measures would be taken against the 'rebels'. It started from Rangpur, spread to other districts, and stirred up

Calcutta. The Carlyle Circular was one of a few Developments : such notifications. The nation took up the cause of the "rebel-children." An alternative arrangement had to be made in defiance of the Govt policy, so that the students' morale might be kept up, an alternative path might be shown to the nation and the Govt.'s policy might be defeated. The Boycott Circular was issued in the name of the anti-partition movement. The National Council of Education was formed in November, 1905 to plan "National" education. The associated 'Way and Means Committee' would implement the plan. The "Society for the Promotion of National Education in Bengal" was formed under the leadership of Sir Gurudas. Princely donations came forth from Rajas Subodh Chandra Mullick and Sashikanta Acharya Choudhury (of Mymensing).

National institutions were established under the auspices of the National Council. Aurovindo Ghosh (subsequently Sree Aurovindo) became Principal of the National College. The progressive leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal (known as leadership of Lal-Bal-Pal) threw its strength into a campaign for boycott and Swadeshi. Local leaders like Aswini Kumar Datta of Barisal gave yeoman's service. Even moderates like Gokhale and Naoroji had to endorse the movement. The Calcutta Session of the National Congress in 1906 declared that the time had come for the nation to organise national education, in the national method under national control.

Sequence of incidents

In 1904, Curzon announced the plan of Bengal Partition to be effective from 16th Oct, 1905. The nationalists characterised it as a device to weaken the integrity of Bengal and encouragement to communalism.

On 7th Aug, 1905, Town Hall meeting in Calcutta under the

chairmanship of Manindra Chandra Nandi resolved to adopt *Triple Boycott* (boycott of Courts, Schools and British goods) if the partition decision were not withdrawn.

On 16th Oct, 1905, the day scheduled for the partition, the people observed '*fasting and rakhi ceremony*', and a meeting was held in the afternoon with Anandamohan Bose in the chair. In the presidential address at the annual congress session of that year Gopalkrishna Gokhale expressed support for the anti-partition movement. The movement was transformed into a militant mass movement not by the official congress, but by the young leaders of extremism. Instead of the older leaders like Surendranath, Gokhale etc. the younger ones like Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurovindo Ghosh, Aswini Datta stood at the fore front. They were strengthened by the younger leaders of other provinces like Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai etc. The Govt's reply was repression.

Poets, Literateurs, social workers and all came out on the streets. Poet Rajanikanta Sen sang the praise of the coarse cloth that might be offered by Mother Bengal. Mukunda Das, the bard, called through his songs for the boycott of foreign goods and trinkets. Rabindranath sang the praise of the virtuous soil and water, the air and fruits of Bengal. Tagore said that the Rakhibandhan ceremony showed that no power-drunk authority could break the harmony of Bengalee people. Ananda mohan Bose declared that Bengal would enjoy permanent unity. Muslim leaders like Abdul Rosul, Liakat Hossain, Abdul Halim Gaznavi and others joined the movement.

The movement was not sponsored officially by the Congress although top leaders of the Congress ultimately supported it after the movement had established its justifiability and worth. But, in so far as Bengal was concerned, all sections of the population, even those who had no connection with politics, or had not desired an education movement to be politically coloured, either joined or sympathised with the movement because the integrity and culture of Bengal, they realised, depended upon the outcome of the movement. Ofcourse, the leadership and momentum came from the youth and students.

The term 'swadeshi' needs explanation. Ever since the days of the National Mela, a sentiment had been growing in favour of swadeshi things i.e. nationally or locally made commodities in preference to imported foreign commodities. Exhibitions were organised and associa-

tions were formed with the object of propagating among and habitualising the people to use swadeshi goods.

And now came the call for complete boycott *i.e.*, refusal to buy British goods. 'Boycott' was a negative call—not to use. But, what to use? The positive call implied was 'use swadeshi things' *i.e.* things made in India. In those days, however, Indian people had not the capacity to make large investments for big industrial plants. Hence, cooperatives and small joint stocks were organised and small industries were established in the fields of Ignition Matches, Soap, Leather, Textiles and a few mineral factories, Shipping and Insurance company etc. The import of British textiles fell to such a low level in 1905-06 that many of the textile mills in Lancashire and Manchester had to close down occasionally. On the other hand the spinning and weaving industry of Dacca found a new life. The import of sugar, liquor, salt and cigarette was severely slashed down. Previously piled up stocks could not be released.

Thus, the structure of colonial exploitation in and through the commercial process was given a serious jolt. Gandhi utilised the method of boycott in 1921-22 (Non Cooperation) and 1930-32 (Civil Disobedience) movements as an effective non-violent weapon of freedom movement.

The boycott policy thus found shape in two distinctively constructive movements, e.g. (i) *Swadeshi Industry* and (ii) *National Education*, which the Govt. wanted to face with a policy of repression.

Post graduate students and P.R.S. scholars met at Field and Academy Club, the most respected organisation of leading Bengalees of the day like Subodh Mullick, Bipin Pal, C.R. Das etc. (under the leadership of Radhakumud Mukherjee, Rabindra narayan Ghosh, Benoy Sarkar etc.) and resolved to boycott the ensuing M. A. examinations of Calcutta University, much before the actual day of partition. Thus the students resolved to boycott colleges six months ahead. School boycott started in Oct, 1905. The Chief Secretary of the Provincial Govt, Mr. R. W. Carlyle issued from Darjeeling a circular that students participating in boycott and agitation would be punished. This was the notorious *Carlyle Circular*. On the basis of this circular, the District Magistrates threatened the headmasters that dire consequences would follow if they failed to hold their pupils, if necessary by serving as "special constables". Offending schools might

forfeit govt aids, scholarships and recognition. The teachers must report against culprit children and submit the list of names. This came to be characterised as the *Anti Swadeshi Circular*. A similar circular was sent by the D.P.I. Mr. Alexander Pedlar to the principals of colleges.

Resentment was expressed against these measures in meetings presided over by Abdul Rosul and Rabindranath Tagore. It was then that the early thoughts were expressed about a National University. Action followed in quick succession. An anti-circular committee was formed. Under the explicit orders of Mr. T. Emerson, the District Magistrate of Rangpur the Head Master of the Zilla School had issued a circular to threat the boys with dire consequences if they joined the boycott and picketing. On 31st Oct, students defied the order. The next day, students of Rangpur Zilla School and Technical School read out the national declaration in a meeting. The Head Master fined the students at the rate of Rs 5/- per head and expelled many of them. The citizens of Rangpur immediately held a meeting and raised a donation of ten thousand rupees. The first national school was established at Rangpur on 8th November, with 300 students. Almost at the same time, the Headmaster of Madaripur High School refused to cane the boys even in violation of a circular of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Governor of the new province of East Bengal. At a meeting in Calcutta on 8th Nov. Subodh Chandra Basu Mallick announced a donation of a lakh of rupees for a national university. In another meeting on the next day Brojendra Kishore Rai Chaudhury announced a donation of 5 lakh rupees. Ashutosh Choudhury, Sister Nivedita, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, Satish Mukherjee, Surendranath and others now took the field. On 11th Nov, a meeting was held at College Square under the presidentship of Ashutosh Chaudhury. On 12th, a meeting at Field and Academy, presided over by Bepin Chandra Pal, was addressed by Nivedita and Upadhyay who severely condemned the tarnishing of the moral character of Bengalee Students done by Mr. Russell, the then D.P.I. On the same day, sister Nivedita delivered a lecture at Dawn Society on "The present crisis and the need for National University." An appeal was issued in the name of Ashutosh Choudhury. On 16th Nov, 1905, a meeting of all the leading citizens of Calcutta and Bengal, presided over by Pyarimohan Mukherjee resolved to form a National Council of Education. A provisional committee was formed with

Ashutosh Choudhury and Nilratan Sarkar as joint secretaries. A second resolution requested the M.A. and P.R.S. students not to boycott their examinations.

The National School started functioning in a rented house on Bowbazar Street from 15th August, 1906, with Aurovindo Ghosh as Principal. Rashbehari Ghosh was the first President of the Council, Ashutosh Choudhury and Hirendranath Datta, the Joint Secretaries, and Satish Ch. Mukherjee the first Treasurer. A report of the Ways and Means Committee was adopted at an education conference presided over by Satyendranath Tagore. The National Council was finally formed with 92 leading citizens of Bengal, with Reshbehari Ghosh as President and Ashutosh Choudhury & Hirendranath Datta as joint secretaries. In fact, while the anticircular society kept up the agitational aspect of the movement, the Dawn Society was engaged in constructive work viz Planning, Syllabus making etc.

The objectives announced by the National Council of Education were:—to provide Art, Science and Technological education under national control and inspiration. The detailed objectives were:—
(i) education through mother tongue (while keeping English as a compulsory subject), (ii) text books reflecting national ideals, (iii) religious instruction if special donations are made for the purpose, (iv) to attach equal value to the cultures of the East and the West, with particular emphasis upon nation's history, tradition, language, land, (v) science, technology and professional education, (vi) instruction of a high standard, (vii) termination of school education at 15+ and beginning of college education at 16+.

The activities of the National College were divided into three groups—
(i) Literature, (ii) Sciences, (ii) Engineering and technology. The technology department made external contracts for engineering work. Exhibitions were organised with students' productions. Contracts were made with different firms for engineering services. Extension lectures were organised. Addresses were delivered by men like Rashbehari Ghosh, Lala Lajpat, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Annie Besant, Sir Gurudas, Principal H.R. James (of Presidency College), Mr. Griffith of the I. E. S. The topics included comparative philology, India's contribution to Mathematics, History as a Science, Moral Philosophy

Instruction was provided at three levels—primary, intermediate collegiate. Even at the primary level (age group 6—9 yrs.) literary

education was combined with simplest forms of vocational training. The courses in the Arts department included Principles and Philosophy of Education too. Text books in Bengali were written for such studies. The Science courses included Physics, Chemistry, Biology. Theoretical, practical and productive works were combined. For age group 9—16 (i.e. secondary) the courses were composed of Humanities, Sciences and Technology. Manipulation of simple tools, clay modeling, paper or card board work featured in the list of practical work. The college stage was meant for specialisation in any of the above branches. Courses in humanities included the Mother Tongue, English, Classical Languages, Pali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujrati, Tamil, Telegu, French, German, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology, History, Geography etc. Science courses included Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Physiology, Geology, Agricultural Science etc.

Training in the vocational courses was so given that the students might utilise it in their subsequent avocations. Workshop practice was compulsory. The first 3 years of the 5 years of Secondary stage were spent mainly for a common course while the last 2 years offered trifurcated studies in humanities, science and technology.

The movement spread to the districts. National education conferences were held in the districts (presided over by men like Rabindranath) and national schools founded. The Council had to adopt the practice of affiliating, inspecting and aiding many of those schools. Many primary schools were also set up and they applied for aids. Council's help, however, fed the secondary schools better than primary ones. This was significant in as much as the character of the movement and its leadership was concerned.

System of Affiliation and Grant-in-Aid

After the birth of the Rangpur School, many schools came up in Calcutta and mufussil Bengal with help of the N. C. A. One school at Banaripara in Barisal district was an earliest of them. By 1907, seven schools received the council's recognition and five more were recommended. National primary schools were also established. District National Education Conferences were organised to consolidate and expand this programme. In 1907, Rabindranath presided over the Pabna Conference from where an appeal was issued for the establishment of schools under national initiative, national control and to fulfil

national requirements. It was claimed that National Education would produce such men as would be equivalent to men of parts in other countries. Through National Education the Nation would develop.

The 1906 Congress Session at Calcutta approved of the efforts. Some schools and colleges were founded outside Bengal under the inspiration of Tilak and Lajpat. The Samarth Vidyalay, Maharashtra Vidyalay, Andhra National University, Rajamundri School, Masulipatam school were but echoes of the Bengal movement.

The schools in Bengal were provided with libraries, laboratories, workshops. Problem of finance was natural. The Council introduced a system of grants. By that time, the Council had created a fund of ten lakh rupees, and annual income reached fifty thousand. In 1908, the secondary schools were given eleven thousand and primary schools were given one thousand rupees as aid. 150 more schools had applied for grants. Some aids were given. But aid was paired with inspection. The council members were themselves inspectors. A formal system of admission and terminal examination was introduced.

But differences cropped up in the leadership. One school represented by Sir Gurudas, Satish Chandra, Hiren Datta, Ashutosh Choudhury, Subodh Mullick etc. wanted secession of links with Calcutta University and building a rival institution. Another school represented by Taraknath Palit, Bhupen Basu, Nilratan Sarkar, Manindra Nandi desired that National Education Movement supplied what was wanting in the state system of education. Hence they stood only for technical and vocational education.

Compromise being impossible, the technical education group formed the *Society for the Promotion of Technical Education* and established the *Bengal Technical Institute*, at a place where the Rajabazar Science College of C. U. is located at present. Instruction imparted here was characterised by the Academic group as 'mistri making' education. Courses for the secondary level of technical education were mainly practical. The mother tongue was freely used in instructions. The post-matriculation courses provided for theoretical and practical studies in mechanical, electrical, chemical engineering as well as training in Ceramics, Dyeing, Soap Making, Leather Tanning. The institution had its production unit. The teaching staff included Europeans together with Indians who were experts in their respective subjects. By 1908, however, the momentum of the national education movement waned and

both the groups had to fight for existence. The two groups and their institutions merged with each other. But, by then the movement itself was coming to its close.

Both branches of the movement were rooted in patriotism, although the upholders of humanistic and cultural studies had castigated the other effort. In the waning period both the camps realised the need for merger in face of official antagonism and repression. The two institutions merged in 1910. The National College conducted the Arts and General Science departments. Two boards of governors were formed under the N.C.A. to govern the two colleges. Although the N.C.A. was apparently considered victorious, the said Arts and Sciences departments did not survive. There was not a single school in 1916-17. On the other hand the Bengal Engineering and Technological College founded by the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education survived as the embryo of the present Jadavpur University.

The success of the movement was nothing brilliant in terms of the numbers of schools and colleges established. Eleven high schools in West Bengal and 40 in East Bengal came into existence. (It is to be noted that East Bengal which was to be ceded from Bengal reacted violently.) Some general and professional colleges were also established, the most noteworthy of them being (as said as earlier) the Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology.

Causes of Failure

There had been no clarity of ideas and objectives, nor any unanimity of views when the movement had started. The ideas were produced by the movement itself. Condemnation of the insufficiency of the official system and urge for freedom from official control, attachment to the mother tongue and reduced emphasis upon English, vocational and practical education, Indian control of education and the urge for a patriotic flavour in education were some features of common understanding. But the movement had its own weakness. It established schools separately and in isolation from the official system, but failed to offer a parallel and alternative system of education. The official pattern was copied with slight modifications. A completely new curriculum, supply of self-less teachers for a long period (even when emotion died down), motivation of parents to send their children to national institutions instead of official institutions (the

Weaknesses

parents had worries about the "future" of their children), provision of houses, buildings, equipment and recurring funds were material obstacles to a permanent success of the movement.

Intrinsic weaknesses were no less prominent. It is true that some of the Muslim leaders had joined the anti-partition agitation, but the communal seed sown by British Imperialism kept the Muslim masses out of the main stream. This was indirectly helped by the Hindu tenor of the revivalist movement. The leaders, very soon, exhibited conflicting ideas. (i) One section favoured the re-emergence of ancient Indian ideals and practices in education. (ii) A second group favoured modern education in the humanities with necessary nationalistic modifications. (iii) A third section urged for emphasis upon the science as well as vocational and technical studies. The third group again had its own differences—(a) vocational education with preference to cottage industries and rural crafts, (b) vocational education with preference to modern industries. Moreover, the movement, for all practical purposes, was limited and confined to Bengal although all-India sympathies were not lacking. Congress leaders differed on the issue of the nature and extent of boycott. This caused the anti-partition movement to wane. Just as the "national industries" began to wither away, so did the tempo of the national education movement slow down.

Close relation of the education movement with the anti-partition movement also caused its waning when the anti-partition movement lost its momentum. Some of the educational thinkers of the time again turned to the policy of reforming the official system "from within," instead of frittering away strength and resources in a temporary upsurge. Huge donations made by Taraknath Palit and Rashbehari Ghosh to the Calcutta University together with the new turn of events in that University under the leadership of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee (this we shall discuss later) also dampened the spirit. The Government also showed moderation by abrogating some of the penal measures, thereby facilitating the re-entry of the student population into official schools. The movement was not called off, but it gradually petered out.

True it is that the movement (1905-07) failed to give us a permanent national system of education, yet it is true that *our ideas were cleared, our educational horizon was broadened and we got prepared*

for a long-range battle. Annie Besant declared unequivocally that a foreign system of education had given an un-national character to our life, living and thinking. It had denationalised the spirit of educated India. Such education could not be productive, because it kept the creative genius in fetters. Hence the system must go. Gokhale wanted Indianisation of Educational Administration (a moderate politician as he was). Lajpat adopted a more balanced attitude by declaring that overemphasis upon the past, or excessive condemnation of the same are equally unhealthy. It must be realised squarely that India had given to others, just as she had received from others. While respecting India's cultural traditions, her sons should have the rationality to accept the gifts of others on equal terms. In short, it was gradually recognised that while national education will induce the educand to remember the past glory of India in commerce, industries, arts and literature, it will also look at the present and help the creation of a modern India.

Second Round of the Movement

That *these concepts found roots in the Indian mind* was proved by a recurrence of the national education movement simultaneously with the Non-Co-operation - Khilafat movement (1920-22). The insufficiency of the Mont-Ford Reforms (1919), the Rowlatt Act, the Jalianwalla-bagh massacre had enraged the sentiments of nationalist India. British policy in the Middle East had similarly enraged the Muslim masses. Gandhiji and Ali Brothers stood on the same platform of Non-Cooperation. The boycott weapon was again applied and Gandhiji promised Swaraj in a year. Students en-masse walked out of their institutions. *Muslim students of Aligarh were the front rankers.* In fact, the movement started with the establishment of the Jamia Millia Islamia. The whole of India felt the impulse. By 1921 the total number of national schools in India was 1349 with a roll-strength of 78571. Gujrat, Behar, Kashi, Maharastra Vidyapeeths, and the Bengal National University came into being. Medical and Art schools, Law Colleges and Liberal Colleges were started with nationally oriented curricula. *Teaching through the mother tongue brought education nearer to the masses.* The Indian employers were motivated to recognise the degrees and certificates awarded by the National Universities. But again the movement proved volatile. The non-co-operation movement

was withdrawn. The hope of "Swaraj in a year" proved illusory. And the national education movement came to an end.

Comparison

The movement in the two phases had some differences between them. In the first phase the movement had been limited mainly to Bengal and Muslim participation was negligible, while in the second phase it acquired an all India span with wide participation, particularly of Muslims. The first phase of the movement was spontaneous and emotional, led mainly by local leaders while in the second phase it was precisely planned and led by an organised leadership. The value of "boycott of education" as a measure to rouse mass fury had been proved by the first phase and effectively used in the second phase.

The cumulative effect of the movement led to a positive consciousness about the nature and character of national education. Lala Lajpat declared that a "*national system of education*" could not be built by any non-official agency. *National education must await a national Govt.* "Universal education" must have the biggest claim to national resources. Non-official attempts simply helped the Govt. to slip away. A national Govt. would be the surest guarantee to national education.

Weakness and Effects

The movement failed to give us a permanent system of education in opposition to the official system. Revivalist emotionalism had provided the dynamics. Absence of a uniform understanding regarding the nature of national education weakened the movement from within. *Only those institutions which served specifically desired purposes survived, and the 'general types' of institutions withered away.* The Gurukul or the Viswabharati revived ancient glory. They survived by serving a special purpose. Jamia Milia or Darrul-Ulam Nadwatul Ulema survived because they revived Islamic glory. Some of the medical and technical institutions survived because they served the current needs of the nation. *The change in the mental world, however, was more important.*

The national education movement was not a well-knit unitary movement. It developed in two isolated phases. Traditionalists and modernists, orientalist and scientists, lovers of humanities and lovers

of technology, Hindus and Muslims—all were drawn into the vortex of a common movement, because all these sections had common grievances against a foreign system of education. It was a complex movement. *But the common point of agreement was an intense national feeling and an intense urge for a change.*

Indirect and direct effects of the movement were far-reaching. (1) It created an impact upon official educational policy too. The quinquennial report for 1917-22 admitted that the movement had expressed the suppressed feelings of the nation. Hence the aims of education in India required to be redefined. The aim of education should be to help the citizen adjust with his environment. With this perspective, the pattern of education should be reformed. (2) This movement forced the nation to think of mass education and mass literacy. The state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education. The Gokhale Bill was rejected in the Central Legislature. Yet the attitude of the ruling power became more moderate. Provincial primary education acts were passed in the provincial legislatures between 1918 and 1922. (3) Attachment to the mother tongue, attention to classical languages and literature, consciousness of one all-India language were contributions of the movement. (4) A patriotic atmosphere invaded the schools and drove away the loyalist climate. The concept of social service and national reconstruction through education found strong roots. (5) The creation of an urge for women's education and technical education together with the urge for Indianisation of educational administration were some of the most prominent effects of the movement. (6) A positive attitude towards industrialisation and industrial education took roots. (7) The Nation's genius was employed in researches. (8) And above all, a climate of freedom permeated the whole field of education. The national education movement fertilised our educational concepts and ideals. It opened up a new educational vista. It laid a track of ideas to pursue. The persistent movement for educational reforms that developed thereafter drew its inspiration from the National Education Movement. The epithet "*watershed*" may characterise the movement, inspite of many drawbacks in its "nature".

Resonance of the National Education Movement

(A) Gokhale's Primary Education Bill :

Although the National Council of Education failed to do anything remarkable in regard to mass primary education, its influence and impact was felt even in moderate circles. This influence was concretely expressed in the efforts of *G. K. Gokhale* to get an Act passed for free and compulsory primary education.

Upto 1902, Gokhale had been a teacher and Principal at Fergusson College, Poona. He was a founder member of the Servants of India Society and a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1902. As President of the National Congress, he had supported the boycott movement against Bengal Partition. Although a moderate politician, he staunchly supported the cause of primary education.

With inspiration from the introduction of compulsory primary education in the princely state of Baroda, Mr. Gokhale tabled on 19th March, 1910, a motion in the Central Assembly for free and compulsory primary education. Although the motion was of a very limited nature, the Govt. did not face the move. Gokhale withdrew the motion on the assurance that an official motion would be tabled. No initiative of the Govt. was, however, noticed. On 16th March, 1911, Gokhale tabled his motion for the second time. The Bill was circulated to elicit opinions of Universities and provincial Govts. Gokhale proposed that his Bill be sent to a special committee. This motion was debated in the Central Assembly on 18th & 19th March, 1912.

Gokhale's Bill had been of a very moderate nature. He had proposed that (i) compulsion be introduced in areas where 33% of children were already in school ; (ii) the provisions of the bill would be implemented in selected areas, and that even, by the local self Government bodies ; (iii) the local bodies would have to secure Govt. permission prior to application of the Act ; (iv) Parents would stand responsible for sending children of 6-10 group to school ; (v) There would be no tuition fees for children whose parents did not earn more than Rs. 10/- a month. (vi) The local bodies might impose a 'cess' to meet $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cost while the Govt. would bear $\frac{2}{3}$. (vii) Compulsion be introduced for boys only and would be gradually extended to girls.

In spite of the Bill being so moderate and conditional, it was rejected on the plea that (a) people were not conscious and desirous, (b) local self governing bodies were opposed to it, (c) the time for compulsion had not yet come, (d) there was scope for expansion of primary education under private enterprise. (It is to be noted that the officials and nominated members commanded a majority in the house).

A resonance of the national education movement had thus to face an official hurdle. But things were changing fast. The first world war started in 1914 when the Govt. sought the hand of this nation. After the war, loud thinking started for another round of constitutional reforms. Under the pressure of a strengthened and more mature national movement it was possible to get the series of primary education bills passed in the provincial legislatures.

Resolution on Education Policy—1913

On Secondary Education : In pursuance of the recommendations of Hunter Commission, there was quantitative expansion of secondary education. But Govt. aid was so meagre that it could not keep pace with private enterprise. As a shortcut solution the Govt resolution of 1913 proposed the maintenance of existing Govt institutions as "models" to private enterprise. It meant that Govt aid would wholly go to the benefit of these model schools, and private schools would continue to be starved. Obviously, public opinion continued to demand more financial attention to private enterprise.

On Primary Education : The first effort to introduce free primary education was made in the Native State of Baroda in 1906. But this could not influence the total picture of things in India. Then came G. K. Gokhale's attempt which again was infructuous. But an indirect impact was the Coronation Grant in 1911-12 of 50 lakh rupees a year (recurring) and the subsequent Govt resolution of 1913 that—

(1) Primary education would enjoy a predominant claim upon Govt spendings for education.

(2) No compulsory education would, however, be attempted, because the time was not ripe for free and compulsory education. Free education would affect expansion of education. Hence expansion should be made by private enterprise. Local Govt should, however, attempt to

apply the principle of free education for the poorer and backward sections of people. The Govt hoped that private enterprise would add 91000 primary schools to the existent 100000 and double the number of children from the existent $4\frac{1}{2}$ million.

The first attempt by a provincial Govt was made in Bombay by the Patel Act of 1918. This was in quick succession followed by similar Acts in Panjab, U. P., Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, C. P., Madras etc. (This we shall discuss in more details elsewhere).

Some qualitative improvements were made in teacher training, remuneration of teachers, curricula, buildings and equipment, language education etc.

On College Education : A section of students of the Aligarh University had joined the boycott movement in 1921-22. They and their teachers formed the core of the Jamia Milia which started its life in poverty. (But after independence it was attended to. And Jamia is now a full-fledged university.)

The large scale participation of University students in National Education Movement created an impact upon thinking in this field too. Between 1903 and 1913 administrative experiments were conducted in Universities of England. That experience was sought to be applied in India. The Govt resolution of 1913 in this respect declared the policy of establishing a University in each province with teaching duties. Mufussil Colleges would be developed as bases for future Universities. The world war obstructed any action. But within a few years the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19) was instituted under the chairmanship of Sir M.F. Sadler, with Dr. Gregory, Philip Hartog, Prof. Ramsay Muir, Sir Ashutosh, Dr. Zia-ud-din and the D. P. I. (The Commission's work will be discussed in the next chapter).

(B) Other forms of Echo : Karve & S.N.D.T.

Although the national education movement subsided, its influence remained alive in several institutions. (i) The central school at Benaras established by Annie Besant and Madan Mohan Malavya was upgraded to a university in 1915 and it started functioning as such in 1917. (ii) The Osmania University at Hyderabad was founded in 1918. Acceptance of Urdu as a medium of instruction was the speciality of this university. (iii) The Gurukul at Hardwar had been

established earlier. But its real growth was experienced during these days. (iv) Rabindranath's Santiniketan Ashram outgrew into the Visva-Bharati. (v) The Anglo-Oriental college at Aligarh became a university in 1920.

Most remarkable development was the S. N. D. T. women's university (1916). The pathetic plight of women, particularly the young Hindu widows had led Prof. D. K. Karve to think of such education for women as would equip the women to earn a respectable living. Karve had established a girls' school at Poona in 1889. Under the impact of national consciousness, this institution became growingly popular. The consciousness of national education that was spread in Poona by Bal Gangadhar Tilak enabled Karve's institution to become a university in 1916. Subsequently, a respectable donation from the Thackersay family led the managers to change the name to S. N. D. T. (women's university). The institution was ultimately shifted to Bombay. Whatever the name, the S. N. D. T. is a living memorial to Prof. D. K. Karve.

3rd Phase (?)—Basic Education

The National Education movement during Non-cooperation movement terminated in 1922 with the realisation that a national system of education must await the birth of a national Govt. Yet, the freedom of educational thought achieved by the movement gave a rich crop in the subsequent years. No educational movement coincided with the Civil Disobedience agitation excepting students' abstention from classes. The third phase, if we call it a phase of the National Education Movement, which was more academic than practical, came in 1937 when Gandhiji propounded his Basic Education scheme. (It may be characterised as a phase of the National Education Movement in the sense that it proposed a pattern of education for the nation). In face of the expected freedom of the country, the national consciousness in education was employed constructively in determining the nature and pattern of the future national education. Gandhiji's scheme and the deliberations of the National Planning Committee, 1938-39 (unofficial Committee under the auspices of the National Congress) may be called the third phase of the National Education Movement.

Basic Education

Gandhiji upheld a classless, casteless, egalitarian society based on non-violence. To him Swaraj meant Sarvodaya i.e., a stateless democracy built through spiritual uplift and purification. As a part of Sarvodaya, Gandhi planned universal, free, compulsory and complete 7 year education free from the domination of English. His educational objective was physical, mental and spiritual development of the child. His philosophy was that the solution of conflicts in one's own self is the way to achieve a balanced personality. Only well balanced individuals may form a balanced society. Hence, a better society of the future required better citizens inspired by ideals of non-violence, sacrifice, co-operation and aversion to exploitation. Basic Education would be such a type of man making education.

Basic education meant education for life and living through socially useful productive activity. Compulsory productive activity would remove the traditional difference between intellectual education and practical education, between head and hand. Activity-centric education would produce socialised individuality. Productive craft would be educationally productive too. By "Education" Gandhi meant the proper expression of one's innate endowments. Literacy would be only a step towards real education. Instead of voluminous knowledge, he laid emphasis upon experience and experimentations. The school would be a place for work, experimentations and discoveries. School-work would develop social and citizenship qualities. Education would be integrated with the nation's ideals and adjusted with natural and social environment. Such education would contribute to character-formation, and would ensure political, social and spiritual freedom.

Gandhiji's scheme was published in 1937 in "The Harijan". The all India Education Conference deliberated on its feasibility. Report of a study committee under Dr. Zakir Hossain was adopted at the Haripura Session of the Congress in 1938.

Shortly afterwards, another Committee led by B. G. Kher suggested (i) the introduction of Basic education through mother-tongue for 6-14 age group with preference to rural areas. After the 5th grade children might go to 'general' schools. (ii) It suggested a structural pattern as—5 year Junior Basic, 3-year Senior Basic and

also a post-basic stage, so that students might proceed to higher studies or to employment.

The Poona Conference of 1939 and the Jamia Nagar Conference of 1941 further retouched the scheme and ultimately the National Education Conference at Wardha in 1945 produced a complete scheme of Basic Education from pre-primary to adult stage. Although it was accepted as the foundation of a national system of education, the scheme had to wait for implementation (excluding a short trial under Provincial Autonomy) till India attained independence. (Discussions on implementation of the scheme will be undertaken in later chapters).

Calcutta University and Sir Ashutosh

The National Education Movement was not the only attempt to fight out Curzon's policy. A different type of movement was not only successful, but also significantly productive. It was a policy of "*wrecking Curzon-policy from within the University*" by using the University machine to the advantage of the nation. Sir Ashutosh initiated and led this *second-front attack upon Curzon-policy*.

Much to the misunderstanding and consternation of the nation, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee accepted Vice-Chancellorship of Calcutta University to work out the much condemned University Act of 1904.

He adopted the successful policy of (i) Expansion of secondary and higher education by liberal affiliation of schools and colleges and a liberal Entrance Examination, (ii) adoption of teaching responsibility by the university, (iii) introduction of the study of the vernacular at higher stages of education, (iv) studies in sciences and technology, (v) introduction of varied disciplines, (vi) recruitment of scholars from all over India and all walks of life as university teachers, (vii) researches under auspices of the University, (viii) maintenance of University autonomy and freedom.

Before long, public opinion rallied behind Ashutosh. Princely donations came forth from Palit and Ghosh as well as endowments from different persons and societies. *Calcutta University was really shaped between 1906 and 1914* under the dynamic leadership of Sir Ashutosh. With a break for a few years Ashutosh resumed Vice-Chancellorship under the Mont-Ford Reforms. By that time, all teaching responsibility at post-graduate level was concentrated in the hands of the University (against odds and obstructions). He did

not fear to enter into a conflict with the Govt. on matters of policy. It was then that Ashutosh issued the famous call "Freedom first ! Freedom second ! Freedom always !" Curzon's policy was, thus, defeated. But rapid expansion created fresh problems and the need was felt for reforms. (A more detailed discussion about Sir Ashutosh's principles and actions may be worthwhile).

Asutosh Mukherjee had been a member of the Universities Commission which wanted the Calcutta University to be a teaching University. He accepted Vice-Chancellorship in 1906. One of his first acts was the establishment of the University Library in Darbhanga Hall. He also established the University Press in 1908. As early measures for the organisation of post graduate teaching, he established Chairs in different subjects and invited renowned Professors from different colleges to undertake post graduate teaching. He also initiated the posts of fulltime Professors, Readers and Lecturers. The University College of Science and Technology was established. His next measure was concentration of post graduate teaching in University's hand. The departments of Sciences and Arts were shaped and the Minto Chair of Economics was established in 1908. The University College of Law came into being in 1909. The George V Professorship of Mental and Moral Science and the Hardinge Professorship of Advanced Mathematics were instituted in 1911. This was followed by the chair of Sanskrit.

The Science College was founded in 1914. Acharya P. C. Roy was the first Palit Professor of Chemistry, and P. C. Mitra was the first Ghosh Professor. The first Palit Professor of Physics was C. V. Raman and the first Ghosh Professor of Physics was Prof. Debendramohan Bose. Ganesh Prasad joined as Professor of Applied Mathematics and Prof. Agharker joined as professor of Botany. It was a genuine credit of Ashutosh to have secured the services of stalwarts for the University of Calcutta.

In defining the role of the University, Ashutosh said, "To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training of men of thought as well as men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the state for the conservation of knowledge, for the application of knowledge and above all for the creation of knowledge-makers."

Ashutosh Mukherjee believed that nationalism through mental unity and integration might be achieved through education. As a first step towards integration, he adopted the policy of studying the different languages of India, so that linguistic intercourse might break the parochial borders. In 1906. Honours courses were introduced in Bengali and subsequently M.A. Examination was initiated. Measures were adopted for the preparation of Text Books and other reading materials. Under his inspiration, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya, Urdu, Hindi, Gujrati, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Ceylonese etc. were accepted as subjects of study. Calcutta University led India in this field. Ashutosh's motto was "—culture the mother tongue; reach the people through the mother-tongue."

All this happened when the National Education Movement had overwhelmed the intelligentsia, and Ashutosh had every possibility of being branded as a lackey of a foreign Govt. But it became apparent very soon that Ashutosh would not brook any official obstruction. The first conflict found expression in 1913 over the appointments of A. Rashul, Abdullah Suhrawardy, K. P. Jaiswal as Professors. Mr. Henry Sharp, the Jt Education Secy, rejected these selections. In his convocation address of 1914, Ashutosh protested against circumscription in strictly academic affairs.

Thus ended the first part of Ashutosh's Vice Chancellorship from 1906 to 1914. During the next Vice Chancellorship of D. P. Sarbadhikari the Govt. of India set up a committee under Ashutosh's leadership to review Post Graduate teaching. The committee recommended the formation of Councils of P. G. teaching in Arts and Sciences.

Consequent upon the constitutional reforms of 1919, the administration of Calcutta University was transferred to Bengal Govt. and the National Education Movement in its second round characterised Calcutta University as a "Gulamkhana". Yet Sir Ashutosh accepted the responsibility of steering the University. But very soon a conflict developed with Provash Chandra Mitra, the Provincial Minister of Education. It was a conflict between expansion and finance. The Govt. wanted to slash down aid, to establish tighter control upon University.

On 2nd December, 1922, in a senate meeting, Sir Ashutosh said "I will not participate in the humiliation of this University. The

University will not be a manufactory of slaves We shall not be a part of the Secretariat of the Govt...I shall call upon you as members of the Senate to stand up for the rights of your University...freedom first, freedom second, freedom always."

In 1923, upon Lord Lytton's proposal about a new University Act, Sir Ashutosh said in his last convocation address, "The University must be free from external control over the range of subjects and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from the trammels in other directions—political fetters from the state, ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate action of the University itself."

Sir Ashutosh held that Calcutta University had become a Swadeshi University. In fact, our debt to Sir Ashutosh, particularly in respect of expansion of secondary and higher education is beyond measure.

CHAPTER VI

Reform Movement till 1947

Educational thinking after 1905 advanced on two contradictory lines—(1) the official policy of "quality through control" as initiated by Lord Curzon and (ii) the nationalist policy of reforms in the light of the National Education Movement.

Gokhale's Bill on compulsory primary education was defeated by the Govt. in the Central Legislature. Yet the Govt. could not but adopt a more liberal attitude. The policy of increased Govt. responsibility was made explicit by the Durbur Proclamation of 1911 and the Govt. Resolution of 1913. Curzon-policy in Secondary Education was re-stated in a Govt. Resolution of 1913. But the impact of National Education Movement facilitated expansion of Secondary Education. The demand for Indian control became persistent. The conflict was most pronounced in higher education. Curzon's policy had been to establish no more universities. But the tempo of expansion went on unabated. While in 1902 there had been 145 colleges and 5 universities, in 1931 there were 231 colleges and 12 universities. Some new universities with new character were born, viz. Benaras Hindu University (1917), Hyderabad Osmania (1918), Aligarh (1920), Poona S.N.D.T. (1920). Curzon's policy was partially successful in respect of standards, teaching by universities and research work etc. Subjects like the Sciences, Economics, Psychology, Sociology etc. were included in University courses. But the policy of Govt. control was largely defeated by Sir Ashutosh.

Ashutosh's bold leadership established a link between the university and the nation's aspirations. Higher education expanded rapidly. But expansion created problems in its trail. Need for more universities, nature and structure of universities, internal administration, aims of higher education, standard and nature of collegiate education, relation between secondary education and university education or between university and Govt. etc. were vital questions. A stock-taking was required. A start was made from the higher end of education. The Sadler Commission (Calcutta University Commission) was instituted (1917). Michael Sadler was the V.C. of Leeds University, England. Other members included Dr. Gregory, Prof Ramsay Muir, Sir Philip Hartog, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Sir Ashutosh Mukhrjee etc.

Sadler Commission's Work

The Commission worked intensely for two years (1917-19) and submitted a voluminous report. The Commission's findings were that (i) higher education had been undiversified and literary, (ii) the methods were mechanical, (iii) in the absence of technical education, higher education was mainly humanistic, (iv) the University's energy was unnecessarily spent in controlling schools, (v) this, in its turn, hampered the cause of teaching and research at the higher level, (vi) University education of good quality was possible on the basis of secondary education of good quality. But the low standard of secondary education was undermining the standard of university education, (vii) The schools had to pursue academic courses and standards determined by the University. A constant stream of students flowed through the gate of Entrance Examination to the steps of university education. The situation was made much worse by the absence of diversified studies at secondary level, (viii) Due to weakness of secondary education, the first two years of college education constituted a continuation of secondary education, and genuine University Education began from the 3rd College year, (ix) The schools also smarted under dual control—(a) the University through the system of affiliation and (b) the Govt. through the system of recognition.

The *Recommendations of the Commission* were of far reaching importance. We may enumerate them as follows :—(i) Secondary and University education should be well demarcated. The Intermediate stage should be the line of demarcation. Intermediate education for two years after the Entrance examination should be a continuation of school education. Hence the University should be relieved of the responsibility of Entrance and Inter-education, which should be placed in the administrative care of a separate Board of Secondary and Intermediate Studies which would administer, control and determine syllabuses etc. Secondary Education would thus be freed from dual control. Self-contained secondary education administered by an independent board would reduce student-pressure upon University. On the other hand, the University also would be free to concentrate its energy upon higher education and research. Thus the *idea of a self-contained and longer secondary education* was mooted.

(ii) To facilitate genuine specialisation at the higher stage, the Commission recommended diverse courses at the Inter-stage, viz-arts,

sciences, agriculture, medicine, commerce, engineering, education etc.

(iii) Although the Commission recommended a 2-year Inter-course, it was implied that it preferred a complete 12-year education as a precondition to admission into higher studies. *The idea of 12-year school education thus originated.*

Admission to the University should be allowed after the Intermediate stage (and not after Matriculation stage.)

Proper financial provisions should be made for secondary education. Vernacular should be the medium of instruction in secondary schools except for Mathematics. Classes at Intermediate stage should be small so that a proper rapport might exist between teachers and students.

Other important recommendations included—(i) special attention to education of women and Muslims, establishment of "Pardah Schools", if necessary, (ii) improvement and expansion of teacher preparation, (iii) establishment of a University Department of Education and acceptance of "Education" as a discipline, (iv) expansion and improvement of studies in applied sciences, professional and vocational courses, (v) improvement of studies at university level by concentrating the total responsibility of post graduate teaching in the hands of the University, (vi) attention to the study of vernaculars (vii) Honours courses in various subjects. The Commission also thought of a 3-year Degree Course. (viii) Oriental studies should also be cultured.

In regard to University Administration, the Commission criticised the Curzon policy of official control and *favoured a climate of freedom*. It recommended (i) a whole time Vice-chancellor, a representative Court, an Executive Council, Faculties, Boards of Studies, Heads of Departments etc. (ii) The Boards of Studies and the Academic Council would be responsible for teaching and courses of study. For a better administration of higher education the commission recommended the establishment of a residential unitary university and a Secondary-Intermediate Board at Dacca.

Govt. control over the Universities should be reduced and the relation between govt. and University made flexible.

University teachers should be selected by specially constituted selection committees. Close cooperation should be maintained between the University and the affiliated colleges. Colleges outside the territorial jurisdiction of the University might be simply affiliated. But

affiliated colleges within the University's jurisdiction should be treated as part and parcel of the University.

It also recommended positive measures to improve some of the mufussil Colleges with a view to upgrading them in due course to Universities. Students' physical training under a Directorate of the University, welfare services and residential accomodation of students, and inter-relation between Universities through an Inter-University Board were some other valuable recommendations.

Other Important Recommendations

1. Traing of Teachers :

(a) The number of trained teachers should be increased without delay.

(b) Education should be made a subject of study at Intermediate and B.A. levels.

(c) Department of Education should be created at the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

2. Education of Women :

(a) "Pardah" schools should be provided for the education of girls of families who would like it.

(b) In case of non-existence of separate girls' schools, co-education might be provided.

(c) Special provisions should be made for the training of women teachers.

(d) Medical courses should be provided for girl students.

3. Technological, Vocational, Professional Education :

Education should encourage the students to opt for technological and vocational preparation.

Hence—(a) University should place emphasis upon the teaching of applied sciences as well as vocational studies.

(b) Courses of Intermediate colleges should be revised and given a vocational bias.

Effects and Significance

Practical implementation of the recommendations, however, remained limited. Controversies arose in regard to the proposed change of structure, particularly the value and feasibility of the Intermediate College. The questions of composition, powers and extent of autonomy of the Inter-Board led to recriminations. Political considerations

entered into the fray. Although the Sadler Commission had been instituted to consider the problems of Calcutta University, its *recommendations were least implemented in Bengal*, with the exception of the foundation of Dacca University in 1920.

The recommendations, however, *acquired an all India importance* and were directly or indirectly implemented in other universities in varying degrees. Delhi, Andhra, Agra and Annamalai Universities were founded on the lines drawn by the Sadler Commission. Administrative changes were effected in the old Universities. *Secondary Education Boards* were established in different provinces. *Inter-college and Inter-Varsity programmes* were inaugurated.

Implementation of some of the recommendations might not have been possible. *Some of the Commission's views might have been much in advance of the educational condition in the then India.* But the Commission helped the generation of some distinctively positive ideas viz. modernisation of higher education, establishment of new type universities, academic freedom in universities, co-curricular activities of students, extensive Honours Courses, longer secondary education, 3 year Degree Course, diversified curricula at Inter and Degree stages, integration of applied sciences, technical and vocational studies with academic courses etc. *For sixty years thereafter, our concepts of higher education advanced on the track laid by the Sadler Commission.* Our attempts at reform drew their inspiration from the voluminous report of the Commission. Impelled by this consideration we may accept Mayhew's observation, 'The report of the Calcutta University Commission has been a constant source of suggestion and information. Its significance in the history of Indian education has been incalculable.' Reference may also be made to the observation of Prof. A. N. Bose, "The monumental and voluminous report of the Commission contained the *most comprehensive and comparative study of the Indian Education system from secondary stage to the University* "

Further Stages of Reform Movement

Sadler Commission Report was followed by the Constitutional Reforms of 1919 which transferred wider powers to the Provincial Govts., but at the same time introduced Dyarchy, dividing the administrative subjects into 'reserved' and 'transferred' ones. *Education became a transferred subject.* But education of Europeans and Anglo-

Indians remained in the Reserved list. Moreover 'Finance' was a reserved subject. The 'transference' of education had generated popular expectations. But finances being 'reserved', the expectations could not be fulfilled. Moreover, by making education a Provincial subject, the Central Govt. became immobile. Much needed reforms could not be implemented.

Although expansion did not tally with expectations, there was some expansion till 1947. Fourteen new universities (some of them residential) with teaching duty, were established. Secondary education was quantitatively doubled. The non-co-operation movement, the national education movement (1920-22), and the Civil Disobedience movement accelerated the process. Domination of English was reduced. Some vocational institutions were started (although the B' course died an unhonoured death).

Under the impact of the national movement, primary education also acquired a momentum. Starting with the Patel Act (1918) in Bombay, compulsory education acts were passed in quick succession in the other provincial legislatures (although with great limitations). *But the Central Govt. stepped aside.* Financial resources fell far short of needs. The great economic crisis of 1929 also sapped the capacities of the ordinary man. Whereas the number of primary school in 1921-22 had been 160072, it rose to only 172663 in 1947, i.e. number of new schools in 25 years was negligible. But the urge for education caused over crowding. Instead of 6310541 primary school children in 1921-22, there were 13036665 in 1947. *The problem of "numbers" was thus created.* The defective development of education in this period was reflected in some reports and studies of which the Hartog Committee Report was most important.

Developments Between Mont-Ford Reforms (1919) and Govt. of India Act 1935

In spite of the Reforms of 1919 (which was a typical diversionary tactic to divert the storm of national discontent), India continued to be a boiling pot consequent upon the Rowlatt Act and Jalianwallahbagh massacre. The National Congress rejected the moth-eaten reforms and launched the Non-Cooperation Movement in conjunction with the Khilafat (which experienced the second round of the National Education Movement, as discussed earlier). The Non-Cooperation was

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withdrawn after the Chourichara incident, but the revolutionary movement now became a mighty force in many of the provinces particularly Bengal, Maharastra and the Panjab.

Downing Street considered it proper to make a new move. It had been promised in 1919 that a review of the constitutional arrangements would be made a decade later. Accordingly it instituted the Simon Commission in 1927. The air of nationalist India was surcharged with the slogan "Go back Simon". Yet the commission enquired into different aspects of Indian life (including education). The report of the Commission ultimately led to the Round Table Conference (consequent upon the Civil Disobedience Movement) and the Govt. of India Act, 1935.

The Commission appointed an auxiliary Committee under the chairmanship of one of its members, Sir Philip Hartog who had also been a member of the Sadlar Commission and a Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University.

Hartog Committee

Terms of Reference : The Committee were required to report on the organisation of education on almost every point that needed reconsideration and strengthening, including the bodies responsible for the organisation of education which needed readjustment.

Observations of this study-committee under Sir Philip Hartog published in the form of a report in 1929 were very illuminating, particularly in regard to primary education. The Committee trenchantly remarked that even by starving primary education, disproportionate emphasis had been placed upon higher education. Primary education had not been well planned, nor had the plans been implemented. Rural orientation had not been attempted, *although primary education in India was basically a rural problem*. It, therefore, suggested reorganisation of curriculum with effective integration with rural economy and the need of guaranteeing complete 4-year education and measures against lapsing into illiteracy. The committee drew attention to the *question of wastage and stagnation* and thereby added one more feature to our educational thoughts and problems.

Since many of the findings of the committee have relevance in our current organisation of education, it is worthwhile that we refer to them in more details.

Perspective of Indian Education : The Committee opined that the largely enlarged enrolment in primary education indicated that barriers to mass education were breaking down. This was particularly the effect of political consciousness and social and educational consciousness of women. Muslims and the depressed classes were also forging ahead. It was time for positive measures to make primary education really productive.

But, throughout the whole educational system, there was heavy wastage and ineffectiveness. At the primary stage, the waste was appalling, particularly in the case of girls. The secondary stage was still dominated by the concept that every entrant must pass through the Matriculation at reach the University. But here too, the number of failures in the Matriculation Examination was colossal.

Defects of Primary Education :

1. India's problem of primary education was basically a rural problem, whereas the villages were least attended to.
2. Poverty, illiteracy and conservatism of the agricultural population stalled the progress of mass education. Parents employed their children to earn for the family.
3. Lack of schools within reasonable distance from children's home which is made more critical by absence of rural communications.
4. There were many areas, particularly those of backward communities, where primary education had not been properly encouraged.
5. Unhygienic living conditions, epidemics, seasonal diseases hamper school attendance.
6. Caste, religious, communal barriers.
7. Wastage (i.e., premature withdrawal of children from schools before completion of the primary school course), and stagnation (i.e., retention in the same class for a period more than that needed).
8. Lack of suitable environment to retain literacy after leaving school (particularly caused by parent's illiteracy) and therefore lapse into illiteracy.
9. Lack of trained teachers and insufficiency of inspecting staff.
10. Unscientific and stereotyped methods of teaching and absence of teaching aids.
11. Lack of regularity in school hours.

12. Administration of primary education and responsibility to introduce compulsory had been left with local bodies, most of which were inefficient.

13. The distribution of schools was unsatisfactory.

14. And above all poverty of the rural people and urban poor.

Recommendations :

1. Primary education should be made compulsory. But time should be taken for study of the locality and plans should be drawn accordingly.

2. Govt. should undertake responsibility for inspection. The local bodies were not working satisfactorily.

3. Instead of expansion, attempts should be made for consolidation and qualitative improvement.

4. At least four-year schooling should be insisted upon and provisions guaranteed for that.

5. School programme should be drawn with due consideration of the environment.

6. Schools with very meagre roll strength should be abolished.

7. Curriculum should be more scientifically re-constructed.

8. Special attention should be paid to the lowest classes, particularly for reducing wastage and stagnation.

9. Primary schools should serve as centres for rural uplift work, medical relief, adult literacy, recreation etc.

10. Standards of teaching personnel should be raised by better training, refresher courses and regular inspection.

If we are called upon to comment upon the findings and recommendations, we must say that—although the then nationalist public opinion could not accept many of the recommendations with kindness, yet the findings and recommendations were very much realistic. Many of them are relevant even today. Had those recommendations been implemented in letter and spirit, many of our present problems of primary education might not have existed with obnoxious intensity.

Hartog Committee on Secondary Education

The problems of secondary education did not escape notice. Hartog Committee referred to huge wastage in secondary education (reflected in failures in Matriculation examination), and pointed out that admission of sub-standard students was responsible for that state of affairs.

It recommended diversified curricula at the lower secondary stage and diversion of a section of students at the end of that stage to technical and commercial courses, as well as diversified education at secondary stage. Nothing concrete was, however, done in those days. Yet the idea of diverting a section of students to vocational education even at secondary stage, which has been a major issue in the present days, originated and continued to influence our educational thinking since then.

The committee particularly remarked that the whole system of secondary education was dominated by the Matriculation Examination and urge for University education, while the failure in Matriculation Examination was stupendous.

Recommendations :

1. Curriculum of middle Vernacular education which was very narrow, should be remodelled and adapted to rural requirements.
2. Industrial and commercial courses should be introduced in high schools. There should be parallel courses.
3. An examination at the end of middle school standard should determine eligibility for further studies and determine the particular course for each student.
4. Teachers should be more qualified and better trained in modern methods.
5. Service conditions and emoluments of teachers should be bettered and a respectable social status guaranteed. Security of service should also be granted.

Many of the recommendations, specially those in relation to teachers' service condition were not accepted by the Govt.

Hartog Committee on Higher Education

The defects in higher education found by the committee were—

- (1) Low standards, (2) Defeat of the real purpose of higher education. (3) Over crowding in colleges. (4) Low standard of Honours courses. (5) Wastage caused by failures, (6) Low standard of English etc.

Recommendations :

1. Establishment of affiliating universities side by side with unitary universities, because in a country like India, unitary universities alone could not meet the requirements.

2. Teachers for affiliated colleges should be appointed by the university.
3. Well equipped libraries should be maintained at every university and college.
4. Honours courses should be separated from pass courses in the interest of standards. Selected universities and colleges only should offer Honours courses.
5. Care should be taken that graduates did not remain unemployed. Each university should have an employment bureau.
6. Extension lectures should be provided for popular education.

Other Recommendations

On Women's Education : An all India conference on women's education was held in 1927. Consciousness about need for women's education had been advancing rapidly. Yet the committee found that only 25% of girls were at school and only 3% of women were literate.

The Committee recommended (1) Equal importance and equal spending for the education of boys and girls.

2. A highly qualified lady in each province should draw up plans for women's education.
3. Women should be represented on local bodies.
4. More primary schools for girls should be opened in rural areas.
5. Even in rural areas higher education of girls should be encouraged.
6. Secondary school curriculum for girls should be separate from that of boys and should include Home Science, Hygiene, Music etc.
7. Women should be encouraged to receive occupational education.
8. Special incentives should be provided to attract women teachers to rural areas.
9. Women teachers should receive training.
10. Primary education for girls should be gradually made compulsory.

Education of Muslims & Harijans

Recommendations :

1. Greater attention should be paid to Muslim education.
2. Schools should not be run on religious basis. Muslim children should receive education in common schools together with other children.

3. Special attention should be paid to the education of the harijans. But they also should receive education along with the children of other castes.

The report of the committee was practically a triumph of the official policy of "quality and consolidation" which had been developing since the days of Lord Curzon. And it was natural that in those days of heat and dust non-official opinion would not be favourable. In fact, implementation of the recommendations was not noteworthy. But the Hartog Committee added a new chapter in the history of Indian education in as much as it threw light on the basic problems and productive educational thoughts were initiated. In many respects the Committee's views were path finders.

Sapru Committee

Other voices were not lacking. The *Sapru Committee* (1934) formed in U. P. considered the inter-relation between general and vocational education and recommended (i) vocational training at the end of lower secondary education, (ii) diversified secondary education, (iii) prolongation of school education, and (iv) 3-year Degree Course. The recommendations of the Committee (formed for U. P.) acquired all-India currency, though without effect.

But these thoughts influenced the Central Govt. too. *The C.A.B.E.* proposed in 1935 that, (i) lower secondary education should be reorganised with rural organisation, and it should be self-sufficient in nature, (ii) secondary education should be diversified into academic and practical channels through differential school length. At the end of secondary education, avenues should be open for entry into employment, higher academic education, agricultural & technical education etc.

Period Under Provincial Autonomy

The recommendations of Hartog could scarcely be implemented when the whole country was engaged in the Civil Disobedience movement (1930-32), followed by the Round Table Conference. Then came the Govt. of India Act of 1935, which was implemented with effect from 1937. The Congress formed ministries in 7 provinces, the Muslim League and others in 4 provinces. Under provincial autonomy education ministries were formed in the provinces and the elected ministers enjoyed greater powers. But at the same time they had to

shoulder greater liabilities and to face grave problems, more because popular expectations were high.

Under Mont-Ford reforms when education had been made a provincial transferred subject, the Central Advisory Board of Education (C.A.B.E.) was formed in 1921 with representatives of different provinces, as a coordinating agency. After the Hartog report it was revived in 1935. The Board recommended that along with general liberal education, provisions should be made for technical and vocational education.

The question of technical and vocational education acquired independent importance. Since the days of the first world war, Indian investments in commerce and industries had been advancing apace. The question of vocational skill became a matter of practical importance. The Govt. could not but pay attention to the problems of commercial, vocational, practical and adult education. The cumulative effect was the institution of a Committee under Mr. A. Abbot, Director of Intelligence, Board, of Education, England and Mr. S. H. Wood, Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, Board of Education, England to study and report. The report (1937) submitted in two parts treated the questions of general as well as vocational education.

Abbot-Wood Report

Terms of Reference : The committee was asked to report (1) whether any vocational training should be imparted in primary or secondary school, and if so, its nature and extent. (2) Advise whether technical or vocational schools already existent should be sufficient or whether new schools should be established, (3) what types of new institutions were necessary. (4) The stage from when students should be channelled from general education to vocational education and how to effect that diversion. (5) Special arrangements required to meet the needs of rural people, keeping in view the flight of educated men and women from village to town.

In the General Education section, the Committee placed emphasis upon the "infant" class, recognition of natural interest, activities and propensities of primary school children, need for trained women teachers, reduction of the weight of English at lower secondary stage which might be followed by 3-year primary teachers' training, study of English at secondary stage while accepting the mother tongue as

medium of instruction, creative manual work, provision for in-service and pre-service training of teachers, attention to Physical Education and training, stricter inspection and control of local bodies etc.

In the vocational education part, the Committee suggested equal status for academic and vocational education. The two types of instruction might be imparted in separate types of schools, but they should be considered as complementary to each other. Vocational education should be expanded on the basis of provincial survey of needs, and in close co-operation with commerce and industries. A State Advisory Board should enlist support from employers in the form of houses and equipment.

The Committee suggested a complete system of vocational education—(i) a three year course parallel with classes IX—XI of general schools (this was most needed), (ii) 2 year course parallel with the general degree course, (iii) part-time courses (attendance twice a week), (iv) Vocational Guidance and Career Pamphlets for collegiate stage, and (v) Construction of “Composite Centres” (including junior, senior, part time vocational and arts institutions).

Since our present system of technical-vocational education is heavily indebted to the Abbot-Wood Committee, it is better that we discuss their recommendations for this field in more details.

The committee considered the growing problem of unemployment and candidly said that the problem of unemployment in India could be solved only through industrial development of the country. The immediate purpose of education in relation to industry is to secure the services of better qualified men. And an improvement in the contents and methods of education will help the speedy increase in efficiency in industry.

The committee observed that vocational education was as important as general education and general education is as important as vocational educational. “If General Education brings about the development of the non-material culture of a country, Vocational Education does the same thing for material culture.” In respect of technical and vocational education, the committee’s recommendations were—

1. Expansion of vocational education in response to industrial requirements.

2. The type and form of education should conform with trade, industry and commerce.

3. Vocational education should be considered as at par with general education.

4. General and vocational education should not be regarded as different branches, but as earlier and later phases of a continuous process.

5. Instead of imparting general education and vocational education side by side in the same institution, separate institutions should be provided for vocational education.

6. People engaged in colleges, industries should also be trained.

7. Two types trade schools should be established—

(a) Junior Vocational school to receive students after class VIII, to provide 3 year courses ;

(b) Senior Vocational school to receive students after Matriculation to provide 2 year courses.

(c) Junior and senior Vocational schools should be established in industrial zones only.

8. Part time Vocational schools should be started for in-service training.

9. Agriculture should be treated as industry and should be taught in Junior and Senior high schools.

10. Children, after completing their studies in vocational schools, should be given School Leaving Certificate.

11. Provisions should be made for Vocational Guidance.

12. Govt. of India should establish Vocational Training Colleges and technical schools on full/part time basis, as well as schools of Arts and Crafts.

13. There should be an Advisory Council for vocational education in each province.

The recommendations could not be immediately implemented because of the resignation of Congress Ministries and the start of the 2nd World War.

Nai Talim (Basic Education)

Although we had in a previous chapter discussed Basic Education in general terms, we may make some further points at this stage of our discussion (the period when Basic Education was proposed).

M. K. Gandhi wrote in 1937, "By education, I mean an all round drawing out of the best in the child and man—body, mind and spirit...literacy is only one of the means whereby men and women can be educated. ...I would therefore begin in the child's education by teaching him a useful craft."

(1) The All India National Education Conference (Wardha Conference, 1937) resolved—that

- (a) Free and compulsory education be provided for 7 years.
- (b) The medium of instruction be the mother tongue.
- (c) Education for the said period should centre round some productive craft (viz. Spinning and Charka).
- (d) Craft based education will gradually cover the remuneration of teachers.

(2) Zakir Hussain Committee (which included Arya Nayakan, Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalelkar, J. C. Kumarappa, Kishorilal Mashroowala, Prof. K. T. Shah) etc. submitted two reports in December 1937 and April, 1938 respectively.

(a) The first report dealt mainly with the principles of basic education, including its organisation, provisions, crafts etc.

(b) The second report dealt with agriculture, metal and wood-crafts etc.

(3) The report of the Committee was adopted at the Haripura Session of the National Congress. An All India National Education Board was established at Sevagram (Wardha) in 1939, known as Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and to Basic Education Gandhiji gave the name of Nai Talim.

Aims of Basic Education

- (a) Development of qualities of an ideal citizen—socially, politically, economically and culturally.
- (b) Development of love for Indian culture and heritage.
- (c) All round development of personality by paying attention to psychological, physical, moral and spiritual aspects of life.
- (d) After completion of education, children might be able to use that education for earning a livelihood.
- (e) Attainment of Sarvodaya through education.

Outlines of the Scheme

1. Free and compulsory education equally for boys and girls from 7+ to 14+
2. Mother tongue should be the medium and there should be no room for English.
3. The whole process of education should centre round a basic craft selected with reference to the realities and needs of the community.
4. The pupil should be acquainted with the social relevance of the craft. The scientific importance of the craft should be brought home.
5. Education of the child should be closely related to the child's home, village etc.
6. The curriculum would consist of—
 - (a) Basic craft, (b) Mother tongue, (c) Mathematics, (d) Social studies, (e) General science, (f) Art, (g) Hindi, (h) Home Science, (i) Physical Education—all in a correlated and integrated fashion.
7. Teachers should be at least matriculates and they might be given (a) short term training for one year, or (b) long term training for 3 years.

Expected Qualities of Basic Education

1. Compulsory and free education upto 14+ .
2. Safety from wastage.
3. Close relation with life, enabling children to solve their own problems.
4. Education through productive activity.
5. Mother tongue instead of English and emphasis upon Hindi.
6. Child as the centre.
7. Education in keeping with the socio-economic life of people.
8. The ideals of Nationalism, Patriotism, Secularism, Non-violence and Sarvodaya.

Defects of Basic Education

1. Applicability in backward economy and rural conditions.
2. Impossibility to present all subjects through the teaching-learning of a craft.
3. No integration with the general system of secondary and higher education.

4. No relation with technological, scientific and industrial development or even industrialised agriculture.

And it is common knowledge that although Gandhiji was acclaimed as the father of the Nation, a decent burial was given to many of his ideals and principles. Basic Education was made an education for the poor rural millions. But those millions were not dumb and stoic. No wonder that Basic Education almost died a natural death.

Acharya Narendra Dev (first) Committee (1939)

Some local stock taking was also attempted as through the above named committee for U.P.

The committee opined that—

1. The then system of education was incapable of guaranteeing all round development of children.

2. The aim of secondary education was dominated with the object of University Education.

3. The Intermediate colleges failed to provide the expected standard of education.

Hence,

(a) Curricula should be revised—with language, literature, social studies, Natural sciences and Mathematics, Art, Commerce, Industrial and Vocational education and Home science for girls only.

(b) Hindustani should be the medium and English should be a compulsory subject.

(c) Physiology and general science should be compulsory subjects.

(d) Adequate arrangements should be made for women's education ; well equipped libraries, and teacher training should be provided.

(e) Extra curricular activities should be emphasised, particularly scouting, debating, cooperative societies, social service etc.

(f) A central Pedagogical Institute should be established for the province.

It is evident that the Basic Education scheme and Narendra Dev's scheme had wide differences, although they were proposed almost simultaneously.

Reports and recommendations piled up, but very little was done. But time did not remain static. The impact of the 2nd World War created a condition when a comprehensive scheme of reforms could not but be made. This was done by the Sargent Committee under the

auspices of the C. A. B. E. The Governor General's Executive Council directed Sir John Sargent, Educational Advisor to Govt of India to draw up a memorandum for educational reconstruction after the war. His report was accepted by C.A.B.E. and issued in its own name.

Sargent Committee Report

The report entitled "Post War Educational Development in India" (1944) suggested a 40 year programme for attaining equality with England (of 1944). The scheme included (i) provision of 10 lakh nursery school seats for 3-6 year group; (ii) Universal, Compulsory and Free Primary (or Basic) education for 6—11 group; (iii) Those of the 11—14 group who would like to proceed to higher education would be provided (on selective basis) with higher secondary education (11—17 years), and the unselected rest would be provided with Senior Basic Education to be followed by 3-year Junior technical, art or trade school education, equal in status with secondary schools (or 6-year technical school after Junior Basic stage); (iv) Approximately 20% of Junior Basic school children might be selected for complete higher secondary education in two types of school—(a) Academic and (b) Practical, to impart lessons in applied sciences, commerce, technology and domestic science (for girls); (v) At the end of higher secondary education, there would be—(a) three year degree course (for 7—10% of high school graduates, and (b) two-year higher technical school as well as part time provisions. The system would be topped by the University department of technology and research institutes.

Other aspects of the scheme were—(a) Training of all teachers in University level colleges and training institutes. (b) Literacy for 9 crore illiterates (9—40 age group) through formal or vocational education. (c) Schools for the handicapped. (d) Health welfare and amusement services and Employment Bureau. The administrative machine for implementation of the scheme would consist of Central and Provincial Departments of the Govt. The Provincial Govt. would be responsible for all types of education other than university and technical studies. There would be a U. G. C. The Provincial Govt would supersede inefficient Local Bodies.

The Sargent Plan had been much criticised in those days, particularly the 40 year length and the principle of 'Selection.' But

40 years have actually elapsed since then. And we have achieved independence. Yet we are miles off the targets that had been fixed by the Committee. Credit must go to the Sargent Committee for its attention to pre-primary education, for recognition of Govt. responsibility in providing universal primary education, for integration between general and vocational education, and for its attention to the question of adult education. And this was the *first occasion when a complete, comprehensive and integrated educational plan was drawn up.* But nothing concrete was done in face of impending independence.

Details of the Plan

Since the Sargent Plan was a terminal point and capstone of developments prior to independence, it will not be a waste of energy if we state, as far briefly as possible, the recommendations on different categories of education.

1. Pre-Primary Education—Nursery schools for 3–6 year group should be provided (attached to junior basic schools in villages and separately in urban areas). It should be free education with the object of imparting training and experience in social behaviour

2. Primary education for 6–14 group based on some fundamental craft, to be imparted through (a) Junior Basic School (6–11) and (b) Senior Basic School (11–14), particularly for children who might not gain from high school education.

In Junior Basic School, there should not be any place for English, while the place of English in Senior Basic Schools should be determined by the Education Dept. of the Provincial Govt.

Examinations should be internal.

3. Secondary education (11–16 group)—on the basis of tuition fee (although scholarships should be provided for the meritorious poor).

There should be division of schools on the basis of curriculum—(a) Academic, (b) Technical. There should be a list of common subjects for them, while special subjects should be provided for the separate categories.

Mother tongue should be the medium, while English should be a compulsory second language.

4. 3 Year Degree Course should be provided, and admission to higher education should be very strict and open only to the highly meritorious.

A University Grants Commission should be formed.

5. Full time and part time technical and vocational education should be provided for four categories of technical personnel—(a) Higher category (i.e. technical know how), (b) Middle (or lower) category viz. foreman, charge man etc. (c) Skilled craftsmen, and (d) Semi skilled or unskilled craftsmen.

6. Adult Education—in both general and technical types, with provisions for circulating libraries, and mass media.

7. Teacher training—(a) for Graduates in Training Colleges, (b) for undergraduates in three types—(i) Pre-primary, (ii) Basic (iii) High School. Refresher courses. Improved salaries etc.

8. Education of the physically and mentally handicapped.

9. Health Services—Physical education, check up, treatment and complete medical record.

10. Recreational and social activities.

11. Employment Bureau of Provincial Education Department and university with responsibility to (a) contact educational institutions, (b) Advice outgoing students, (c) contact employers.

12. Educational Administration—(a) Province should be the unit, (b) Activities of universities and higher technical institution to be co-ordinated, (c) Supersession of unsuccessful local authorities, (d) Provincial Advisory Board.

It is evident that the report touched upon every aspect and stage of education. But it was an incorporation of recommendations made by many previous commissions and committees including Basic Education. Although labelled as a national scheme of education, it was a reflection of the system of education in England.

The period between 1917 and 1947 was one when reform consciousness advanced rapidly, but very little was done concretely. *It was a period more of educational aspirations rather than achievements.* Thus India stood at the threshold of independence with high hopes that Independent India would witness a revolutionary change in education.

CHAPTER VII

Education Commissions in Independent India

People and political parties of India had for more than half a century years been expressing disquiet and dissatisfaction with the British given system of education and from time to time made some recommendations for reforms. But during British Raj, a thorough reform was not attempted at any stage.

And then India attained independence (although with a truncated body). She now had the scope and authority to plan and do things for herself. The efforts flowed in three directions (I) Incorporation of items touching upon Education in the Constitution of free India. (II) Provision of education through 5 year plans. (III) Search for ideas and directions through fact finding enquiries and recommendations made by a succession of Commissions and Committees. A connected reading of the successive recommendations of Commissions will help us understand the development of educational ideas since independence.

A. Radhakrishnan Commission (Indian Education Commission) On Higher Education.

1. Life of the Commission—1948-49.
2. Important Indian members (apart from Dr. Radhakrishnan) were—Dr. L. S. Mudaliar, Dr. Jakir Hussain, Dr. Tara Chand, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. N. K. Sidhant. It also included experts from the U. K. and the U. S. A.
3. Terms of Reference were—Enquiries into and recommendations on (i) Research and standards, (ii) Curricula and medium of instruction, (iii) teachers, (iv) problems of students' health, residence, discipline, (v) administration of higher education and other problems.

Recommendations on —

1. Aims of University Education—

Higher education should be wedded to social objectives. Universities should provide leadership in politics, administration, industry and commerce. The Universities should be centres of civilisation and train intellectual pioneers. Instead of only worshipping the past, they should produce intellectual adventurers. They should disseminate learning and conduct an incessant search for new knowledge (i. e. research).

Respect for heritage and endeavour for modern advancement should go together. The Universities should infuse ideals into the youth, discover their innate qualities. Physical development should receive equal attention with mental development. The mother tongue should be given the most important place in general education. The Universities should be the emblems and protectors of the ideals of justice, freedom, equality and fraternity.

2. Curricula—

(a) General education (which includes information and experiences of various types) and wisely selected facts and information should be made available to the student.

(b) Liberal education should help students think independently and critically.

(c) Occupational education should help students prepare for life-work in fields of specialised interest.

General education should enable the student to feel that elements of his environment have meaning and interest to him. Over specialisation should not be aimed at.

Master's Degree should be earned in one year after Honours Graduation Degree, and two years after Pass Graduation Degree. *Secondary education is the weakest link in India's system of education.* Hence special emphasis should be placed upon general education at secondary level. The relation between general education and special education should be worked out for each field keeping in mind the normal interest of the age group.

Courses of study for the first degree should consist of Federal Language, English and Mother tongue or a classical language; humanities, social sciences, natural and bio-sciences.

Regarding courses for Post Graduate studies the commission recalled Whitehead, 'a progressive society depends on three groups—Scholars, Discoverers, Inventors'. The Commission commented, "While the scholars re-discover the past and set before us ideals of wisdom, duty and goodness, discoverers find out new truths, and inventors apply them to the present need."

Obviously training and research are useful in various fields of knowledge as well as of life. In humanities, emphasis should be placed upon history of man. In Natural Science, emphasis should be

placed upon undiscovered properties of nature and their application for human benefit.

Students in M. A/M. Se, classes should be trained in hard intellectual endeavour. Great care should be exercised in the admission of students.

3. **Research**—Standard of research should be raised and students for research work leading to Ph. D. Degree should be selected on all-India basis. A supervisor for Ph. D. work should be a specialist in the field. Minimum 2 years time should be allowed to the researcher and his work should have bearing upon the general body of knowledge in the subject. Two external examiners and one internal examiner should adjudge the work and conduct a viva voce. The University should assist in the publication of a really good work. Research fellowships should be granted. D. Litt. or D. Sc. degrees should be conferred on scholars whose works show conspicuous originality and distinction. University and college teachers should be encouraged and given scope for research work.

4. **Teacher and Teaching Standards**—The Commission emphasised that the teacher occupies a very important place in education. His prime duty is to arouse the interest of the pupil and to instil right values and behaviour. But the conditions of teachers were far from satisfactory, nor were they academically well up. Salaries were low.

Hence salaries should be raised, P.F. benefits should be sanctioned, residential accommodation should be provided.

There should be four categories of teachers—Professors, Readers, Lecturers and Instructors. Each University should have some research fellows. Study leave should be provided and Tribunals to settle disputes should be established.

The Commission observed that the percentage of failures is heavy. One of the causes of such failure is low standard of teaching. Another cause is the admission of sub-standard students. (standard of admission should be effective completion of the then Intermediate stage). A good number of vocational institutions should be established to divert students. The standard of teacher-education should be raised and refresher courses provided. Roll strength of classes should be kept within limits. Class lectures should be supplemented by tutorials, library work, seminars etc. Good buildings, laboratories and equipment

should be provided. Pass marks should be raised. Evening colleges should be started for working people.

5. **Professional Education**—The Commission defined professional education as the process by which men and women prepare for responsible service in the professional spirit. The Commission then made recommendations for a few types of professional education, viz —

(a) **Agriculture**—Agricultural education should be recognised as a major national issue. Hence importance should be attached to the study of agriculture at primary, secondary and higher education. Agricultural education should be placed in the hands of persons with first hand knowledge of agricultural life. The agricultural colleges should be strengthened in respect of teaching staff and equipment. The colleges should be established in genuinely rural setting. Experimental farms should be attached to them. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research should be supported and an Institute of Agricultural policy established.

Rural Higher Education : Rural University

A particular recommendation of the Commission deserves special mention. It proposed a new attitude, a new outlook and an integrated plan of rural education. Analysing rural society and traditions of India and the importance of rural economy in her history and current life, the Commission opined that the modern system of education was never integrated with rural life. Such education caused desertion of the village by the educated rural youth. Town-Centric industrialisation caused urbanised education. The Commission proposed equalisation of educational opportunity by removing the differences between education in urban and rural areas. If offered a plan for rural higher education totally integrated with rural life.

It surveyed the system of rural education prevalent in various countries and was specially guided by the practical example of the Danish Peoples' College and above all by Gandiji's scheme of Basic Education. The Commission extended the concept upto the University level, and offered a total scheme.

(a) The Commission proposed the acceptance of the post-basic school as the rural high school to cater life-centric, work-centric and environment-centric education.

(b) A few of such schools would be centred round a *Rural College* which would offer general higher education together with specialised courses bearing upon rural life.

(c) A few of such colleges would centre round a *Rural University*. *Rural life and Rural University would be complementary to each other.*

(d) Total rural education would be structured as—Junior and Senior Basic education for 7/8 year ; 3/4 years of post-basic education followed by 3 year college courses, and capped by 2 year Post Graduate education. At every stage, education would be village centric, integrating general education with specialised training for work. Individual interests of boys and girls would be honoured.

(e) The number of students studying in rural Colleges and Universities should not exceed 2500.

(f) There should be provisions for separate teachers (with specialisation) for the rural colleges and Universities. Centrally located laboratories and farms might be established.

(g) Students should be encouraged to go in for professional or occupational courses.

(h) Research facilities should be made available.

(i) An all India Institute of rural education should be established.

But the Commission's above noted plan for rural higher education was implemented in a changed and truncated fashion, thereby defeating the very purpose.

Thereafter, the Rural Higher Education Committee, formed to study the specific question of rural higher education, suggested a Standing Committee. *The National Council of Rural Higher Education* was thus formed in 1956. The Council suggested the establishment of *Rural Institutes* at selected localities. Accordingly 14 Institutes were started. These Institutes were to offer postgraduate courses and award degrees in Rural Economics, Cooperative, Rural Sociology, Community Development etc. (*Sriniketan* in West Bengal, was one of those Institutes)

In reality, however, 3 year diploma courses in rural sciences, 3 year diploma courses in rural engineering, 2 year agricultural courses, 1 year sanitary inspection course etc. were introduced. Evidently, these Institutes were not University level institutions and their diplomas were not considered equivalent to University degrees. The situation was partially retrieved when some State Govts. and the

Council of Technical Education, as well as a few universities admitted equivalence of some of the diplomas. The Institutes could neither implement the recommendations of Radhakrishnan Commission, nor offer modern agricultural education based upon agricultural technology.

(b) **Commerce**—The recommendations were that (i) Practical work should be given a prominent place in the scheme of education.

(ii) After graduation, students should be advised to specialise in particular professions like Accountancy, and to receive practical training.

(iii) Master's degree in Commerce should not be bookish.

(c) **Medicine**—(i) History of medicine with special reference to Indian system should be taught in first Degree stage.

(ii) Research on indigenous system should be promoted.

(iii) Public health engineering and nursing should be given importance.

(iv) Post graduate courses should be offered in selected colleges.

(v) Rural experience and training should be compulsory in both undergraduate and post graduate stages.

(d) **Engineering and Technology**—(i) The existing engineering and technological institutes should be improved.

(ii) The number of institutes should be increased for the training of Foremen, Craftsmen, Draftsmen, Overseers etc.

(iii) The first year course (or more) should be general and common.

(iv) Some engineering and technological colleges should be upgraded for Post Graduate studies.

(v) Steps should be taken for starting higher technological institutes for training Engineering scientists and design engineers.

(vi) Enquiries should be conducted as to the types of engineering services needed in India.

(vii) Engineering Colleges should be closely associated with Universities.

(viii) Faculty of Engineering should be called Faculty of Engineering and Technology.

(e) **Law**—(i) Uniformity should be established in law courses.

(ii) Teaching of law should be conducted on the pattern of teaching other subjects at University level and should be controlled by the University.

(iii) There should be restrictions to admission. A 3 year degree course before law-education should be the minimum.

(iv) Students pursuing degree courses in law should not be permitted to pursue other degree courses simultaneously.

(v) Opportunity for research should be available.

(f) **Teaching :** (i) Training courses should be remodelled with special emphasis upon practical teaching. Evaluation should be made particularly for teaching.

(ii) Staff for the training colleges should be recruited from amongst persons who have first hand experience in school teaching.

(iii) Courses of educational theories should be adoptable to local situations.

(iv) Master's Degree might be available only after some years of teaching.

(v) Original work of professors and lecturers should be planned on All-India basis.

Other Recommendations

Religious Education—The Commission made a historical review of the system of religious instructions in other countries. It preferred the practice of imparting religious education to students (although not of a dogmatic doctrinaire type). The recommendations were—

(i) Educational institutions should start working with a few minutes of silent meditation.

(ii) In the first year of the Degree course, lives of great religious leaders of different countries in different ages should be presented.

(iii) In the second year, a selection (of universalist character) from the scriptures might be taught.

(iv) **Philosophy**—The central question of religion should be specially considered.

Education of Women—There could not be educated people without educated women. But women's education was not getting its due in India. Recommendations—

(i) Education of women should be in conformity with the requirements of women.

(ii) Women should receive maximum educational facilities.

(iii) Courses in Home Economics and Home Management should be provided.

(iv) General facilities for Co-education should be provided.

(v) Female teachers should be paid equally with male teachers.

Medium of Instruction—There was a good deal of controversy on this sensitive issue. However, the ultimate recommendations were—

(i) Steps should be taken for the enrichment and development of Hindi which was expected to be the federal Language.

(ii) English as a medium of instruction should, at the earliest, be replaced by some Indian Language.

(iii) At the secondary and university stages students should be taught (a) Regional language, (or mother tongue). (b) National language, and (c) English.

(iv) Regional language should be the medium of instruction at higher level.

(v) Steps should be taken for promoting federal language and regional languages.

(vi) The Devnagri Script should be adopted with necessary modifications.

(vii) Sanskrit was important, but it could not be made a medium of instruction.

(viii) Uniform technical and scientific terms should be used in all the Indian languages. International scientific and technical terminology should be adopted.

(ix) Teaching of English should continue.

Examination : (i) Objective type examination instead of essay type should be preferred

(ii) Every University should have a subjectwise board of examiners.

(iii) Evaluation experts should be appointed.

(iv) Administrative officers should be recruited through State level recruitment examinations.

(v) $\frac{1}{3}$ of marks should be awarded internally for sessional work.

(vi) Experienced teachers only should be appointed as examiners.

(vii) There should be uniform standard of marking in the different universities.

(viii) Award of grace marks should be abandoned.

(ix) Viva-voce examinations should be conducted.

Students and Their Welfare :

(i) Students should be admitted to the university irrespective of class or caste, on the basis of achievement tests.

(ii) Selection should be made on the basis of ability, character and industry without favours.

(iii) Extensive scholarships should be instituted to equalise opportunity.

(iv) Due care should be taken of Health of students.

(v) Medical examination should be made regularly.

(vi) Residential Universities should have hospital facilities.

(vii) Recreation facilities and scope of physical education should be provided.

(viii) N.C.C. at Central Govt.'s cost should be conducted.

(ix) Students should be inspired to participate in social service.

(x) Hostel accomodation should sufficiently be made.

(xi) A Proctorial system should be introduced.

(xii) The authorities should not interfere with students' union, and unions should not indulge in politics.

(xiii) Constructive activities should be encouraged in the interest of students' discipline.

(xiv) Corporate life of students should be encouraged.

(xv) Dean of students' welfare should be appointed.

The Commission admitted the need for more universities. But it opposed the establishment of affiliating or affiliating cum teaching universities only. Federal, Unitary and Residential types were suggested. Recommendations were made for improvement of internal administration of universities. (We shall discuss these suggestions in a later chapter on Administration). The Commission recommended formation of a University Grants Commission with responsibility to determine principles of higher education, improvement of standards, foundation of new Universities, relation between Govt. and University etc.

B. Commissions on Secondary Education

The first committee of experts to speak about secondary education after independence was the Tarachand Committee (1948-49). This Committee suggested 5 year primary education, 3 year pre-secondary education (or Senior Basic), and 4 year Secondary education i.e., 12 year education before admission to University courses. It also recommended diversified courses and one terminal examination.

Contemporaneously with it the Rai Chowdhury Committee in West Bengal suggested reforms in secondary education.

The University Commission (Radhakrishnan) also made illuminating remarks on secondary education.

The cumulative effect of all these developments was the institution of the *Secondary Education Commission* (1952-53) i.e. *Mudaliar Commission* to probe and make recommendations on all aspects of secondary education.

Mudaliar Commission

Composition—Chairman—Dr. Luxmana Swami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University. Other Indian members included Sri K. G. Saiyadain, J. A. Taraporwala, M. T. Vyas, A. N. Basu (Secretary), Dr. Chari (associate secretary). There were British and American experts also.

Terms of Reference : To enquire into the state of secondary education in all its aspects. To Suggest reorganisation and improvement with particular reference to (i) aim, organisation and content, (ii) relation with primary education and higher education, (iii) secondary schools of different types, (iv) uniform system etc.

Defects of Secondary Education : The commission found that—

(i) Secondary education was bookish, mechanical, stereotyped uniform. It failed to provide for different aptitudes of pupils, or to develop discipline, cooperation, citizenship, leadership.

(ii) Excessive importance of 'examination' told heavily upon adolescent students.

(iii) Unilateral aim of admission to university

(iv) Lack of diversified courses.

(v) Rigid time table, text books etc.

(vi) Unwieldy classes.

(vii) Children from poor families were not cared for.

(viii) Teaching profession did not have the right type of men, nor were the emoluments attractive.

(ix) Schools lacked in playgrounds and other recreational facilities.

(x) Inadequacy of cocurricular activities.

(xi) Education imparted in school was not in consonance with the requirements of life.

(xii) It was also unbalanced, narrow and unhelpful to the development of student's personality.

- (xiii) Too much importance given to English affected the student's interest in other socially important subjects.
- (xiv) The Examination system was defective.

Suggested Aims of Secondary Education

Secondary education in independent India which adopted the ideal of secular democracy should have the following objectives—

(a) Development of ideal democratic citizens of the sovereign republic of India.

(b) Development of pupils' personality, so that they may appreciate their cultural heritage and acquire interests in constructive work and become full fledged men.

(c) Character development of the youth and adolescent.

(d) Secondary education should prepare the pupils for middle grade leadership in social, political, cultural and industrial life necessary for the nation's advancement.

(e) Impartation of vocational capacity and skill according to individual aptitude.

(f) Together with patriotism, students should be imbued with the ideal of world brotherhood of men.

With these objectives, the *Commission proposed self contained and complete secondary education upto 17+*. Such education would be (i) preparatory for those who would proceed to the university, and (ii) terminal and life oriented for those who would join life's avocations.

Structural Pattern : The structure of School Education System should be—

(i) 5-year primary education,

(ii) 3-year lower secondary education,

(iii) 4-year higher secondary education—i.e. a total of 12 year school education.

Compulsory education would end at the terminal point of lower secondary education i.e. class VIII (14+), at the end of which trade and vocational schools would be provided for those who would enter them. Similarly, at the end of the higher secondary stage, technical and professional courses would be provided. The complete period of higher secondary education would be followed by 3-year undergraduate courses in arts, science, commerce.

Curriculum : The commission made extensive recommendations on curricular reorganisation, viz—

(i) Curriculum for the *lower secondary stage* would be undiversified, general, and common for all children, and would consist of (a) English, (b) Mother tongue, (c) Mathematics, (d) General Science, (e) Social Studies, (f) Craft, (g) Physical education, Art, Music etc.

(ii) Curriculum for *higher secondary stage* would meet the needs for (a) social integration on the one hand, and (b) Individual specialisation on the other.

'Core' subjects would contribute to social integration and cultural uplift through common general education. And *Peripheral* subjects based upon elective principle would foster individual bias for professional-vocational skill.

The compulsory core subjects would include (a) Mother tongue or Regional language, (b) two more elective languages, including English, (c) General Science, (d) General Mathematics, (e) Social studies, (f) Craft.

The peripheral courses would be organised in 7 *streams*, in accordance with the different activities prevalent in society. The seven streams would be (a) Humanities, (b) Sciences, (c) Agriculture, (d) Technology, (e) Commerce, (f) Domestic Sciences (for girls), (g) Fine Arts.

Each stream would consist of several subjects out of which the students would make their choice. Choice of subjects within the stream might be altered, but a student would not be allowed to go out of bounds of the stream. For the first two years of the higher secondary stage (i.e. classes IX and X), emphasis would be placed upon the core subjects i.e. there would not be any emphasis upon specialisation. Emphasis would gradually be shifted to peripheral subjects in the two subsequent years (Classes XI and XII), so that specialisation might ensue.

The school system (including 12 year school education) proposed by the commission implied *abolition of the Intermediate course*. Undergraduate education would commence after the higher secondary stage i.e., Class XII. The schools would now be *multipurpose schools*, offering different streams in the same school.

The Commission, however, upheld the separate existence of (a) (a) *Agricultural schools* to offer courses in agriculture, horticulture

animal husbandry etc ; (b) *Technical schools*, either independent or connected with multipurpose schools, (c) *Apprenticeship* system should be widely introduced, if necessary by legislation. (d) *Public schools* (for 5 year !), (e) other *Residential schools* in the interest of close teacher-pupil relation and co-curricular activities, (f) there should not be any different type of education for girls. But special provisions should be made for *Home Science* for girls.

Other important recommendations of the Commission were—

(a) A *three language formula*, with State language, Regional language and English.

(b) Combination of theory and practice in the educative process.

(c) Adoption of dynamic teaching methods to make self-contained and terminal secondary education really effective, meaningful and worthy.

(d) Reform of examination to make it a real evaluation and thereby reduce university-mindedness.

(e) Guidance and Counselling system to select students for the different streams.

(f) Health and welfare services for students.

(g) Application of the principle of correlation in the presentation of different subjects.

(h) Extensive co-curricular activities to foster creativity, character formation and socialisation of children.

(i) Better emoluments, better terms of service and better teacher-preparation to ensure a supply of better teachers for the higher secondary classes.

(j) Formation of a *Board of Secondary Education for each State* with 25 members (including 10 experts in technical and vocational education) under the chairmanship of the D.P.I.

Some other recommendations of the Commission need be recorded, viz—

Selection of Text Books : A high powered Committee for selecting text books should be constituted at the state level. This Committee should lay down the criteria for text books. Publishers might be helped with loan of illustrations and data. A single text book should not be prescribed. In case of languages, a definite text book should however, be prescribed. No text book should contain anything which

might offend the religious sentiments of any community. Frequent changes in text books should be discouraged.

Method of Teaching : Teaching should not impart knowledge only, but also inculcate desirable values. Emphasis should be shifted from verbalism and memorisation to learning through purposeful, concrete, realistic situations, (Activity or Project Method might be tried). Emphasis should be placed upon clear thinking and expression. Students should be trained to acquire the qualities of group life and cooperative work.

Religious and Moral Instruction : Education of character should be a responsibility of the teacher. Personal contact should ensure discipline. Co-curricular activities should form a part of education. School self-Govt should be fostered. N.C.C., Junior Red Cross etc. should be encouraged. Religious instruction may be given on voluntary and optional basis, outside the time-table and should be confined to students of a particular faith, subject to consent of parents.

Examination : There might be two external examinations at the end of class X and at the end of class XII. Objective tests should be emphasised. Cumulative Records should be maintained with due credit for weekly or monthly tests.

Guidance and Counselling : Selection of streams would necessitate guidance of experts. Hence, trained Guidance Officers and Career Masters should be appointed in Secondary Schools.

Welfare of Students : All students should be medically examined every year. School medical services should be organised. Teachers should be given first aid training and physical training. School tiffin or mid-day meal for students should be provided. Complete record of physical activities of every student should be maintained.

Teacher-Training : Two types of institutions should be conducted—for one year training, and for two year training. No tuition fees should be realised. Instead, stipends and residential facilities should be provided. Refresher courses should be extensively organised. Training Colleges should conduct researches. Trained graduates with 3 years of experience may be allowed to prepare for Master's degree in Education. Special courses for women might be conducted to meet the shortage of female teachers.

Better terms for teachers : The Commission admitted that the

most important factor in the contemplated educational reconstruction was the teacher. Hence it suggested that—

(i) The method of selection and appointment should be uniform throughout the country.

(ii) Only trained teachers should be appointed.

(iii) The period of probation should be one year.

(iv) Teachers of same qualifications should get the same emoluments and benefits.

(v) Salaries should conform with price index of living cost.

(vi) Teachers of high schools should be graduates with teaching degree.

(vii) Teachers for technical subjects should be graduates in the concerned subject, with training.

(viii) Teachers for higher secondary classes should possess qualifications equivalent to those of teachers in Intermediate Colleges.

(ix) Triple benefit should be available.

(x) Arbitration boards should settle disputes.

(xi) 60 years should be the retirement age.

(xii) Teachers and their children should get free education.

(xiii) Teachers should be provided with quarters in the neighbourhood of their schools.

(xiv) Leave facilities and travel concessions should be available for attending seminars or for going to health resorts.

(xv) Free medical aid should be provided.

(xvi) Leave for study abroad should be granted.

(xvii) In-service effort for betterment of qualifications should be encouraged, and

(xviii) Private tuition should be abolished.

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Immediately after the publication of the Mudaliar Commission Report the *De Committee* was formed in West Bengal. This Committee also supported the recommendation of the previous commission, with the exception that it suggested certain changes in the composition of the State Board of Secondary Education.

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A Committee under the Chairmanship of Acharya Narendra Deb was formed in U. P. in 1953. (This was the second N. Dev Committee) This committee made detailed recommendations on syllabus, particularly

languages, Text Books, Examinations, Technical Education, Guidance service, Religious and Moral education, improvement of non-Govt. institutions etc.

But the report of the Mudaliar Commission was, in the main, accepted by the Govt. of India and the *new scheme launched with effect from 1956*. The reorganised pattern continued till the report of the Kothari Commission (1964-66) was given effect to.

Education Commission (1964-66) (Kothari Commission)

The last all-India commission (till date) was the *Kothari Commission*. Apart from pre-independence commissions like Hunter Commission, Raleigh Commission, Sadler Commission, independent India had a few commissions as discussed before. Radhakrishnan Commission had to study the field of University education, Mudaliar Commission had to study Secondary Education. *Unfortunately no commission had been instituted to study the field of primary education.* The Kothari Commission was given the charge of studying *all the stages and types of education* and to suggest measures for the attainment of a *National System of Education* which had been India's desire for about a century.

The commission headed by *Dr. D. S. Kothari* and constituted of expertise from India and the advanced countries made its recommendations keeping in view the facts that India (a) adopted the ideal of secular democracy, (b) was committed to eradication of illiteracy, (c) stood for rapid development of agriculture and industries (d) adoption of modern science and technology, (e) establishment of a socialist pattern of society based upon equal opportunities. The commission had to suggest ways and means keeping in view India's values, traditions and aspirations.

The commission defined the *objectives* to be achieved through a system of education—as

- (1) Increase in production.
- (2) Social and national integration.
- (3) Establishment of democratic principles and practices.
- (4) Modernisation of India.
- (5) Character building through inculcation of social, moral and spiritual values.

Educational structure and standards

General education for a total of 10 years viz. 4 years of lower primary. 3 years of higher primary, 3 years of lower secondary 2 years of higher secondary, 3 years of undergraduate course.

Detailed recommendations were made on every aspect of education including Curricula, Qualitative improvement, Equality of opportunity, Co-curricular activities, Language scheme, principles and practices in pre-primary, primary, secondary, higher education, as well as professional and technological education, teacher training and teacher status, Adult education, Educational finance and Administration.

In order to avoid repetitions, we shall refer to these recommendations when we discuss the development of education at different stages and of different types since independence in the chapters to follow.

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After the recommendations of the Kothari Commission, which were by and large accepted by the Govt. of India, two declarations of National Education Policy were made—one in 1968 and the next in 1979. A third in 1986.

Some more committees for assessment and appraisal also completed their work. Only a year ago the Central Ministry of Education formed two committees on School Education and Higher Education. We should, therefore, expect more positive developments in the near future.

CHAPTER VIII

Education under the five year plans

Even before independence, the National Congress had formed an Unofficial Planning Commission in 1938 when Subhas Chandra Bose was the Congress President. After independence planning, including educational planning was taken up in zest. We may discuss the plans in two parts—(i) *The Programmes*, and (ii) *The planned investments*.

The succession of planned Programmes

The first five year Plan (1951—56) : Central programmes—Emphasis upon Basic Education ; establishment of at least one Janta College in each state ; at least one polytechnic in each state ; audio visual unit at Central Institute of Education ; Advisory and Counselling centres ; Development of the Indian Institute of Science (Bangalore) and 14 Engineering Institutes.

State Govt Programmes—Opening of new primary schools, conversion of old primary schools into Basic Schools.

Opening of new secondary schools, preservation of and encouragement to “ideal” schools.

Opening of new Universities and Colleges

Technical Education—New schools for handicrafts and crafts ; conversion of craft schools into Junior Technical Schools ; Junior multipurpose schools ; Technical High Schools ; Industrial Schools ; Commerce Colleges.

Social Education : Libraries, physical education and programmes of youth welfare. Provisions for audio-visual education, and schools for literacy and adult education.

2nd five year plan (1956—61) : Primary Education—Continuation of conversion, stopping wastage and stagnation ; special attention to education of girls and recruitment of female teachers.

Secondary Education : Diversification ; Multipurpose and Junior Technical Schools ; improvement of teachers' emoluments ; Guidance programmes.

University Education—3 year degree course, upgrading standard, checking stagnation, better libraries and laboratories ; 7 new universities.

Technical Education : Development of Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur and also those at Bombay, Kanpur, Madras etc., and Dhanbad school of mines ; establishment of 9 Institutions for degree courses and 20 for Diploma courses ; intake at degree and diploma levels to be increased ; 10 Rural Institutes ; Development of Hindi.

3rd five year plan (1961—66) : More primary and basic schools ; Improvement of Secondary Multi-purpose schools.

12 new universities and betterment of teachers' salaries. Expansion of technical education,

4th five year plan (1969—74) : Emphasis on girls' education ; Removal of internal stresses and imbalance. Priority to the training of technical personnel. Reduction of drop out. Sustained effort for expansion of girls' education.

Correspondence courses in higher education.

5th five year plan (1974—79) : High priority to universalisation of primary education ; vocationalisation of secondary education ; *Consolidation and improvement of higher education* ; encouragement to advanced studies ; *consolidation of technical education*.

Non-formal education.

6th. five year plan (1981—86) :—No new universities ; new colleges only after making sufficient arrangement of resources ; rationalisation of existing provisions.

Extensive adult education drive ; functional literacy programme ; Labour Institutes ; Adult Education Departments in Universities ; National service scheme ; financial assistance to voluntary organisations engaged in adult education.

A few things come out clearly from an analysis of the plan objectives and programmes.

1. The same programme is repeated plan after plan, which means *nonfulfilment of objects*.

2. From the 4th plan onwards *reference to expansion is consistently avoided*, except in the case of primary education, girls' education and adult education.

In respect of Secondary education, University education, Technical education, the *persistent call is for consolidation* instead of expansion. This meant that our educational plans were entering into a *blind alley*.

In the first plan education accounted for 6·47% of total planned outlay. In the second plan it came down to 5%. In the third plan it was 6·9%, In the fourth plan it was 5·1% and in the 5th. plan it was 4·6%. Obviously targets remained far off.

Sixth Plan Outlay

Pre-primary education Rs. 25 crores

Primary Education = Rs. 2000 „

Secondary education = Rs. 450 „

Higher education = Rs. 600 „

Adult Education = Rs. 200 „

Cultural programmes = Rs 183 „

Technical Education = Rs. 170 „

Special features of the 6th plan were—

(i) A large scale attempt for functional literacy. and (ii) Non-formal education.

The amount of money was no doubt important. But it was not the crux of the problem. The main question was the determination of priorities. Attention to primary education has been consistently poor. That is why India has been labouring under the gruelling pressure of mass illiteracy and the non fulfilment of the Directive Principle of providing free, universal, compulsory education upto 14 years of age.

CHAPTER IX

Development of Primary Education Since 1947

Our assessment of success or failure, progress or stagnation in primary education should best be made in the context of the progressive philosophical, psychological, sociological and pedagogical principles as well as the systems and practices in the advanced countries. It is proper then to discuss what primary education should be and how it should be conducted.

Features of Primary Education

The stage of life between 6/7 years and 10/11 years forms the stage of primary education. During these years, the child attains a rapid physical growth, including body-weight, (The rate of growth, however, varies between boys and girls). Increased growth leads to increased activities. The mental characteristics of this stage have their peculiarities. Physical and mental features of children

Intimacy with friends and loyalty to group being a feature, the child may be led to moral or immoral practices by the nature of group life he is accustomed to live. The child also tries to go out of bounds of his limited home circle. He gets interested in material activities. Curiosity is a special feature of boyhood. Productive activities in society make him curious. At the same time, the child exhibits a love for humanity. Group spirit makes him easily involved in games and amusements. The early beginnings of abstract thinking are evident in the latter years of this stage. Time and space sense develops. Personal attachment to socially oriented values is a nature of his life. *A scheme of primary education should conform with these characteristic features of the concerned age group.*

There had, however, been a time when even primary education was reserved for a few of the upper social strata. In these modern days, on the other hand, it is considered to be a birth right of every child and it is a responsibility of the State to provide universal, free, compulsory primary education on terms of equality. The principle of 'Common School' has been accepted in practice by the socialist states and in theory by the others.

There are, however, some differences in the aims of primary education adopted in various countries. France places emphasis

upon rational understanding of things. In East Germany, socialised morality and efficiency is aimed at. England attaches value to healthy experiences and character formation. The U. S. A. has "skill-objectives" combined with human qualities and social activities. Russia wants the production of vigorous, active and socially motivated personality.

In ancient days, primary education in our country had its own aim although it had not been expounded with theoretical terminology. *Primary education was sought to be helpful to the practical life of rural society.* The ancient system was practically abolished with the advent of British rule and modern life. But no fresh wind blew for a long time. Primary education remained almost mooringless. Educational thinkers like Gandhiji or Rabindranath tried to rescue primary education from that rut.

In spite of the varying emphasis in respect of the aims as pursued in the different countries, *we may draw out some common elements viz.* to ensure physical health and vigour, to help the child's acquaintance with current life and society, to enhance individual skill and capacity to work, to help expression of the innate propensities in a healthy fashion, socialisation and character formation, citizenship training through activities, to foster imagination and thinking, and above all to establish a command of the fundamental tools of learning so that a solid base may be laid for the subsequent stages of education.

It is to be noted that this list of objectives does not include anything like intellectual excellence or mental discipline. Moreover, universality of primary education and the principle of common school necessarily increased the role of the State to provide free and compulsory education for all. Instead of an imposition of book-learning the modern trend prefers a healthy development of the child through the acquisition of some skills together with ethical and social human values in an atmosphere of freedom and self-directed activities. In fact, primary education must be *child-centric, life-centric and activity centric.*

A clear call for freedom of the child had been sounded by Rousseau. Rousseau's ideas were further organised and strengthened (with necessary modifications) by Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey and others. The concept of child-centricism has now been firmly

Aims of primary
education

Common ele-
ments in aims

Child centricism
& Life centricism

established. Theories of child-centricism are based on two premises that (i) the child is a living and growing entity with immense possibilities of development, and (ii) education is a natural process of self expression and self-development. Hence, *the child must be the centre of educational endeavour.*

An analysis of the constituents of child-centricism gives the following features—(a) Complete expression of the child's self in a social environment, (b) experience-centric and attractive curriculum conducive to self-expression, instead of abstract book learning, (c) Psychological methods of instruction rather than abstract and logical, (d) spontaneous expression of innate endowments, (e) activity-centric play-way education, (f) free discipline, (g) close relation between teacher and child, and (h) the school as a home and also as a miniature but improved society. The influence of sociology in the modern era has made it clear that the child's activities must be organised in a social setting and his experiences should be gathered from actual life situations. In fact, *child centric education and life centric education bear the same connotation to-day.*

The curriculum should obviously be so organised as to foster life-centric education. The basic tools of learning should feature prominently in the primary school curriculum, the intensity and span being determined by the chronological growth and mental development of the child in course of the few years of primary education. *The curriculum should be common for all with effective reflection of social life, living and practices. Subjects and activities should be so selected that equal emphasis be placed upon physical, intellectual and mental life through creative activities in a democratic setting. The mother-tongue, arithmetic with practical bias, history, (in story form), geography and social acquaintance through environmental studies, elementary physical and health sciences, physical training etc. need form the curriculum. Experience should be given through individual and collective activities, practical and creative work, as well as social services. In fact, activity-centricism should be the guide line.*

The organisation of the curriculum and syllabuses is of no mean importance. The child's mind is an indivisible whole. His experiences and knowledge should be wholistic and comprehensive. Whatever be the

Learning by
Doing :

be paid simultaneously to individual activity and group activity. The modern methods viz, Winnetka, Batavia, Decroly, Project etc, may be adopted with necessary modifications, particularly with the object of making them conform to the practical conditions of life and education in our country. Guidance is an essential ally of such methods.

Instruction, however, is no end in itself, because education is purposive. Whatever the sort and method, *an evaluation is necessary to assess whether curriculum had been conducive.*

Examination and Evaluation whether the educand had contributed any self-effort, whether he is fit to proceed to the next stage The evaluation must be simultaneously diagnostic and prognostic.

In spite of some reforms by the introduction of objective tests and oral tests, *our present system of examination fails to deliver the desired goods.* In England and elsewhere the total sessional work of the child is taken into consideration. Most of the advanced countries have abandoned external examination of primary school children and introduced a *grade credit system on cumulative basis.* This should be immediately adopted in our country too. In W. Bengal, however, primary final examination has been abandoned and no-detention for first 4 years has been admitted in principle.

Moreover, *Examination is not equivalent to Evaluation.* The former takes only "acquisition of knowledge" into consideration, while the latter seeks to measure the varied and total output in respect of physical and mental development including command of speech, aesthetic taste, cocurricular activities etc. Our attempt should be directed towards this end.

Effective evaluation is related with effective guidance in education. Primary education is a stage for universal, compulsory, common education continuously for a few years. At the end of this stage a

The need for Guidance section of the student population may seek employment (particularly as things stand today in our country), another section may enter vocational courses (Kothari Commission recommended compulsory drafting of 20%), and the rest may proceed to general secondary education. The task of educational administration is to *ensure smooth transition from one to the other.* An effective system of Guidance may fulfil this task. The role of guidance is not only to help any particular child to select a course of study or vocation (as is generally conceived), but to help an

all round development of each child concomitant with the process of education. Hence, guidance involves a wide concept implying the participation of teacher, counsellor, parents and medical or psychiatric personnel. *The process should be dynamic and continuous with the object of ensuring the gradual, natural, and even development of the child.* Guidance in the present social complexities is more needed because the present family life, the system of class teaching and other difficulties make any single agency insufficient. Guidance is necessary for individual good and also for social good. The individual aspect of guidance is required for educational development, for selection of vocation, for social adjustment. The social aspect is required for effective family life, citizenship, economic efficiency and social efficiency. *Hence the task of guidance may be divided into three aspects—Educational, Vocational and Adjustment Orientation.*

Guidance at the primary school stage should try to discover the child, help his self-development, and help him adjust with environment. For the vocational part, it should help the child's performances, acquisition of habits of work, development of manual dexterity and a co-operative spirit. The means to fulfil these tasks are total evaluation of the child on a cumulative basis in class and out of class situation. Detailed data collected by observation, testing and examination may give a total picture of each child, on the basis of which programmes for individual attention may be developed.

Observation of the child "in action" is best possible through co-curricular activities. *The one-time dichotomy between curricular and extra curricular activities no longer holds good.* The present tendency is even to abandon the idea of "Co-curricular" work, and to accept every sort of educationally productive activity as curricular activity.

Value of
Co-curricular
activities

Such activities are necessary to dispel monotony, to ensure health and healthy leisure time occupation, to enhance skill and socialisation. They fulfil the mental demands of the child by fostering innocent amusements in healthy group life. *They are socially productive,* because they teach the value of co-operation and develop individual qualities necessary for healthy social life. Proper sentiments, attitudes and values may develop through guided co-curricular activities.

The programme for co-curricular work should, therefore, have

equal bearing upon physical, mental and intellectual aspects of life. Sports and games, hobbies, excursions, literary activities, school self-govt, and a host of other types may be adopted in accordance with practical feasibilities.

Healthy co-curricular work may save the child from maladjustment. Maladjustment may be caused by physical as well as mental factors. Defects of sense organs, handicapped and crippled physique, defective nerves and glands and other congenital factors may cause maladjustment. Similarly, mental imbalance caused by psychic and emotional factors may cause maladjustment.

Maladjustment finds expression in habit disorder, emotional disorder, academic disorder, behavioural disorder and ill mental health. Whatever the mode, the *expression of unnatural behaviour in a social and educational environment is an unmistakable sign of maladjustment.* Unsatisfied desires do cause maladjustment because the individual adopts compensatory behaviour to get a perverted satisfaction. Such perversions may be caused by broken family life, excessive license or excessive repression, unhealthy social environment, inner contradiction etc. In fact, maladjustment creates 'problem children' inspite of their intellectual endowments.

Safety and proper development of the child depends upon solution of his conflicts, healthy fulfilment of his desires and effective guidance.

The task must be jointly shouldered by the home, the school and the guidance services. The responsibility of the teacher as the direct manipulator of the educational environment stands supreme.

(We may, on the background of these discussions, take a stock of the development of primary education since independence.)

What we inherited !!

After independence we started with a burst of enthusiasm with the expectation that all our aspirations would be fulfilled and internal and external problems of education solved. What had been the state of affairs in 1947 ?

(1) We had inherited a colonial system of education established by the British rulers to facilitate their exploitation and to produce efficient servants of probity. Free India required to change the very nature and objectives of education in keeping with the national

aspiration of a democratic republic advancing with national urge for all round progress.

(2) The unscientific curriculum for the then education had no relation with life situation. The methods of instruction were old and traditional. Entire school life, including syllabuses, instructions and administration was dictated by the nightmare of examination. We required to change all these.

(3) Technical and vocational education had been ill developed. The few institutions that existed, had not attained due social status. Individual differences and needs of diversified education were least attended to.

(4) There was no *state* obligation to provide education for all the citizens. Even primary education was not universal or compulsory or free. Expansion of education had been throttled by a thousand devices. Religious, class and caste differences had perforated the educational life of the people. The entire system smarted under the domination of English. In fact, *there was no existence of a national system of education*. We had to start with an aspiration to build one.

Reform was Imperative

After independence we started with a motivation to reform and improve the system. The Constitution recognised State responsibility in certain aspects of education. Control was divided between the Central and State authorities. The objective of universal compulsory primary education upto an age limit was formally adopted. It was decided to pay special attention to the education of women, the handicapped and the backward classes and communities,

Development of Primary Education

To make our analysis scientific and worth-while we should start with a reference to the evolution of our ideas about primary education.

The remnants of the ancient Indian system of primary education had survived till the 18th Century. But early 19th Century witnessed its practical extinction, particularly after the adoption of the

Historical
retrospect Downward Filtration policy which was its death
knell. Primary education began to wither away due
to neglect. But this could not continue for long.
Under the impact of objective realities, a changed policy became

apparent during Lord Hardinge. Lord Dalhousie added a fresh impetus. The attitude of Indian leaders also became positive. The Govt's duty to primary education was recognised in the Despatch of 1854.

But a real beginning in modern primary education in India was made in 1882. Thereafter, the National Education Movement forced the nation to turn its attention to the need for mass education. The Gokhale Bill in the Central Legislature was a reflection of the then national spirit. The expansion and development of primary education really began with the passing of provincial Primary Education Acts. The Hartog Committee suggested reform of primary education, its curriculum and the plugging of wastage and stagnation. And lastly Gandhiji's Basic Education was accepted as a national pattern of primary education. It is to be noted, however, that inspite of these stages in the development of modern primary education in India, the question of free compulsory universal primary education remained an open question till 1947.

Efforts to introduce Compulsion

As early as 1835, Rev. Adam had suggested one primary school compulsorily in every village. Mahatma Phule of Bombay had been conscious about the need for universal compulsion. The objective condition, however, had not yet been favourable. In 1852, Capt. Wingate, the Revenue Survey Commissioner of Bombay suggested taxation for the education of the children of peasant population. In 1858, Mr. T. C. Hope suggested tax-supported primary schools.

The problem, however, acquired gradual clarity after 1882. The Hunter Commission received appeals and suggestions in this respect. In 1884, the Asst. Inspector of Broach suggested compulsion. In 1885 (the very year of inception) the national Congress adopted a resolution on mass education. Chimanlal Shitalvad and Ibrahim Rahmatullah organised an agitation in Bombay. Compulsory primary education was first introduced in the native State of Baroda, but Gokhale's Bill was turned down by the officially dominated Central Legislature. The provincial acts also reflected half-heartedness and unnecessary compromise. Upto 1947, therefore, only partial, half-hearted and infructuous attempts had been made for compulsory primary education.

Causes of failure were not far to seek. A prime cause lay in the filtration theory. The second major cause was the absence of an urge of a foreign ruling power. That is why compulsive acts were not passed. When expansion was more required, the attention was more turned to qualitative "improvement." The weakness of the national movement was no less responsible. Higher English education had created a gulf between the "classes" and the "masses." The weight of English language was a heavy obstacle. And when consciousness dawned, the administrative obstructions and bunglings blocked the way.

This state of affairs continued even after independence. While in the progressive countries primary education gets $\frac{2}{3}$ or even $\frac{3}{4}$ of the education budget, the proportion is much less in our country. Our primary education is infested with a thousand problems. (1) A good many villages in India have no schools. (2) There are problems of housing, equipment, teacher recruitment, training and emoluments etc. (3) There is the vital problem of life-oriented curriculum. (4) Wastage and stagnation constitute a stumbling block. (5) Adult illiteracy affects primary education adversely. (6) There is defect in the system of financial provisions and marshalling of resources. (7) Growth of population by about 2% a year puts a heavy burden upon resources and creates imbalance.

Development of Primary Education under the Plans

Primary education, inspite of countless hurdles, made considerable progress under the 5 year plans. Article 45 of the Directive Principles of the Constitution had made a time-bound promise to provide universal, free and compulsory education for children upto 14, in a 10 year period i.e. within 1960. The promise has fallen through and the target has not been reached even after 38 years. Yet, the constitutional admission of the State's responsibility is of great value. Primary education is a State Subject although the States receive financial assistance from the Union Govt. and the said Govt. is committed in constitutional terms to achieve compulsion.

Inspite of the lamentable failure to fulfil the constitutional obligation, the expansion of primary education in India since 1947 is a matter of fact. The following data may be referred to.

Percentage of age group 6-11 attending school—

1946-47 =	30%
1955-56 =	52.1%
1965-66 =	76.4%
1974-75 =	85.3%
1985 =	about 93%

It is said that universal primary education will be effected in the course of the 7th plan.

Basic Education

Over emphasis upon Basic Education actually hindered the expansion of primary education for some years. After independence, the Basic pattern was accepted as the national pattern of primary education. All new schools were planned to be Basic schools.

Assessment & Amendment
All old schools were planned to be reconditioned and altered. A craft was made compulsory in all primary schools. It was decided to prepare Basic-pattern Text Books and to introduce Basic-pattern teacher-training. An assessment committee suggested in 1955 that Basic schools should be given equal status with General schools, and Basic education should be declared a stepping stone to higher education. It also suggested a linkage with Community Development Projects, and University level post graduate teacher education in the Basic method. A National Institute of Basic Education was formed and charged with the task of conducting researches in curricula, text book, crafts & equipment, examination etc.

Experience, however, taught us to admit that instead of fixing upon a particular craft, various useful handicrafts like spinning, weaving, gardening, carpentry, leather work, book binding, pottery, domestic work etc. should be accepted as "Basic Craft". Integration with natural and social setting should be essentially insisted upon.

In pursuance of these recommendations, the majority of States brought about a uniformity between "primary" education and "basic" education. Yet, basic education could not attain that success as had been expected. *Gandhiji's idealism and philosophical content and the nature of basic education as had been imagined by him have been sacrificed to a great extent.* There is no denying that basic education effected little impression upon the nation and brought about the least revolutionary change in our total

Lacking spirit :

educational pattern. There is no secret in the fact that our educational planners and administrators who conducted loud propaganda in favour of basic education actually spared their own children. Basic education became education for the poor, particularly the rural poor while English education remains education for the rich. A four-fold increase of primary-type schools at a time when the basic school was accepted as the national model is an explicit proof of the failure of basic education.

During the sixties, attention to 'basic education' decreased persistently. Popular enthusiasm gradually receded. Faced with the problem of multiplying schools for "expanding" primary education to fulfil the constitutional obligation, the troubled authorities could least discriminate between ordinary primary education and Gandhian basic education. They adopted the principle of "shortest cut"

This failure had its *intrinsic and extrinsic reasons*. Basic education was costlier. The integrated curriculum could not provide room for all the proposed "subjects of study". The present system of teacher-training did not produce teachers capable of handling such an integrated curriculum. Text books in the truly basic pattern were not available. Over emphasis upon Hindi had not been likable to all the states. For some years the complete relegation of English was also not favourably accepted. Equality of status with primary education and proper integration with secondary education had been thorny problems for some years. Real application of craft-centric education in most of ordinary basic schools was farcical. Moreover, attachment to cottage crafts in these day of industrial production could create little impression upon national mind. In fact, Basic Education acquired least popularity in urban areas. Although there had been curricular reforms, and the principle of activity-centricism replaced craft-centricism, yet the selected activity could attain least integration with the socio-economic current of local life.

Failure being apparent, the authorities adopted a policy of hasty retreat by propagating a *compromise between "primary pattern and "basic" pattern of education*. Recommendations of Kothari Commission, however, came to the rescue of educational planners and administrators.

Kothari Commission comes to rescue :

The essence of the Commission's view is that no particular stage or method of education need be termed as "basic". Productive activity which is the central theme of basic education should permeate the spirit of education at all stages. "Work Experience" is, thus, the Commission's name for productive practice correlated with theory.

Other Features of Advancement

While in 1950-51, the number of training institutions for primary school teachers had been 782 and 58·8% of working teachers were trained, the number of colleges, as per recent data has been more than doubled and the all India average for teachers' training has exceeded 80% (although with great variations from State to State). Acts for compulsory primary education have been passed in the majority of States. In some of the States integration has been achieved with C.D. Projects. There is, on the all India average, one school for every 3·14 sq. mile area i.e. one school for every 300 of population. (The reality and tenability of such a claim, as well as the propriety of distribution of such schools is, however, questioned by field workers). Primary education is now by and large "free" through out India, although it is not yet compulsory.

Finance and Administration

The Union Govt. has a *moral* responsibility in regard to primary education in as much as the implementation of the Constitutional directive ultimately rests in the Central authority. The principle of

Role of the Union Govt. : "Common School" has been recommended by the Kothari Commission and incorporated in the National Policy on Education declared by the Union Govt.

The duty to remove imbalance between States and to the implementation of the Common School principle also vest in the Central Govt. There are Central agencies for advice, planning and research. The Central Govt. also offers financial assistance to States under "planned" and ordinary heads.

Constitutionally, however, primary education is a State subject. The Union Govt. is responsible for such education in Union Territories for which there are local departments, officers and A State subject : inspectorate. Funds for these areas come from local budget and cess supplemented by Central subsidy.

In the territorial jurisdiction of the state, it is the prerogative of the State Govt. to enforce legislations and rules, administer, finance and control primary education. The task is conducted by the State Dept. of Education manned by the D. P. I. and the Inspectorate. Some of the states have State Boards of Primary Education. The expenses are borne from revenue receipts supplemented by education cess. Financial assistance is provided under "general budget" and 'Plan' heads. It is to be mentioned, however, that the inclusion of education in the concurrent list of powers made Presidential assent necessary even to primary education acts passed by state legislatures.

Although the State Govt. is the ultimate authority, the administration is decentralised in differential degrees in all the States. The administration is stratified at District, Tehsil, Town, Panchayat levels. The forms, powers and functions as well as resources of these administrative units differ from State to State.

Role of Local
authorities :

General Problems of Primary Education

Primary education in India, therefore, has innumerable problems, with slight variations from State to State. We may draw a short list of them, viz (1) The objective of primary education is not as progressive, dynamic and practically oriented as it should have been, and as it could encourage the parents and children with its worthwhileness (2) The curriculum is not scientific yet. It is still dry, narrative and inert. It is not based upon interest of the child. Absence of flexibility does not make it helpful to self learning. (3) Defects in curriculum and syllabus is squarely reflected in the text books. Production of uninteresting texts and their maldistribution has been the order of the day, (4) The language policy (with sole emphasis upon the mother tongue) is also not uniform. (5) In spite of a system of teacher training, the methods of teaching are traditional in the majority of schools, particularly the schools provided for "free" education. (6) Most of the schools are not equipped with necessary furniture, equipment and teaching aids. (7) Co-curricular activity is but an idea. (8) Child-health is rarely cared for. School meals or tiffin depend nearly upon the contributions of humanitarian organisations and foreign aids. (9) There is almost total absence of child guidance to guard against maladjustment of children. (10) The traditional pattern

of "examination" and promotion, together with other causes leads to wastage and stagnation on a large scale. (11) The problem of teacher-requirement and training is complex. The availability of better educated youngmen and women for teaching jobs in primary schools is a growing feature. More than 50% of teachers at present are post-Matriculates and a large number of them are undergraduates or graduates. But the extent of training varies widely from State to State. Training colleges (taking the Indian picture as a whole) are insufficient in numbers. The training courses are dominantly theoretical. The teacher-pupil ratio is contrary to the desired standard. The service conditions adversely affect the job-worthiness of teachers. (12) The absence of requisite land, buildings and provisions of games and physical education is almost shameful. (13) The problem of expansion *with common school practice* and higher standard guaranteed by better administration and control needs little mention. (14) And to crown everything, the provision of finances in these days of rocketting price, fall far short of the need, particularly because of the fact that universal compulsion, even in the ordinary sense of the term, has not been achieved.

Some of the causes need a bit of analysis. *The causes of failure are social, economic, political and pedagogic in nature.*

(1) *The social causes* include the age-old backwardness of certain communities, castes and tribes created by a long history of exploitation and sub-human existence. Illiteracy of parents, conservative social usages and customs, discrimination against girls (including their early marriage) intensify the crisis. Population has been growing by about 2% a year while educational provisions are staggering behind. The physical problems created by lack of roads and transport in the rural areas and the mental reservation against co-education are no less responsible. Statistical returns show that while the average percentage of children (boys and girls together) receiving primary education in India is about 93, the percentage of girls is as low as 60.

(2) *The pedagogic failures* should be squarely admitted. Primary education must be integrated with the life of the people. The absence of such integration leads to absence of urge. This together with economic and social causes leads to huge wastage and stagnation. The following figures will give a concrete picture of *wastage*.

Out of 100 children in class I

61.2 boys & 56.6 girls reach class II

51.2 boys & 45.1 „ „ „ III

44.3 boys & 35.5 „ „ „ IV

and not even 40% of children reach class VI

It is surely a great wastage of time, human energy and resources.

Stagnation, the other method of loss is also heavy.

40.3% of boys and 47.0% of girls are not promoted to class II.

26.6% „ 33% „ „ „ „ class III.

22.6% „ 26.6% „ „ „ „ class IV.

21.7% „ 25.7% „ „ „ „ class V.

16.4% „ 19.8% „ „ „ „ class VI.

At the primary stage there is a heavy *concentration of children in class I*, because a heavy percentage of children fail to adjust with school life and therefore have to recur in that class. It is also to be noted that failure of girls is more apparent. This is not because of an inferiority of girls, but because of inferior attention paid to them by the parents and the society.

Primary education *should be functional in nature*. The knowledge content should be integrated with environmental socio-economic life. In this respect the failure of our rigid curriculum is vitally responsible.

(3) The most tragic failure on the *economic* front is that budgetary provisions have been meagre. While primary education has the biggest claim to public finances, very often funds earmarked for primary education were diverted to other purposes. Budgetary cuts have been a regular feature. The Local Bodies did seldom exert themselves for proper assessment and collection of education cess and never took initiative to augment resources by other means. Budgetary grants were considerably consumed by building or other non-recurring activities. Moreover, the growing cost of living, particularly the incidental costs in education has been adversely affecting not only the paying capacity but also the spirit of the poor. And above all, *child labour* is still prevalent. Parents in the urban slum areas and poor rural areas have to let their children earn their own living in the prime of life. And the society simply condemns the delinquent children and considers its duty as done.

For *social service at this stage*, the list of activities would include school development work, public health and community development work. *Work-experience* would include cane and bamboo craft, leather work, pottery, weaving, gardening or farm work. *Examinations* should be internal on cumulative basis. Oral testing should be added to written examination. District-wise competitive examinations may be held with the object of evaluating the standard of education. Even in that case, certificates and cumulative cards would be issued by the school authorities. Such examinations may also be held on a voluntary basis to select candidates for scholarships.

The commission opined that like the 'A' course in England, a *superior syllabus* may be provided for the meritorious children. For those who would not proceed to formal secondary education, provisions should be made for alternative *part-time vocational courses*. Admission to such courses should, at the initial stage, be voluntary. But the target should be fixed at vocational courses for 20% by 1985-86.

The problem of providing the necessary numbers of Upper Primary Schools would be much more acute than the same at lower primary stage. Many new schools would be required. The commission, therefore, *phased the admission programme*.

Progress under the Plans

But the failure of these expectations is already a fact, as will be proved by the following data.

	Expenditure	Coverage of children (percentage)
1st Plan	85 crore rupees	52.1%
2nd Plan	95 " "	62.4%
3rd Plan	179 " "	76.4%
4th Plan	117.87 " "	target 85.9% (6.88 crore children).

(This was less than 25% of provisions for Education)

It was claimed that 100% of age group 6-11 only might be provided with schooling facilities at the end of the 5th plan.

5th Plan outlay 743 " "

Target 100% intake (which however did not materialise).

6th " 2000 (including 500 crores capital expenditure)

As yet achievement 93% intake

CHAPTER X

Development of Secondary Education Since 1947

As we did in the case of primary education, so we should in the case of secondary education, i.e., start with a general discussion on the nature of secondary education.

The phase of secondary education is the *middle stage of full-length formal education*. At the end of the stage, a section of students may pursue vocational courses, a second section may proceed to higher education, and the rest may not pursue an educational career at all.

Hence secondary education should be planned as *terminal education* imparting an amount of knowledge and skill which would enable the students to proceed to the next higher stage of education or to the employment market.

Secondary education had, in the olden days, been academic and intellectual education for the fortunate few. But the modern concept is 'secondary education for all.' After 4/5 years of primary education,

secondary education now stretches for another period of 7/8 years (11—17/18 age group) i.e. upto the pre-adult stage of life. The period of adolescence, being now considered the period of secondary education which should be open to all, the pattern of school organisation or curricular formation should take the needs of the adolescent into consideration.

Adolescence is characterised by some physical and psychic features viz *increased physical strength* and heightened activity of nerves and muscles, greater physical powers and working-capacity, greater vigour and agility etc. Distinctive physical signs

prove the advent of a new stage of life. This physical growth leads to the need for better food and nourishment, short of which the adolescent falls a prey to consumptive diseases. *Changes occur also in the mental world*. Reasoning and thinking, and reliance on practical experience is a typical mental feature. At the same time, however, hero worship and love of aesthetic beauty help the adolescent to wade through worldly ugliness. *Emotional exuberance* is no less important. The adolescent develops a

positive self-feeling as well as negative self feeling, elation as well as depression, love of reality as well as day dreaming. Such instability in the adolescent's emotional world may lead to mental conflicts if not sufficient care is taken. Sex impulses which develop at this stage of life may introduce further complexities in the mental and emotional life. The adolescent exhibits intense emotionalism as well as intense group-feeling. Through self-sacrifice and social service, he seeks a self-fulfilment.

These apparently contradictory characteristics of adolescence made Stanley Hall to call it a period of "storm and stress". This period is also called a period of "sunshine and shower." While programming education of the adolescent, the Hadow Committee in England remarked that the ship of life might set sail successfully, if properly tackled. If not, a ship wreck was inevitable. Obviously, the education of the adolescent *i.e. secondary education must take into account the needs of the adolescent period of life.*

The needs may be summed up as—(i) *Care and nourishment of body-mind-intellect* : (physical care may be provided in the form of physical exercises, games & sports etc.), (ii) *Care of the emotional life* with the object of attaining proper sublimation and emotional balance ; (engagement in joyful and creative activities may lead to sublimation) ; (iii) *Proper nourishment of intellect* ; (the adolescent may question the traditional values, may develop queries about the phenomenal as well as spiritual world, may try to understand the society and seek his own place in it. Hence, a wide intellectual field should be kept open before him so that he may analyse and compare things by the exercise of his own rationality) (iv) *Proper attention to social life* ; (the adolescent develops an intense social feeling and desires to serve the society. He will grow into adulthood and be a full-fledged citizen. Hence social values of co-operation, morality and social efficiency must be brought home to the adolescent.

These aims are not attainable through 'discipline'—physical and mental. The responsibility of the agencies of education is tremendous. The system of secondary education must provide the proper environment for intellectual, physical and social nourishment, so that through joyful and meaningful activity the adolescent may pass on to creative adulthood.

Remarkable individual differences are exhibited during adolescence.

Differences occur in (a) physical formation, (b) emotional expressions, (c) sense perceptions, (d) intellectual acuity etc.

Individual Differences The differences are partially caused by innate endowments and partially by environmental influences.

Ideals, sentiments, attitudes differ widely from person to person. Such differences may be subjected to measurement by modern techniques. If we recognise such differences, we cannot recommend the same type of education for all the adolescents. The concept of diversified education with the object of taking individual differences and possibilities into account is a contribution of the modern educational thoughts.

But extreme individuation is contrary to the principle of social cohesion. Obviously, the educational programme for the adolescent *must serve the needs of the individual as well as the demands of the society*. These ideas have found due recognition in the modern principles of curriculum construction for secondary education.

Evolution of Ideas about Secondary Education

In the pre-modern days, the Latin Grammar Schools had been the secondary schools in most of the European Countries. With emphasis upon classics and ancient literature in their curricula, these schools responded to the needs of the aristocracy, the question of secondary education for the ordinary "plebeian" child being completely absent. After the Renaissance, however, attachment to mother tongue and national culture began to develop. And 18th Century Enlightenment introduced a scientific trend in secondary education. Mother tongue, Mathematics and the Sciences found place in the curriculum together with Philosophy and ancient languages. Further changes occurred in the 19th Century. With the advent of industrial economy the need was felt for more dynamic, practical and objective type of secondary education.

Meanwhile, the growth of the democratic ideals also influenced the concept of secondary education. The demand for "secondary education as a universal right" became gradually irresistible. Women and working people came into the focus. Curriculum had to be oriented under pressure of the new trends. The findings of biology, physiology psychology and sociology could not but influence secondary education.

taneously they must have *utility value* in social and national life. The curriculum may be diversified and some vocational bias may be infused, but *this is no stage for extreme specialisation*.

Secondary school curriculum in India upto 1956 had been narrow, bookish, one sided and academic in nature. It had not recognised the fact of individual differences. The Mudaliar Commission brought about a change by the Core-Periphery system and by the streaming of studies. But this scheme was infested with the inherent danger of mechanical application and early specialisation. The principle of selection and guidance was defeated in the process of bureaucratic implementation of the scheme.

The Kothari Commission had to reconsider the entire question and retrieve the situation by making a few vital suggestions that, (i) education upto the lower secondary stage should be general and common for all, (ii) vocational courses should be offered parallel with 'academic' courses and should be treated as secondary education, (iii) the higher secondary stage should provide for free selection of subjects, (iv) streamwise division of studies should be abandoned, (v) an element of vocationalisation and socialisation should be infused at this stage, and (vi) the curriculum may be constructed at ordinary and advanced levels.

Co-curricular Work

Curricular work and co-curricular work should go together. In selecting the types of co-curricular activities, attention should be paid to the psychological peculiarities of adolescence. Productive and socialised co-curricular activities may save the children from delinquency and unhealthy gang influence. The selected activities should have pedagogical, social and moral implications. Moreover, student-welfare services should be tagged with co-curricular activities.

Unfortunately, however, *provision of co-curricular work is scanty in our country*. Science Club, Hobby Club, House System are recent additions to Scout and Guide movements. Occasionally some social functions or cultural competitions are organised. The provisions demand vital and immediate improvements.

Guidance in Secondary Education

Scientific curriculum and successful utilisation of the same by adoleseing children demands the help of guidance. The young

traveller on the road to life requires help to select the proper path. To render such help is the task of guidance.

Guidance may be educational with the object of helping the child select the most suited courses of study, and *it may be vocational* with the object of helping him to select the best suited vocation. Guidance will not solve the problems of particular children only. It is necessary for all children. The process of guidance being inseparable from the process of education, the work will be all-embracing so much so that the children will be placed under constant and continuous study in school and out of school, in class and in play fields. At the individual level, the task of guidance will consist of (i) aid to build up a balanced family and social life, (ii) help to use time properly, (iii) help to select the future course of action, (iv) supply information about financial assistance, (v) keep watch on the child's health, and (vi) help to develop an organised personality. The guidance programme should look after the need of the gifted children equally with the needs of the retarded. No education being un purposive, the work of guidance is to draw out the maximum benefit from the educational situation.

Types of School

Diversification having been an accepted principle of secondary education in many countries, a variety of schools has been a natural development. England has a few types like the Modern School, the Technical High School, the Grammar School, Comprehensive School, Bilateral School etc. America has Agricultural, Commercial, Domestic Science and Technical High schools apart from the most common Comprehensive school.

In India too there are different types of secondary schools which may be classified on the basis of curricular provisions as well as ownership basis. (a) There are separate schools for boys and girls as well as co-educational schools, (b) Morning, Day, Evening or Residential schools. (c) schools maintained by the Govt. (d) schools with English medium and with Regional language as media, and (g) Junior secondary, Secondary, Higher Secondary types of schools.

Examination

The question of examination is inseparable from the educative process. In many other countries basic reforms of examination have been effected. In spite of our recognition of need, very little has so far

been done. The system and pattern of examination established by the British rulers still continues with slight changes in details. Changes in the art of questioning have been recently attempted. Defects of Examination Yet, essay type questioning, suggestion mongering and unfair means are still rampant. A gradation or a point-scale has not gone into practice. Students are not allowed to elect 'subjects for examination'. The requirement of 'pass' in every subject or groups of subjects and pass in aggregate causes huge casualties.

To retrieve the situation, Kothari Commission suggested two terminal examinations at the end of class X and at the end of class XII. The examination should be processed at two levels. The certificate should simply mention the score for each subject. The student may achieve success in all subjects by compartmental examinations. The recommendations, however, are still partly 'suggestions'.

On the basis of the above discussion we may trace the development in our country.

Historical retrospect : As discussed earlier, modern secondary education began in the 19th century as (1) education of the upper classes with (2) Western content and (3) English as medium. Till the middle of the 19th century, there was absence of an integrated system of education, together with a system of administration. In consequence of the Despatch of 1854, a State system was established and subsequently controlled by the Dept. of Education through the Grant-in-aid process.

Taking advantage of Grants, and under the impact of fast growing national consciousness, modern secondary education achieved rapid expansion and thereby created its own problems in respect of curriculum and administration. Early measures in this direction were suggested by the Hunter Commission. It allowed priority to non-official Indian enterprise and recommended the introduction of parallel academic and practical courses.

Obstacles to the expansion of secondary education were partly removed by the Hunter Commission. Considerably repaid expansion of education thereafter gave rise to the twin problems of (i) erosion of standards and (ii) crisis of unemployment because of the domination of one way, university-oriented, academic education. Lord Curzon

sought to achieve qualitative improvement and quantitative control through stringent administration. His efforts were, however, defeated by the simultaneous National Education Movement which in its turn created the urge for educational reforms.

The first positive recommendations for reforms were made by the Sadler Commission. Thereafter various committees viz. Hartog Committee, Abbot-Wood Committee offered suggestion in quick succession. And lastly, the Sargent Committee presented a comprehensive plan of reforms. Basic reforms were, however, not implemented till 1947,

After 1947

The first committee of experts to speak about secondary education after independence was the Tarachand Committee (1948-49). Contemporaneously with it, the Rai Choudhury Committee in West Bengal suggested reformation of secondary education. There was also the Narendra Dev Committee for U. P. The Universities Commission, 1948-49 (Radhakrishnan Commission) also made illuminating remarks on secondary education. The cumulative effect of these developments was the institution of the *Secondary Education Commission* (1952-53) i.e. Mudaliar Commission to make recommendations on all aspects. On the basis of their recommendations the Higher Secondary Scheme was introduced in 1956. And lastly came Kothari Commission (Reference may be made to Chapter VI for details of reports of all these Commissions.)

Progress of Secondary Education Under the Plans

Contrary to the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission as well as the preceding Committees and Commissions and the succeeding De Committee for a 12 year school course, the "experts" on the *Central Advisory Board of Education* (C.A.B.E) simply reduced the length while retaining the pattern and weight of curricular studies. Many of the subsequent problems originated therein. The amended 11 year school education scheme was implemented with effect from the 2nd Plan period. In spite of many pitfalls, secondary education made some headway in course of the Plans. The following figures stand self-evident. Number of Secondary Schools in India in 1947 was 12693. Figures (subsequent) are :

(a) Lower Primary	1976-77				
Percentage of 11-14 group covered	12.7	16.5	22.5	29.5	41.4
(b) Percentage of the 14-17 group covered	5.3	7.8	11.7	15.0	24.0
(c) Percentage of teachers trained—					
(i) Lower Secondary	84.9				
(ii) Secondary + H.S.	81.2				
(d) Number of students	1.84 crores				
	and				
	1.03 crores				
(e) Expenditure under the Plans—					
1st. Plan = 20 crore rupees.	3rd. Plan = 103 crore rupees.				
2nd „ = 51 „ „	4th „ = 126.05 „ „				
5th „ = 241 „ „	6th „ = 268.00 „ „				

For the administration of secondary education there is an All India Council (attached to the C.A.B.E) and State Boards. The Municipalities are not debarred by law from undertaking the task of providing secondary education in urban areas. Very little, however, has been done in this respect.

An Assessment

Some measures were no doubt adopted ostensibly for qualitative improvement, as a matter of principle. (1) Secondary education has, in our country too, been accepted as "education for the adolescent."

Achievements We also accepted (at least in our declarations) the principle of "secondary education for all." But our goal is not in sight. Universal secondary education in India is still a dream, and it may not be a reality even in a quarter of a century next.

(2) We have adopted a more progressive aim of secondary education than it had been in British days.

(3) Some scientific modern tendencies in education viz. democratic, economic and social aspects of education and a positive attitude towards technical and vocational education were reflected in the pattern of education.

But failures and drawbacks outweigh these positive features. (1) The length of higher secondary education was reduced by one year (in contravention of commission and committee suggestions), while the

weight of subject contents was not proportionately reduced. (2) Syllabuses for different subjects became inordinately long and bookish. (3) Correlation between subjects (as had been suggested by Mudaliar Commission) was not provided and every subject remained independent. (4) The examination system was not failures basically reformed. Heaviness of syllabuses and shortness of time combined with each other to force cramming upon students. (5) Teaching-learning process remained traditional. (6) Practice was seldom combined with theory. (7) Co-curricular activities and education for leisure could least be attended to. (8) The selection of a definite 'stream' at the end of class VIII and unchangeable pursuit of the track was psychologically and pedagogically unscientific. (9) The system could not be life-centric. Meagre scope of vocational education forced the students to throng at the gate of the university, although many of the stream-wise subjects were not offered at the collegiate level. On the other hand proper integration with primary education also remained unachieved. (10) In short, higher secondary education of Mudaliar pattern could neither be preparatory education for a higher stage, nor a terminal education preparing for life.

There were defects also in administration and organisation. Selection of location for new schools had been either unplanned or subject to interests other than educational. Wide differences existed between provisions in urban and rural areas, causing inequality in educational opportunity. Teacher recruitment had been faulty. The incidence of teacher-training varied from state to administrative failures state, between 30% and 90%. Unscientific selection of streams under Mudaliar Scheme led to erosion of standards. In the matter of school management, the uncoordinated policies of multiple authorities viz Govt Dept, Secondary Education Board, Managing Committees and parents' councils had been a daily experience. All these factors explain why immediately after the introduction of H. S. Scheme, voices were raised for fresh reforms. The demand became persistent. Reforms were suggested by Kothari Commission.

Numerical progress has surely been achieved. But the pace of girls' education has not been at it could be expected. Even very recently there were, at the lower primary stage, only 35 girls for

every 100 boys. 78% girls attended boys' schools (mostly in rural areas), 26% of candidates at the H. S. examination were girls.

Economic and social causes force children to give up secondary education. The percentage of students in class VI was found to be 22.6% of what it had been in class I. Defective syllabus, teaching methods and examination cause tremendous wastage. 14% of boys and 17.3% of girls recur in class VI. The figures for classes VIII are boys 14.2% and girls 16.4%. For a few years in the seventies 50% pass in higher secondary education had been acclaimed as "good".

In spite of all these defects, some attempts were made in the first four plans to establish 'free' secondary education. Free education for both boys and girls was provided in Andhra, Jammu-Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Karnatak, Gujrat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Panjab etc. Free education 'for girls only' had been provided in Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Behar and West Bengal till 1977. West Bengal provided free education for the whole length of secondary education for both boys and girls after 1977. Recently the Central Govt promised free education for girls upto Class XII. Various other advantages were offered in the States. Meanwhile the Kothari Commission made far reaching recommendations (discussed in Chapter VI).

Some General Problems of Secondary Education in India

Secondary education in India is infested with many problems, a few of which may be discussed here. These problems are of general nature and are common to all the States in variant degrees of depth and nature.

(A) *The Problem of Language* has two facets, language as medium of instruction, and languages that should find place in the curriculum. The first question has by now been solved in favour of the *Mother Tongue*. It should however be noted that English medium secondary education has now been more prevalent and extensive than it had been under British Raj. Commercial value and job worthiness of English, advantageous position of English in higher education of a technical nature, facilities of foreign tours with a command of English are some of the reasons thereof. Class distinction in education has made English a medium of education for the better off classes. It has become an insignia for social status. In fact,

"English Education" has acquired more of an economic value than a cultural value. A reaction to this, however, is already evident.

The second question is related to the determination of the *number of languages to be learnt* and selection of those languages. Under British Rule, English had been the medium of instruction. The mother tongue and a classical languages had been given the second and third positions respectively. By the time of Provincial Autonomy, the Mother Tongue was given the first place, English the second and classical language the third. *Although mother tongue was made the medium, the importance of English remained as before.*

The situation was slightly altered after independence. The claim of an All India State Language was added to the claim of the earlier three. Controversies took no time to ensue and generate sufficient heat. The *Mudaliar Commission recommended a three language formula for secondary education* i.e. (i) Mother Tongue (or the Regional language), (ii) English and (iii) Hindi. A classical language might also be taken on elective basis. This formula was, in general terms, applied with slight amendments in different States. In West Bengal, for example, the formula became (i) Mother tongue all through the school stage, (ii) English from Class V all through, (iii) Hindi at the Junior Secondary stage only, and (iv) Sanskrit (compulsorily) in the two upper grades of junior secondary education. But controversies did not die down and the status of English continued to create rancour.

The *Kothari Commission recommended a new and improved three-language formula* with Mother Tongue, Hindi and English. It suggested—(a) Only mother tongue (or regional language) at the lower primary stage (b) addition of Hindi or English at the Upper Primary stage, (c) Mother tongue, Hindi or English and one modern Indian language (other than the mother tongue) or any modern European language at the lower secondary stage, (d) Mother tongue and one of the other languages listed in (c) at the higher secondary stage. (e) A classical language might be electively taken from class VIII.

Evidently the Commission disfavoured English before class V, suggested only elective study of the classics and recommended 3 languages at the lower secondary and 2 at the higher secondary stages. The language burden would gradually rise and then fall in the fashion—
1—2—3—2.

This formula, after being discussed at the State Education Ministers' Conference, Central Advisory Board and Education Committee of the Parliament, was incorporated in the National Policy Resolution on Education with the suggestion that apart from Mother Tongue and English, the third language should be *Hindi in the non-Hindi regions and any other modern Indian language (preferably a Southern one) in the Hindi speaking regions.*

The application of this formula has, however, been half-hearted. The importance of English is still considered dominant for practical purposes. The third language is seldom given any importance. Hindi acquired an unimpressive position. Compulsory Sanskrit simply satisfied a fad.

It should be remembered that *monolingual education is seldom possible these days.* In most of the progressive countries two or three languages are offered compulsorily or optionally at the secondary stage. Language learning need not be frightful if the proper method of effective instruction in all the subjects, at all the stages, be available and followed. The crisis in our country may be greatly relieved through standard text books in the regional languages and if such languages are given due recognition in all official and non-official purposes and for all economic and social intercourses.

(B) *Problem of curriculum and teaching personnel* is no less acute. A difference had crept into social valuation between secondary and higher secondary education. Technical and Agricultural streams never found roots. Most of the higher secondary schools under Class XI system offered only the humanities stream, and that too with a few subjects for individual selection. Proper integration was not achieved between academic and vocational education. Counselling service had been literally absent.

Higher secondary education of a good standard required the services of academically proficient teachers, particularly teachers for scientific and technical subjects, for the rural areas, for girls' schools etc. But the problem of recruitment was infested with problems of competition in the employment market. Recruitment of efficient personnel necessitated the payment of handsome salaries. In comparison with salaries in other occupations for equal academic proficiency, the salaries in the teaching profession remained far low. Effective motivation could by no means be expected.

Proficiency must be supplemented with professional skill i.e. training. The training period for a secondary teacher is less than a year. Book learning still dominates. Teaching practice is given a rear seat. Aids and appliances are seldom used even in the training process. Instead of enhancing skill, the training process ends in theoretical packing. Drawback in quantitative progress is no less glaring.

(C) The problem of deteriorating standards is no less acute. Sadler Commission had opined 65 years ago that good university education must be based upon good secondary education. Since then, voices of warning had been raised by various commissions. Mudaliar Commission had suggested 12 year school education with the expectation of providing a sound basis for university education. But the contrary has been happening in practice.

Deterioration in standards had many intrinsic and extrinsic reasons—(a) Introduction of an eleven year course (instead of 12 years suggested by Mudaliar Commission) had imposed an unhealthy pressure upon young learners. (b) The rigidity of the stream system had not allowed a free operation of the abilities of children. (c) "Guidance" was a farce. (d) Academic and theoretical studies were not suited to all learners. (e) Paucity of aids and defects in teaching methods had been harmful. (f) Teachers were not available for all subjects at all places. (g) Library and ancillary facilities were meagre. (h) Examination procedure remained defective. (i) Commercial circulation of made-easies and question-answer books sapped the intellectual alertness of students, and (j) Indiscipline caused by unhealthy influences destroyed academic motivation. (k) Political pressure groups created the worst havoc. An equilibrium has not yet been regained.

(D) *The Problem of Student-indiscipline*: The above-noted factors are partially responsible for students' unrest. Indiscipline, however, has many more causes some of which are created in the school situation and some others are created by extraneous forces. In any case, *indiscipline occurs only when the educand is maladjusted with the educational environment*. The maladjustment may be spiritual as well as physical.

A student with decrepit health cannot but be inattentive and gradually disciplined. The child who could never acquire good habits since childhood, cannot be disciplined in school. If the subject-content is too heavy and stiff for the mental standard of the child, he

will be indisciplined. If it is too easy, he will again be indisciplined, because he will take every chance to fritter away his extra energy. Gap between aspirations and capacities is a sure cause. Lack of scientific teaching, lack of activities, leisure and joy mingled with studies are sources of unrest. Excessive punishment is a sure cause. Handicapped and backward children may cause indiscipline among their fellows by allowing them a chance to tease. Even minor difficulties like lack of air and light in the class room, defects in sitting arrangements, invisibility of the black-board, inaudibility of the teacher's voice may cause indisciplined behaviour. Above all the examination system is an undoubted source.

Absence of cordial relation between teacher and taught causes indiscipline. Partial attitude of the teacher, injury to adolescent sensitiveness, lack of teacher's idealism will cause indiscipline among students. The student becomes self disciplined if and when education becomes purposive. The student feels an internal urge if the environment is free from maladjustment, and the student finds ample scope for attentive self employment. *This is real discipline, not fetter.*

At present, however, there are *causes of indiscipline which invade the school from outside*. When the adolescent, by his nature, becomes conscious of the world, becomes socially minded and searches for ideals, it cannot be expected that he would remain unimpressed by unhealthy and unethical social, political and moral influences from the bigger society.

Group life is a character of adolescence. *Unhealthy group influence* is often super-imposed upon individual spirits. Gangsterism is a sure product of such unhealthy influence. The situation is made worse by unhealthy sex influences. Individual and group delinquency finds expression in adolescent hooliganism.

Although the bigger society is vitally responsible for student indiscipline, the role of the school and the teacher in ameliorating the situation cannot be belittled.

It should also be understood that *indiscipline of school children is not same as unrest among youth population at the higher stages of education*. The latter problem will be discussed in a latter part of the book.

(E) *Administrative and other problems*: Secondary education is a State subject, although in these days of planning, the Union Govt's role has to be recognised. At the State level, it is a joint

responsibility of the Board and the Ministry. Local Bodies play a minor role. *Impact of social forces helped the solution of some problems while they gave rise new problems.* Some expansion has been achieved, but plan-targets remained always unattained. 'Craft', 'Social Studies' and 'General Science' as had been adopted in the old H. S. curriculum remained unproductive. The goal of equal opportunity and Common School is far off. Differences between urban and rural facilities, between schools for the rich and schools for the poor are wide. Secondary education has not been integrated with the life-situation of the pupils, nor with the economic life of the community. Problem of land and buildings—both in rural and urban areas, problems of girls' education, problems of backward communities and tribes, and problems of teaching aids still continue unabated.

Many of these minor problems have their roots in financial stringency. The First Plan allotment for secondary education had been Rs. 20 crores, which was raised to 51 crores in the 2nd Plan and 103 crores in the 3rd Plan. This amount was 21.6% of the total allotment for education. No State budget allots the requisite amount for education. (West Bengal before 1977 allotted about 20% of the budget, and a fraction of the allotment was earmarked for secondary education). As a result the cost of secondary education had to be largely borne by poor parents. The situation has now been greatly relieved by the introduction of tuition-free education upto class XII.

The situation may be further relieved by adopting the following measures :—(a) Acquisition of land for school by Govt notification.

(b) Construction of school buildings by the P. W. D. (c) Supply of aids and appliances from nationalised industries, and establishment of other factories for the same. (d) Publication of school books with Govt subsidy. (e) Augmentation of funds by taxation, by freezing the black money of income tax dodgers etc.

Our problems were many, and there could be no progress without solution of the problems. On this background we should consider reforms suggested by Kothari Commission for a future set up of secondary education.

Kothari Commission on Secondary Education

As stated in chapter VI, the commission enunciated objectives of Secondary Education, suggested a reformed structural pattern and curricular reorganisation.

The *aims of secondary education* would be to provide a solid basis of general education for democratic citizenship, on the basis of which education the individual would be able to proceed to (i) higher education, (ii) education for specialisation, (iii) various forms of technical and vocational education and, (iv) employment for living.

The integrated total period of secondary education might be advantageously divided into two inter-related sub-stages—(a) Lower Secondary stage (class VIII/IX to X), and (b) Higher secondary stage (classes XI and XII).

Lower Secondary Education : Subjects studied at the Upper Primary stage would be more intensively studied at the stage. The Curriculum would consist of (1) Three languages. (Mother tongue/Regional language, State/associated State language, any other modern Indian language), (2) Physics, (3) Chemistry, (4) Zoology, (5) Botany, (6) History, (7) Geography, (8) Civics (9) Physical and moral education and (10) any Fine Art.

In the matter of *social service*, special emphasis would be placed upon Community Development work. Compulsory social work for ten days per year or consolidated 30 days for the 3 years of lower secondary stage would be insisted upon. *Social Service and Work Experience* Wood work, Metal work, Leather work, Carpet making, Book Binding, Tailoring, Printing work etc, should feature in *Work Experience* programme. To make work-experience production oriented, efforts should be made to forge a direct link with farm or factory work.

There would be *no specialisation or diversification* of studies at this stage. Upto class X, the courses will be common and general. At the end of this stage, an external examination will be the terminal point. Admission targets were fixed at—

1970-71	1975-76	1985-86
23.4%	29.1%	46% of the concerned

age group. The objective would be a gradual diversion of 20% of children to vocational courses of 1 to 3 year duration. This would necessitate the establishment of part/full time institutions to receive children at the end of 7th/8th grade. These Industrial Training Institutes and Technical Schools would prepare the students for practical jobs. Diversion would be phased as—

1970-71

3·8%

1975-76

6·4%

1985-86

20%

Higher Secondary Education : The objective at this stage would be to enlarge and strengthen the foundation of general education together with an orientation to specialisation. But complete specialisation being considered inadvisable, the stream system of Mudaliar Scheme would be abolished. Subjects offered under the Technical, Agricultural, Fine Arts, Domestic Sciences and Commerce streams should properly be placed in polytechniques or industrial and agricultural institutions. Hence, Higher Secondary Education would also be General Education in the Sciences and Humanities.

The Curriculum would consist of (a) 2 languages (as discussed earlier), and (b) 3 elective subjects. The election would not be limited to either arts or science. Free selection would be permitted. Principle of election being recognised, the study of sciences would not be compulsory, but liberal arrangements should be made for the study of science subjects in conformity with rural or urban environments. Agricultural Science would be accorded proper recognition as a Science. Although no special syllabus would be provided for girls, Domestic Sciences, Music, Fine Arts may be enlisted as elective subjects. Half of the reading time would be devoted to the elective subjects, $\frac{1}{4}$ to the languages and $\frac{1}{4}$ to physical education and other cocurricular work. Work Experience would be provided in fields and factories. Life in labour-camp would meet the demand for social service. Ten days a year or consolidated 20 days in two years in a labour-camp and six hours work a day would meet the requirement. Organisation of the curriculum at Ordinary and Advanced levels might be a special feature. Proficiency certificates on the basis of the terminal external examination would be issued by the Board. The certificate would record only the marks obtained in each subject without mentioning any aggregate pass or fail. Students might take Compartmental Examinations. School-evaluation and certificate would accompany the external certificate.

The targets for schooling provision in terms of percentage of the concerned age group were—

1965-66

7%

1970-71

9·2%

1975-76

11%

1980-81

14·8%

1985-86

20·4%

All students would not pursue the general course. Alternative vocational courses would draft students in the following phases :

1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
40.6%	42.1%	45.9%	47.9%	50%

This vocational education, either part time or full time, would be provided in factories, Polytechniques, I. T.Is, Sandwich Courses and Agricultural Polytechs. 3 year Certificate or Diploma courses would be initiated in Commerce, Cottage Industries, Public Health, Public Administration etc.

The commission recommended a rapid expansion of secondary education so that all children of lower secondary age group might be provided with attendance facilities by 1985. Such expansion would require 75000 additional teaching posts per year. Hence. Teacher Training should have a considerable priority in educational budgets.

A Critique

The Commission did its duty by making farflung recommendations unconcerned of the fate of those suggestions. In fact, 10 years simply elapsed before a firm decision was taken and a beginning was thereafter made falteringly. Expansion occurred at the same old speed. Obviously we are not yet anywhere near the targets although we are approaching the end of 1985.

Problems about the mode and extent of implementation of the recommendations let loose a round of controversies. The Commission had unequivocally recommended *12 year School Education*. But the failure of the extended 11 year school education encouraged a school of thought to question the propriety of extending it by still one more year. U. P. had never introduced the 11 year system. She, therefore, has been sticking to the old scheme. Behar decided to revert to the 10 year school system. Assam introduced 2 year Pre-University education. There were, thus, variations in the implementation of the scheme itself.

The basic question was whether the 11 class schools should be further upgraded to 12 year schools, or whether they would again become 10 year schools. In case of the latter decision, the further question was the location of 11th & 12th educational years, i. e. whether they would constitute 2 year Per-University course in college,

or constitute a separate entity like the old Intermediate College or the Junior College in the U. S. A.

Arguments for and against both these views were not lacking. The failure of the multipurpose 11 year education, the impropriety of early specialisation, shortage of proper library, equipment, laboratory, efficient teachers, difficulty to adjust college courses etc. strengthened the opinion against giving any additional responsibility to schools. The *Principle of selection* of schools for further upgrading was also not accepted without doubts. It was argued that most of the parents might not have capacity to provide for 2 more years of school education of their children.

As against these arguments it was said that the 11 year scheme had not been given a fair trials for a considerable period and its failure was not unquestionably proved. Change for the sake of change was not fair for a poor country. The 12 year scheme might also fail ! Given time and money, and fair provision of aid, equipment and teaching personnel, the 11 year scheme might not only succeed, but also might justify the addition of one more class to school education.

The supporters of 10 year school education proposed a 10+2+2 scheme i.e. 10 years of General education followed by examination and certification. The next two years might be devoted to superior general education in preparation for effective college education. The two-year education might be terminated with examination and certification. There were 3 distinctive opinions about the location of these two years (i.e. 11th & 12th education years) viz (a) a separate course in secondary schools, (b) separate provision in Degree colleges, and (c) independent 2 years colleges. If the last proposal were accepted, the 2 year colleges should have been established also in the rural areas to ensure equality of opportunity and should have been treated as community colleges identified with rural life and productive system. The curricula should be accordingly drafted. After years of controversy the 10+2+3 schame is now generally pursued.

CHAPTER XI

Development of University Education Since 1947

In comparison with Primary or even Secondary education, Higher education made rapid progress, particularly in regard to quantitative expansion in course of the last 100 years. F. J. Mowat, secretary of the Council of Education in Bengal Presidency had proposed the establishment of a university. The same demand was repeated in

1852 by Mr. C. H. Cameron, President of the Council.

Origin of modern
universities

By that time, however, the objective situation had prepared the ground and the Despatch of 1854 proposed the establishment of Universities at Presidency Head Quarters. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities were born, and 1857 became a year of importance also in educational chronology.

The functions of the university were kept very limited and its administration was loose. Some academic directions that had been incorporated in the Despatch 1854 (viz creation of professorial chairs etc) were not actually implemented. The *University's functions were practically limited* to affiliation, construction of syllabuses, examination and certification. Yet, there was considerable

quantitative growth growth of higher education in the next three decades.

It is to be noted, however, that *Indian languages were neglected* in these institutions of higher learning. The Bombay University had made room for Indian languages on the curriculum. But, it was abandoned in 1862 under directions from the D. P. I. This also should be noted that all the colleges of those days were 'Arts' colleges. It was natural in the then conditions.

The Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission) recommended a premium on Indian private enterprise. This caused a further expansion of higher education (consequent upon the expansion of secondary education). One of the reasons of this advance was the entry of nationally inspired leaders like Tilak, Agarkar, Surendranath etc. into the field of education. Expansion of higher education increased the number of Universities. Lahore and Allahabad Universities were established in 1882 and 1887 respectively. Hunter Commission had recommended alternative courses in higher studies. But, the above-noted growth was a single-track expansion. Rapid expansion

undoubtedly caused a fall in standards. Rapid production of graduates began to create a fear of unemployment even in those days. One positive feature was that under the impact of national consciousness, the demand for proper status of Indian languages made a headway. Bombay University again included the Indian languages in the curriculum. *Teaching began to be a direct undertaking of the University.*

Curzon Period

The next phase in the development of University education coincided with the Governor-Generalship of Lord Curzon. On the basis of recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902, he had the Universities Act passed in 1904. Although from the administrative point of view, this Act introduced stricter State control, the Curzon period was also identified with some positive developments. (a) Teaching became a function of the university, particularly the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. (b) There was sufficient expansion of studies in law. (c) The positive features system of extension lectures was introduced. (d) The curriculum was enriched by the inclusion of Economics, Indology and Sciences. (e) Research became a part of University activity, and (f) Scholarships were granted for studies in foreign countries.

The *National Education Movement* gave a fresh spurt to university education. Between 1913 and 1919 Mysore, Benaras, S. N. D. T., Osmania, Aligarh Universities were established. These were institutions of a new character. In spite of these developments, the growth occurred particularly in the study of "arts" subjects only. Expansion gave rise to administrative problems. The Calcutta University Commission recommended reforms and establishment of new-type universities.

Sadler Commission and After

The recommendation of the Sadler Commission were but partially implemented. *Our attitude, however, changed considerably.* The second phase of the national education movement (1920-22), the beginning of technical education and post war economic crisis also caused some effect upon the quantitative and qualitative aspects of higher education. In respect of qualitative progress the most noteworthy feature was the

acceptance of "Advancement of Learning" as a practical proposition and also the acquisition of teaching responsibilities. Courses of study in technology, agriculture, sciences and professions were introduced. In respect of quantity, this much may be noted that the number of colleges increased from 231 in 1921-22 to 933 in 1946-47. Thus progressed higher education till 1947.

After independence, assessment was first made in the field of higher education. The Universities Commission (Rarhakrishnan Commission) was formed in 1948. (For details please refer to Chapter VI)

Expansion

After the Commission's work, considerable number of Universities came into being (including residential and unitary types). Many of the higher institutions that had been established during the national education movement were statutorily recognised as Universities. Institutions like the Gurukul at Hardwar, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujrat Vidyapeeth and 9 educational organisations like Tata Institute of Social Science, Indian Institute of International Studies etc. were granted university status. A University Grants Committee had been formed in 1945 to control the then three central universities. In 1953 it was transformed into the University Grants Commission. In 1956 it became an autonomous statutory body with the responsibility of improving and coordinating higher education throughout India, determination of standards of teaching and examination, expansion of researches, drawing up plans and distribution of Central Grants for higher education.

But the Commission's plan for rural higher education was implemented in a changed and truncated fashion, thereby defeating the very purpose.

Quantitative expansion of higher education has been undoubtedly achieved. In 1948 India had 500 colleges and 18 universities. Following are the figures for the present :

University	more than 140
Colleges for Special Courses	" 300
Arts, Science, Commerce colleges	" 3000
Professional + Vocational Colleges.	" 1100
Research Institutes	" 44

Failure in Attaining the Objectives

Our failure in attaining the objective of higher education is very glaring. *Expansion of knowledge* by research and experimentation has always been an aim of higher education. This objective is current in most other countries. We have accepted the concept of *Advancement of Learning*. But mere opening of new windows to knowledge would not be productive. *Knowledge must be disseminated*. Hence the second objective of the university is teaching at the highest level. Cultivation of abstract knowledge had, in the past, led to pedantry and isolation from the life of the people. But, universities of the modern era came closer to the life of the people. Cultivation of the sciences and production of high-grade specialists became duties of the university. Thus, *production of know-how* became a function of the university. And lastly *social service* has been accepted as one of the objectives of the university. Extension work, and solution of the problems placed before the university by industry, agriculture and commerce became a function.

Thus creation of new knowledge, dissemination of highest knowledge, improvement of the cultural heritage of the nation, production of know-how and solution of socio-economic problems constitute the basic aims of higher education.

But, these objectives had been absent when our modern universities were founded. Production of clerical and administrative personnel through western education and English language had been accepted as aim. No teaching duty had vested in the university. Preparation of curricula and syllabuses, granting affiliation to colleges, conducting examinations and certifying the successful candidates had constituted the functions of higher education.

Change in attitude became evident since the early years of the current century. Cultivation of the mother tongue, acceptance of teaching responsibility and initiative in researches inaugurated a new era in higher education. The movement was given an impetus by the Sadler Commission.

After independence, the aims of higher education required to be redrafted. *Radhakrishnan Commission proposed the Triple Objective* of (1) Good general education (2) Scientific and liberal ideological

preparation, (3) Preparation of professional know-how. The Commission expected the university to lead the nation in all fields of life. Thenceforth our political and academic leaders explained the role of the university in various terms. *But tangible effects were little palpable.*

And lastly, the Indian Education Commission (Kothari Commission) *enunciated a few basic objectives of university education—*

(i) Acquisition of new knowledge, pursuit of truth, reorientation of old knowledge in the light of the new ; (ii) Preparation of leaders for different fields of national life by searching out the talented youth and helping their mental, physical and moral development and instilling in them the proper attitude and ideals ; (iii) Preparation of skilled and socially conscious youthful leaders for the nation's Agriculture, Arts, Sciences and Technology ; (iv) Removal of social and cultural inequality by expanding education ; (v) Creation of socially oriented robust values by the corporate efforts of teachers and students.

The commission also suggested some immediate objectives viz (i) to ensure unity in the diversities of national life by encouraging tolerance and rousing the conscience of the people ; (ii) to conduct adult education, part time education and correspondence courses ; (iii) to help the secondary school attain a better standard ; (iv) to expand and improve the standard of teaching and research ; and (v) to raise at least a few institutions of higher learning to international standards.

For the attainment of these objectives the commission suggested—

(a) raising the standard of higher education, (b) expansion of higher education in keeping with popular urge on the one hand and man power planning on the other ; (c) improvement of University organisation and administration. Subsequently Dr. Kothari, while delivering a convocation address at Calcutta said that universities should devote themselves to (i) the production of mentally healthy citizens, (ii) improvement of cultural life of the community (iii) help the cause of national integration and (iv) take a hand in the augmentation of national income by providing effective scientific and technological studies.

Our failure to pursue and attain the real aims of higher education is most glaring. True it is that universities all over the world have

aims defined by
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sion

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always experienced a conflict between conservation and progress. Yet universities reformed themselves in response to popular demands and national needs. New universities of new types were established to feed ever growing needs. It cannot, however, be vouched that the requirements have fully been met. Moreover, the present world is rapidly changing. It necessitates further changes in the aims, organisation and administration of higher education. Traditional inertia to keep pace with time led to explosions of students' rebelliousness in many countries.

The state of things in our country is worse still. (i) Our higher education is still heavily laden with one way liberal courses, (ii) Pedantic theorisation dominates all fields of higher education, including Sciences and Technology, (iii) Provisions and standards of research still lag behind, (iv) there is an immense time-gap between the advent of new knowledge and our students' acquaintance with it, (v) Our universities have no direct links with industry and agriculture, (vi) The role of the university in adult education and total national improvement is negligible, (vii) Expansion of higher education is also limited, (viii) There is scanty provision for aesthetic and spiritual education, (ix) universities are almost silent observers of a battle between national integration and national disintegration, (x) Students' welfare programmes are limited in nature and span, (xi) University administration is often undemocratic and infested with other diseases. In fact, the list of shortcomings may be made longer still. It may be cryptically remarked that we are yet to get ourselves free from traditional back-pull.

Defects in organisation and system are no less glaring. (a) In spite of the explosion of knowledge and the growth of many universities in the recent past, the extent of higher education in proportion to total population is yet negligible. (b) The questions of proper teaching staff, equipment and local needs were not properly evaluated before the establishment of universities. (c) The universities are still dominated by humanistic studies. Moreover the influence of tradition, (and vested interest in some cases) inhibit modernisation of knowledge and acquaintance with the latest thoughts. (d) The university's role in technical and vocational studies fall short of expectations. Very little direct link has been forged between the university and the

productive world. There is also very little link between the university and the adult world of illiterates. (e) Defects in examination process have been plaguing our universities. (f) Recently the questions of finance and the poverty of universities have been featuring prominently. Equitability of financing procedure is also doubted. It is not unnatural that the cumulative effect of these inadequacies and incongruities is reflected in students' unrest. A former vice-chancellor of Calcutta University admitted in a convocation address that the root of students' unrest lies in economic crisis and unemployment. In the absence of other avenues before them, the students flock to the colleges and universities. Even while pursuing the higher courses they find no ray of hope. They could not be what they had hoped to be. In fact, the present system of higher education cannot invest the pupils with a purpose and an ideal. Indiscipline is but a method to give vent to their feelings, however undesirable it might be.

Suggestions for Solution of Problems

Our remedial suggestions are implicit in our diagnosis of the problems. (i) We need more universities. But simple multiplication without reference to local needs, incidence of student population for proper feeding of the institutions and without provision of effective teaching & financing mechanism is not worth-while. That will rather increase the problems. (2) Instead of establishing traditional multi-faculty universities, attention should be paid also to the feasibility of more single faculty institutes providing technological and professional specialisation. (3) The university courses should also be more diversified and specialised. The curricula should be so modified as to forge a link with practical life-situation. (4) Seminars and tutorials should foster self-activity of students. The necessary teaching staff should be provided. (5) Research provisions need be expanded and improved. (6) The standard of university education should be so raised as to weed out the incompetent and undesirables as well as to establish parity with the universities in advanced countries. Student-counselling is, therefore, an essential need. (7) The mother-tongue should be accepted as the medium of higher education too. (8) Welfare services should be extensively provided so that the immediate and internal causes of student-outburst may be, at least partially solved.

(9) Only academic and teaching qualifications should guide teacher recruitment. (10) University administration should be streamlined and university finances strengthened.

Attempts to Solve Problems

The University Grants Commission has been statutorily formed with the responsibility to (i) Make decisions on the establishment of new university, (ii) Disburse central grants for higher education, (iii) Foster specialisation in different universities, (iv) Improve the general tone of university administration, (v) Improve the student-welfare activities, (vi) Improve libraries and research facilities.

Some improvements have been made in the field of curricular organisation. The U. G. C. drafted a "model university act". Conference of Vice-Chancellors, Seminars and Teachers' Organisations are devoting themselves to a search for solution of the vital problems. The mother-tongue has been, as a matter of principle, accepted as the medium of instruction and students' representatives have been admitted to the administration of certain universities.

But concrete work and actual achievements lag much behind 'talks and discussions'. A conflict between tradition and progress is clearly evident. But the whole edifice will crumble down if reasonable progress is not made in the immediate future.

Problem of Language in Higher Education

Language problem is not confined to school education only. At the school stage, the problem has two faces—(a) The medium of instruction and (b) The languages that should be learnt. At the university stage, the problem has to be tackled (i) at the undergraduate level and (ii) at the post graduate level.

The question at the undergraduate stage is—whether any second or third language must be compulsorily learnt if the mother-tongue is accepted as the medium. At the post graduate level, there is no question of learning a second language compulsorily, because a student has to pursue only one discipline. The question then boils down to a problem of medium in non-language subjects viz History, Philosophy etc. or the Sciences.

In some of the other States an experiment had been conducted by abandoning English altogether. But students from such States had to

face problems of language adjustment when they went abroad. Hence there has been a reversion to the old practice of attaching weightage to English.

In West Bengal, the regional language has been accorded equal status with English as the medium of instruction in colleges and also medium of University examinations. Non Bengalee students, however, have to use the alternative medium—English. At the post-graduate level also English still remains a medium of instruction. But here too regional language has secured equality of status with English if not a dominant status. (Calcutta University introduced Bengali as examination medium at the P. G. level with effect from 1975).

The possible modes of solution are—(i) Statutory acceptance of the regional language as the medium for undergraduate studies. (ii) Special provisions must be made for linguistic minorities. (iii) English should be taught at the U. G. stage at two levels—(a) Ordinary level (common for all), (b) advanced level (Elective and therefore of a higher standard) on a voluntary basis.

At the P. G. stage, the regional language should be accepted as medium in a process of graduation without enforcing a sudden change overnight. The argument of the aggressive lovers of English that higher education in Sciences, Technology and Professions is impossible on account of the fact that these are disciplines of international character with terminology uncoined in regional languages, is not acceptable. If the Russians, Japanese, Germans or French may pursue these disciplines in their own languages, there is no reason why the same may not be possible in India. The solution lies in painstaking search for expressive terminology. An earnest endeavour in this respect must bear fruit. Of course when the regional language is accepted, the libraries should be well stocked with reference books in English, so that students may peruse freely if they so desire.

Kothari Commission's recommendations in regard to language in university are worth mentioning, viz (a) A time bound programme to accept the regional languages as media in a period of ten years, (b) For some years to come, English may continue as medium at P. G. stage, but change-over must not unnecessarily be delayed, (c) Hindi or Urdu should be accepted as medium if there are sufficient numbers of students speaking these languages, (d) Teachers, in the long run, should pick up 2/3 languages, (e) Attempts should be

made to improve the regional languages, (f) Optional scope should be made for the study of the Classics, (g) Foreign languages other than English should be made popular.

Subsequent to the publication of these recommendations the Education Ministers' Conference set a 5 year limit for introducing the regional languages. The National Policy on education also accepted the regional language without fixing any time limit for the change over. The process is time consuming and the pace is yet slow.

The Problem of Students' Unrest

Student outbursts in examination halls had been a phenomenon for some years. This was but a partial and perverted expression of unrest. Explosions occurred in relation to national and international political questions, state policy in education, students' amenities, educational administration etc. Evidently, unrest has its ideological, political, economic, social, and cultural causes.

The basic truth is that war, famine, riots and partition of India destroyed many of our old values while new values were not created. Our present generation of youth was born and brought up in a vacuum in the value-system. Social anarchy could not but make them anarchic. In the days of freedom movement, a common goal had unified the nation. The ideal of service and sacrifice had inspired the youth. But the present social era is characterised by socio-economic corruption and erosion of values. In an environment of lawlessness, predominance of monetary aristocracy and illegally begotten social prestige, the youngman of today cannot be expected to be endowed with heavenly morality.

The young men of today are socially conscious. Exploitation, repression and assassination of humanism must stir up their plastic mind. They react immediately and violently.

Unrest has its material base also. We cannot expect blissful submission of the young men who suffer from mal-nutrition and consumptive diseases. We cannot expect young men to be contented when they suffer from lack of living space in the family, lack of counselling and advice, lack of scope for joyful cocurricular pursuits. One whose future is bleak cannot but be restless.

Educational administration is no less responsible for the sad state of affairs. Group interests play havoc and students are brought into

power politics. And agencies with vested interest are consciously trying every means and method for degenerating students' morals.

Pedagogic reasons are similarly responsible. Provisions in colleges and universities cannot keep pace with the urge for higher education. Other avenues being closed, youngmen crowd at the universities. Those who are refused admission are actually left in the wilderness. And those who are fortunate to be admitted, find the courses uninteresting and ill-suited to their taste or calibre. Teacher-pupil relation is seldom healthy these days. The teacher whom the society does not accord the due prestige, cannot claim the same from his pupil either. Even those students who are serious with their studies find the future dark. Unemployment reigns supreme. The purposiveness in education becomes the first victim in such a situation. The complete loss of purpose, and a philosophy of self-immolation had combined to degrade examination to a farce. The situation is aggravated by open or clandestine instigation of vested interest.

The following may be suggested as measures of remedy. (1) More expansion of higher education, its diversification and capacity-oriented pursuit of studies. (2) Reform of curricula. (3) Provision of hostel or other types of accomodation. (4) Modernisation of higher education as well as improvement of library, laboratory and research facilities. (5) Counselling, (6) Health service, (7) More stipends and provisions for part time employment to make the needy students self-going, (8) Students' self Govt. and students' participation in university administration, (9) Wide scope of cultural activities, (10) Generation of confidence in future.

Achievement in these fields in comparison with the achievements in the advanced countries are not worth mentioning. Statistical survey of the health, living and economic conditions of university students conducted by the university itself gives a picture of darkness. Institutions like Youth Employment Bureau, Youth Hostels Association, Leadership training camp have been unproductive and practically still born. Some essay or debating competitions, publication of some magazines, annual recreation or social functions organised by students' unions constitute the students' leisure time pursuit. Day Home system and most of other devices and programmes suffer from endemic crisis.

It is obvious that students' unrest cannot be tackled by bureaucratic or repressive measures. Something constructive is an absolute need. The Kothari Commission recommended compulsory social service work in development projects and labour camps. It also suggested the institution of an office of whole time Dean of student-welfare in every university. It furthermore suggested university autonomy to safeguard students' self Govt.

The younger generation is mooringless. A conflict between the old and the new is obvious. This is perhaps natural for a society suffering from inner contradictions, and contradictions between professions and practices, between aspirations and realities, between high sounding lectures on morality and actual prevalence of immorality and corruption. The younger generation desperately needs help and sympathy in a phase of social transition. Withholding such help will mean leading them down the precipice of anti-social delinquency. Such help must primarily come from the system of education itself, which, therefore, calls for a revolutionary change.

Kothari Commission on Higher Education

In the context of such a deep crisis came the recommendations of Kothari Commission. The aim of higher education would be search for knowledge and truth, as well as dissemination of that knowledge. The university must supply the necessary leadership and help equitability in social life, reduce gaps in culture by producing a well organised generation of young talent. The university has responsibility to improve the entire pattern of education, even by devising scientific methods of instruction. Education of the adult population must be one of its charges.

Higher education requires quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement simultaneously. Hence the commission placed special emphasis upon equipment, management, teachers' qualifications, reform of examinations at the undergraduate stage. At the same time it recommended reform of university administration and improvement of teaching and research at the post graduate stage. New universities may be founded only in the interest of qualitative improvement, specialisation of studies and to help the productive possibilities of specific regions. In any case, new universities should be established with prior consent of the U.G.C.

In regard to qualitative improvement, the Commission suggested the establishment of some "advanced centres of study" and the upgrading of 4 universities to the status of Major Universities to provide for education at international standards. The commission's recommendation in respect of language formula, students' welfare etc have already been discussed. In regard to the tricky question of admission to higher studies, the commission recommended a principle of admission determined by financial provisions, man power needs, intake capacity of institutions and standards of higher education. On the whole the commission proposed a Selective Approach. Many of the recommendations, however, still remain paper documents.

CHAPTER XII

Development of Technical and Vocational Education

We are accustomed to hearing of technical education, vocational education, engineering and technological education, professional education and the like. These different types have aspects of similarity just as they have dissimilarities. They have differences in respect of curricula, length of the period of study, institutional organisation etc.

Meaning of Technical & Vocational Education

Trade training means the acquisition of practical skill in some mechanical work, as is evident from the word "trade" which implies mechanical employment. Carpentry, Smithy etc. are such trades. The word 'vocational education' has a wider connotation implying activities in connection with commerce and industry in the modern society. Similarly "technical" skill means "skill in the method of executing any artistic work." In the modern system of production, 'technical skill' implies a wide field connected with the productive process. Engineering education means theoretical and practical knowledge in relation to "machines." Technology implies science of Industrial Arts. Knowledge of the applied sciences is more involved in it.

In general terms, however *we may use the expression 'vocational education' to cover the whole field of trades and vocations.* The expression 'technological education' may cover the whole field of technical, technological and engineering education. Similarly, the expression "professional education" encompasses the entire field of legal, medical, teaching professions.

Although all types of education are connected with avocations, technical and vocational education is more directly related with occupations, because *specialised efficiency for specialised types of jobs is the essence of vocational education.* The type of education is determined by the type of economic productivity. A country without an industrial economy cannot have a modern vocational type of education. Similarly, professional education is vitally dependent upon the development of different professions. In our country, the modern legal profession which replaced the mediaeval practices,

prepared the field for modern education in Law. Replacement of mediaeval medical knowledge by the modern sciences led to the development of professional education in Medicine.

Technical and vocational education *depends also upon the social system and social valuation*. 'A' and 'B' courses in secondary education had been introduced in India after the Hunter Commission's work. But the ideal of "respectable professions" had captured the social mind and no premium was placed upon vocational education. The 'B' course was allowed to wither away. It was only in the early years of the current century that our attitude began to change, and a

concomitant concept became apparent in the field of vocational education. *Vocational education advances in accordance with the advancement of technological and applied sciences*. More there is division of labour, more is the need for specialisation; and more the need for specialisation, more is the value of vocational and technical education. Even the employers may patronise such education, because more skilled is the worker, more is the production and therefore more is the profit. *The political factor is no less responsible*. Modern technical education cannot develop in a colonial country with a feudal economy. In the absence of vocational education, a nation's valuable resources may be wasted. On the other hand, vocational education gets due weightage in a socialist country. *Planned economy* would require technical and vocational education in conformity with production-planning. And lastly vocational education *depends upon pedagogical considerations*. In accordance with the theory of individual differences education should be guided by individual potentialities and aptitudes. Development of individual capacities contributes to the development of the society.

Nature and Role of Technical Education

Education is a socially directed process. The society desires its citizens to develop in a particular fashion determined by social values and needs. The fashion of individual development is again largely determined by knowledge and skill acquired. Hence, vocational education helps individual development and adjustment between man and his environment. Through vocational education, the individual's physical and mental capacities as well as dexterity and innate powers achieve fulfilment. *Technical Education renders a socio-economic service*

by producing the man-power necessary for the different fields of specialisation.

Success of vocational education, however, has a few preconditions. The first necessity is a favourable socio-political environment. The second requirement is urge and innate tendencies of the educand. The third precondition is sufficient scope of practice, intensive training and close acquaintance with the latest fields of technological knowledge. The fourth need is social recognition and value attached to technical education. And lastly it must be said that scope of productive employment guarantees the success of technical education.

Technical and vocational education is education for specialisation. The special skill thus acquired is applicable in its particular field. In this sense it is unlike general liberal education. General education is not education for a special type of job. A particular calling is selected after completion of general education. But technical education aims at concrete and particular skills. *A disbalance between the needs of man-power in that particular field and production of man-power for that field creates a crisis.* Surplus man-power remains unemployed. In our country such disbalance is a widely known phenomenon. We import superior technical know-how from abroad, but do not provide for the preparation of such man-power in our own country. The C. S. I. R. pool showed that there were signs of over production in some branches of technical studies while other fields were not equally packed with specialists. *Internal balance is also of vital consideration.* If a country produces more graduate engineers than diploma and certificate holders, it must soon experience the effects of such imbalance. Hence two types of balance is necessary, (i) External balance, i.e. balance between needs and supplies, and (ii) Internal balance between different types and standards of technical education. The most effective remedial measure is sufficient flexibility in the system of technical education.

Technical Education and Employment

Assured employment is complementary to need based technical-vocational education. A trained personnel can seldom cross his own bounds. Hence, employment prospect remains limited unless the economic base is expanded. In a competitive economy the situation gives rise to educational crisis. The field of enterprise is, in such an

of innate potentialities so that the individual may find his proper place in the social set up. The objective here is more concrete and specific with a distinctive view of the productive role of the individual.

Position in India

An analysis of the present state of technical education in India in the light of these objectives will expose our weakness. (a) Even technical and vocational education is theoretically biased. (b) The principle of "need-based education" has been more violated than pursued. (c) The system of technical education is neither vertically well-integrated, nor provided with an easy ladder to facilitate ascent from lower to higher rungs. (d) Job-analysis and job announcements are not properly organised. The principle of "the fit man for the fit place" has been violated. (e) Integration of technical education with other branches of study has not been achieved, (f) Man-power planning has failed. The institutions have been discharging their duties simply by turning out skilled personnel year after year. (g) Our curricular contents lag far behind the latest extent of knowledge, and creative researches are lagging behind. We import the superior know-how, and produce mainly the maintenance staff. (h) Class distinction even in technical education is apparent. (i) We have failed to integrate technical education with cocurricular cultural activities and education for leisure.

Inter-relation between Types of Education

Technical education is not independent or self-sufficient in itself. Life is an indivisible whole, and education is indivisible whole, although it has its inter-related varieties. Obviously technical education has direct and indirect links with other forms of education. Modern medical science is intimately related with applied physical and chemical sciences. The legal profession has to keep pace with industrial development and concomitant industrial and labour legislation. Specialisation in administrative service has close links with knowledge of economics and finances. Knowledge of physiology, anatomy and biology guides the principles of manual labour. Relation between natural sciences and mathematics is direct. Industrial Psychology has to adopt the findings of other branches of applied psychology. And lastly we must say that technical education being

a socially needed and socially motivated type of education, it is vitally linked with Social Sciences. These relationships led to the growth of *vocational education within general school* and also more *specialised education in specialised school*.

The nature and extent of specialisation determines the nature of institution. (1) There is provision for vocational education within general schools in many countries. This practice prevails in India too (ref. HS. Course). (2) There are parallel Trade or Junior technical schools equivalent to secondary schools. (We possess such types). (3) Full-fledged technical and vocational institutions of high school status offering courses in commerce, agriculture, domestic sciences, industrial vocation etc. (We have such provisions). (4) Part time or full time continuation education of a vocational and practical nature after the period of compulsory education (in advanced countries upto 18+). (5) Apprenticeship programmes conducted by industrial establishment. (In our country also the major steel industries and engineering industries pursue such a practice). (6) Various courses offered in Polytechnic, with emphasis upon practical application, after complete secondary education. (7) University level colleges or autonomous Institutes. (8) Research Institutes.

These institutions have their different roles, characteristics and obviously different curricula. (a) Vocational education *within* secondary schools does not aim at producing completely skilled personnel. Their objective mainly is to impart a vocational orientation, preparing the base for subsequent specialisation. (b) *Separate vocational schools* of lower secondary status aim at preparing skilled labour. Obviously, more emphasis need be placed upon practical training rather than imposition of theoretical knowledge. The age group falls within the period of compulsion. Hence a considerable importance of general education and citizenship training need be recognised. The curriculum should, therefore, consist of (i) Theory bearing upon the particular trade, (ii) practical training pertaining to that trade, (iii) language, general science, mathematics and social sciences in simplified forms and quantities to foster general education.

(c) In Continuation-Education, equal emphasis should be placed upon theory and practice. The apprenticeship system provides for

intensive practice. Class-lectures should be devoted mainly on theories related with practice.

(d) In the secondary level institutions, major emphasis should be placed upon theories with proper practical orientation. Applied Mathematics, Applied Chemistry, Applied Physics should feature prominently, together with workshop practice. Of course Language and Social Science should not be at a discount. These institutions being preparatory for higher studies, integration with higher courses should be aimed at.

(e) Post-Secondary institutions are mainly of two types—the Polytechnique and the Technological college. The objective of the Polytechnique is to produce technicians with mastery of practice. Draftsmen, Foremen, Chargemen and such other skilled personnel come normally from Polytechniques. Successful students enter life directly. Hence the curriculum should include mathematics, physics, (chemistry where necessary), metallurgy, engineering drawing & designing, survey etc. on the one hand, and intensive workshop practice on the other. Language should better be included, because language deficiency of successful polytech students is often painful. Emphasis in the Degree Courses should equally be placed upon theory and practice, on the basis of a common course for the first year or two, diversified thereafter in Mechanical, Electrical, Civil, Marine, Metallurgy, Chemical, Aeronautics, Architectural engineering is the normal practice. At every stage, practice should mingle with theory, and a year or two more of in-service training should be insisted upon.

Precondition to the success of technical and vocational education is the existence of well equipped laboratories, libraries and workshops. Many of the manual types of work which are considered co-curricular in relation to general education are intimately and directly curricular in relation to technical education. Hence cocurricular work in this case should be (a) physical exercises, games, literary and cultural activities, (b) visits to construction projects including participation during vacations, (c) visits to factories, (d) organisation of exhibitions with models, diagrams, and demonstrations.

In as much as methods of teaching are concerned, it needs be said that explanations and expositions of fundamentals must be made effective. But each exposition should be accompanied by diagrams and models, because technical education without proper aids can be

no education. The students must handle the materials and models and supplement their knowledge by practical workshop programmes.

The general duties and functions of the technical teacher do not differ basically from the functions of a teacher in general school and college. But something more is expected of the technical teacher. He must keep himself abreast of the latest development on the global scale, so that he may instil an inspiration and aspiration into the student body. Sufficient efficiency in practical work together with theoretical knowledge should be the basic minimum of his qualifications. Obviously, teacher-training is a 'must' in this case too.

Technical examination is divided into (a) written theoretical and (b) practical workshop demonstration. It is sometimes supplemented by oral testing. In some of the higher institutes of technology, the proficiency is judged on the basis of cumulative records. This practice should be generally followed.

Development of Technical Education Before 1947

Vocational education in ancient India had been conducted basically in the family unit. This tradition continued throughout the middle ages. Some of the Sultans and Badshahs, however, provided workshops specially for the training of their slaves. Some remnants of ancient and mediaeval excellence in craftsmanship survived against odds of modern economy. Weaving and spinning, wood work, metal work etc. are a few of these crafts.

The British rulers could not naturally have any genuine interest in India's industrial development. Yet they had to introduce into India some elements of modern life that might help the British machine of exploitation. Some skilled personnel had to be prepared for the railways, roads and other departments. An engineering class was started at Bombay in 1824, and a mechanical school was established for the P. W. D. at Poona. This scanty beginning led, in a few years, to the establishment of the Roorkie Engineering College in 1847. Other colleges were founded in quick succession viz-Calcutta Engineering college (1856), Agra, Meerut, and Benares Colleges in 1852, 1856 and 1857 respectively. From 1880 onwards mechanical, civil and electrical courses were started in Sibpore and other colleges.

The growth of national consciousness in the last part of the 19th Century also added a fresh impetus to the cause of technical education.

The National Congress in its 1888 and 1889 sessions demanded commercial and technical education of a complete nature (not the 'B' course type).

The *National Education Movement* brought the question of technical education into prominence. Already in 1904, the "Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of India" had been formed. These developments influenced the Govt policy also. The Indian Institute of Science was established in 1911 and the Dhanbad School of Mining in 1926. The Lytton Committee censured the apathy of European employers to employ Indian Technicians.

The first world war, however, brought about a revolutionary change in our concept. The economic crisis of 1929 furthered our urge for vocational education. The Hartag Committee recommended diversified studies at the lower secondary stage and the drafting of a part of the student population for vocational education at the end of that stage. The Abbot-Wood Committee (1937) also submitted an illuminating report incorporating important suggestions. And lastly the Sargent Committee (1944) recommended a complete system of technical and vocational education integrated with the general system of education.

Apart from these commission and committee reports, technical education acquired a momentum during the second world war as demanded by the pressure of circumstances. *A well thought out plan and a dynamic direction was, however, absent during the entire process of development so far.* The first pre-independence attempt in this direction was the establishment of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940. This was followed by the Sarkar Committee (1945) and the Central Board of Technical Education. And lastly came the Scientific Man-power Committee to conduct a study of man-power requirements.

Development After Independence

The first educational commission—The Radhakrishnan Commission attached great importance to engineering and technological studies at the university stage. The Mudaliar Commission recommended technical school, industrial school and apprenticeship system. The Commission also suggested a special levy on Industrial and Commercial firms for the cause of technical education. *In the era of planning,* the programme for technical and vocational education in free India

included—(i) improvement of the existing degree colleges, (ii) establishment of new institutions, (iii) post-graduate study and research.

India, at present, has the following major types of technical institutions—(1) Degree Colleges and Technological Institutes, (2) Institutions for Diploma and Certificate courses. (3) Industrial schools, Junior Technical schools, arts & crafts schools for the production of skilled labour. *The second and third categories may be subdivided into—*(i) *Junior Technical School.* The minimum admission requirement in this case is complete Junior School course. Practical work accounts for 80% and theoretical preparation for 20% of the study time. Practical training is imparted in workshop attached to the school. The successful students after complete 3 year course may ~~get~~ admitted to Diploma courses or may seek employment. (ii) *The Technical Course in the Higher Secondary School* in consequence of the introduction of the new scheme of secondary education. (iii) *The Industrial Training School (I. T. I.)* The admission requirement is complete 6 year school education, and the programme leads to the production of skilled labour for particular trades. The courses vary in length and intensity viz. one year for Refrigeration Mechanics, and 2 years for Electrical engineering. In most of the trades, however, the length of study and training is 2 years. (iv) *The Polytechnique.* The minimum qualification for admission is S. F. or H. S. certificate or Junior Technical Certificate. The courses combine theory and practice and lead to D. C. E., D. E. E., D. M. E., D. Cn. E. Diplomas. (In each case D denotes diploma). The successful students may serve as middle grade technical cadre in industrial firms. (v) *The Board of Apprenticeship Training (B. O. A. T.)* which admits candidates with S. F. or H. S. certificates subject to success at an admission test. It offers an apprenticeship training course for candidates serving as apprentices and sponsored by the employing firms. (vi) *Degree colleges* which issue Bachelorship Degrees (B. E.); Admission after H. S. is competitive. A five year course is generally offered in various branches of engineering and technology. (vii) *Part-time B. E. or equivalent courses* (viz. A. M. I. E.). This is generally a 5 year evening course for in-service personnel already possessing B. O. A. T. or equivalent Diplomas. (viii) *Post Graduate courses* (M. E. or M-Tech). The

Types and nature
of institutions

candidates must have completed B. E. or B. Sc/B. Tech. (ix) *Vocational Training Centres* for the preparation of specially skilled man power for particular fields of technology viz. Printing Technology, Leather Technology, Jute Technology, Textile Technology, Ceramic Technology etc. The minimum admission requirement in some of these institutions is H. S. certificate while in some others it is B Sc. (X) *Specialised Research and Teaching Institutes* at the highest level viz. Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, The Bhaba Atomic Research Centre etc.

These different types of institutions are *not, however, well integrated* in a total pattern of technical education providing a ladder from bottom to top as it exists in Russia and other countries where the integrated system provides a second ladder to the University. Our system may be graphically represented as follows.

Class VI—I. T. I. The door to higher education is practically closed before the student from this type.

Class VIII—Junior Technical (3 year)→Polytech (3 years)→B. E. (5 years)→M. E. (2 years)→Doctoral Course.

Students from Junior tech-college may join the Polytech ; Diploma holders from the Polytech may also join the part time course for degree. The link, however, is very indirect and the process very tortuous. Even if a fortunate and meritorious student proceeds from the Junior tech-college towards higher education, he will require at least 11 years to complete his B. E.

Class XII—Directly to B. E. course and completion of B. E. in 5 years. The very faint integration, thus, gives a picture of inequality.

Expansion

In spite of these defects, we recorded some advance in respect of quantitative expansion of technical education.

There are 5 Institutes of Technology in India, and Institutes of Management at Calcutta and Ahmedabad The Bangalore Institute and the Pilani Institute also serve effective purposes. 42 Institutions offer post graduate courses, including Ph. D. courses from 7 Institutes. Out of the total of 1077 Professional and Technical Colleges in India, about 50% are institutions for technical and vocational education. And the 44 National Laboratories also help technological studies directly or indirectly. We must, therefore, admit that some

quantitative progress has been made since 1947. But the progress was no unmixed blessing, because technical and vocational education has already been suffering from crisis caused by expansion.

Kothari Commission's Views

Fortunately, the Kothari Commission made extensive recommendations in regard to technical and vocational education which may be summed up as the following—(i) Vocationalisation of secondary education and acceptance of all types of education between primary and university stages as secondary education. (ii) Vocational education should start at the lower secondary level with the object of diverting 50% of children to vocational courses by 1985. This should be education of a terminal nature either in part time or in full time institutions. (iii) Industrial Training Institutes should be provided for those who would abandon general education after class VIII. For the rural children a special scheme of *Further Education* should be developed, by combining vocational education with general education. Similarly general education for girls should be combined with Domestic Science. (iv) At the secondary level, full time industrial Polytechniques in urban areas and agricultural and engineering Polytechs in rural areas or 3 year diploma or certificate courses in Commerce, Public Health, Administration, Cottage Industries will provide extensive facilities. This should be supplemented by Correspondence Courses, Sandwich Courses, Short Intensive Courses etc. (v) At the higher levels, more emphasis should be placed upon practical experience. A selective approach should be adopted in regard to admission of students. (vi) To ensure a centralised and more meaningful direction, a U. G. C. type authority should be formed and financial resources augmented.

The Commission had proposed 30 thousand places at Degree level and 61 thousand at Diploma level by 1970-71, and increased per capita, per annum expenditure in the following order (in terms of rupees).

	1965-66	1975-76	1985-86
Voc education at Lower Secondary stage	417	500	600
At the Secondary stage		700	800
At the Degree level	1167	1500	2000
At Post Graduate level		5000	6000

It is needless to say that the targets for expansion have not been reached, nor the targets for per capita expenditure. On the other hand retrenchment and unemployment hit the trained personnel hard. Man-power planning has become a farce. Indian talent is going abroad and this "brain drain" has been helping other countries.

The Govt's plan to solve the unemployment crisis is amusing. The plan consists of (i) helping the unemployed engineers to start small scale private business, (ii) factories on co-operative basis, (iii) Unemployment allowance, (iv) stipends for higher studies (to keep them out of the employment market), (v) permission to go abroad. Never is anything heard of the fact that *real solution of the problem lies in creating additional job opportunities by expansion of industrial economy.* In fact, such expansion in national interest is not possible in a system of economy vitally dependent upon private proprietorship. Increasing public sector expansion may relieve the situation to some extent, although the ultimate solution lies in a genuine socialistic economy.

Teacher Education

Teacher education is one of the most important types of professional education.

India had an ancient system of teacher-preparation in the monitorial practices. With the death of the indigenous system of education, this indigenous type of teacher-training also ended. Early attempts to set up a new system of teacher-education were made by the missionaries. The Serampore Training Institution was established by William Carey. The Bombay Native Education Society had 24 teachers trained in the Lancastrian Method. The Elphinstone Institute, Poona Sanskrit College and the Surat college started Normal Schools. Schools were established by Munro at Madras. And the Calcutta School Society started training courses. The rejection of Adam's Report by the then Govt nullified the possibilities of extensive teacher preparation. The Despatch of 1854 brought a new ray of hope. The number of Normal Schools by 1881-82 became 106, and the Hunter Commission wanted to make professional training a pre-condition to permanent appointment. This emphasis caused further expansion of training. By 1901-02 there were training colleges & training schools for secondary teachers (L. T. course), Certificate

courses conducted by the D. P. I. and Normal Schools for primary school teachers.

The question of training acquired importance at the Simla Conference of 1901, and the University Commission of 1902 made positive recommendations. The Govt Resolution of 1905 adopted by Lord Curzon's administration proposed the introduction of one year training for graduates and 2 year course for undergraduates. The course would combine theoretical studies with practical teaching work.

Hence, a close link would be maintained between the training colleges and the secondary schools. On the basis of this policy, the Bombay training college, the David Hare training college and the Dacca college were started in 1906, 1908 and 1909 respectively. The Govt Resolution of 1913 further stated that the policy of the Govt would be "not to maintain untrained persons on the teaching staff".

A fresh impetus to this positive policy came from the Sadler Commission which recommended the establishment of the University Department of Education and acceptance of "Education" as a subject of study. The Hartog Committee recommended prolongation of the training period, introduction of Refresher courses and initiation of pedagogical research. Since then, all the important committees viz Sargent Committee, Mudaliar and Radhakrishnan Commissions placed particular emphasis upon expansion of training facilities. After independence, an international team of experts assessed the whole thing in 1955. Conference and Seminars were held since then at different levels and some curricular reforms were made from time to time.

Kothari Commission made the following recommendations on teacher education—

1. Opening of extension service departments in training institutions.
2. Comprehensive college in each State to train teachers for different stages of education.
3. A State Board of teacher education to oversee teacher education in each State.
4. Changes in curriculum in accordance with the changing needs of the time.

5. Free education for trainees and also grants of stipends, scholarships and study loans.

6. Correspondence courses.

The N. C. E. R. T. has been conducting 4 Regional colleges with composite courses (general degree and teacher training).

India at present has a few types of training institutions viz. (1) a few training schools for pre-primary teachers as well as rotatory Montessori classes, (2) Primary teachers' colleges for 1-3 year training, (3) Junior Basic Training Colleges, (4) A few Senior Training Colleges, (5) P. G. B. T., (6) Post Graduate B.T. B. Ed. colleges, (7) Certificate courses in some States. There are also provisions for refresher,

short term intensive courses, seminars, week-end symposia, educational exhibitions and extension services. The present state The central leadership in teacher preparation comes from the N. C. E. R. T.

The following data would give a *simultaneous picture of success and failure*. Persons with higher academic qualifications join the teaching profession these days.

West Bengal is fortunate in as much as there are at present very few undergraduate secondary teachers ; more than half are graduate teachers ; 20% have Honours Degrees and the rest are Master's Degree holders.

But, India's *progress in respect of professional training of teachers is not startling*, as will be clear from the following figures of trained personnel.

	1950-51,	1960-61,	1965-66,	1979-80
Primary level	58·8%	63%	75%	85·6
Lower Secondary	53·3%	64%	75%	84·8
Secondary/H. S.	53·8%	68%	75%	82·6

These are average figures. There are wide variations between States. The *figures for West Bengal* may be cited viz.—Primary 58·3%, Lower Secondary 46·3% and Secondary level 62·6% only.

No of Institutions	1950-51,	1960-61,	1979-80
Training Schools	782	1138	1664
Training Colleges	53	478	1214

The curriculum, with local differences is generally composed of 4/5 compulsory general papers viz.—Educational Principles, Educational

Psychology, History of Education, School Organisation and School Hygiene etc. Teaching Methods (at least in 2 subjects) are compulsory. Teaching practice is also compulsory. Primary and Basic Training colleges put special emphasis upon crafts and arts. With the acceptance of work education and Physical Education in the secondary education courses these have also been generally accepted as method papers. It is to be noted that with every change in the curricula in Primary Education there must be a concomitant change in primary teacher education. The same applies to the case of secondary education and secondary teacher education.

Problems of Teacher-Education

1. The curriculum is over burdened with theory.
2. There is a good deal of difference between theory and practice. Sri K. G. Saiyadian had correctly stated that "Practice and theory must both be visualised as growing entities theory illuminating practice and practice constantly modifying theory".
3. The training institutions should enjoy an atmosphere of freedom and human relationship.
4. Quinquennial surveys should be made of requirements and back logs.
5. Temporary short term courses may be provided to meet exigencies.
6. Training colleges should be provided with a sufficient number of teachers and should be well provided with aids and equipment.
7. Attempts should be made to make all the training institutions residential.
8. While selecting candidates for training, emphasis should be placed upon their motivation.
9. More emphasis should be placed upon teaching practice.
10. Refresher courses should be made a regular feature.
11. The degree should await a particular period of teaching work in a school and the preparation of a dissertation on the basis of experience gathered in course of practical class work.
12. Promotion and increment should not be used as a bait to lure trainees.
13. But allowances and stipends should be extensively provided.

CHAPTER XIII

Development of Women's Education

There had been a time when women in ancient India enjoyed social prestige and educational rights. These were partly lost under dictates of Manu and Parasara. Some traditions still survived.

Even that tradition of women's education was mostly lost during the mediaeval era although some attempts still continued. The decay and upheavals of the 18th century caused almost a total collapse of the tradition, with the exception of some remnants. Doors of Tols and Chatuspathi's were practically closed to women. Superstitions and conservatism reigned supreme.

New efforts in the modern era were started by the missionaries. Rev May's school at Chinsurah (1818) was followed by Carey's school at Serampore. Thereafter the Calcutta Female Jevvenile Society, the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education made effective contributions. Indian workers were not late to take the field. Rammohan, Derozio, the Young Bengal, and subsequently Vidyasagar, Debendranath, Radhakanta Dev etc. in Bengal and Agarkar, Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Jagannath Sankarset helped to break the ice of conservatism. With the development of the Brahmo movement, the consciousness in favour of girls' education developed rapidly. The Young Bengal Movement added an impetus. Girls' schools were established even in mafussil centres. The traditionalist leadership also could not sit tight. Bombay and Madras also took rapid strides. Indian donations and endowments came forth for the establishment of girls' schools.

These developments were recognised in the *Despatch of 1854* which declared that the Govt would advance aids to women's education. Indian leaders like Vidyasagar infused a new spirit in non-official efforts and introduced a new character in the movement. The simultaneous growth of national consciousness also fostered the cause of women's education. This was recorded in some expansion as will be evident from the following figures.

	1881-82	1901-02
College	1	12
Roll strength	6	
Secondary School	81	422
Roll strength	2058	
Primary School	2600	4305
Teachers' College	15	45

Literacy in 1901—Male 10%, Female 7%.

Of course the *expansion owed much to non-official enterprise*. In 1901, 356 secondary schools, 3982 primary schools, 32 training colleges and 11 colleges were non-official in nature. Social workers and nationalist leaders led the field, viz Annie Besant and others. A new socio-economic consciousness inspired the women to join professional and vocational courses also. Women's organisations began to lead the movement for women's education. Official forms also could not but speak out. The Indian Industrial Commission (1916—18), the Fiscal Commission (1921—22) supported the cause of education of the labouring masses in the interest of industrial development of the country.

In spite of everything, only 3% of India's women were literate in 1937. In rural areas the figure was still lower. And most of the rural poor and depressed classes were absolutely illiterate. The missionaries created some exceptions in some areas of South India. Women's Indian Association (1917), "National Council of Women" (1925), A. I. W. C. (1927) were other organisations. The movement against child marriage also helped the cause of education. Illiteracy in India was referred to at the Round Table Conference in 1931. And lastly Gandhiji's Sarvodaya movement accorded a special importance to the education of women. The cumulative effect of these movements doubled the number of girls in primary and secondary education, quadrupled it at collegiate level and recorded a ten-time increase in professional education in 1947, in comparison with the figures for 1921. Yet women's education continued to lag behind when, even in 1947 the average literacy was 16%.

The constitution of free India recognises equality between men and women in society and before law. The directive principles of the constitution promised education for all upto 14 years of age. The people developed high expectations. In fact, women are equal

competitors with men in fields of employment. The economic crisis also forced this situation upon women. These trends influenced women's education. The Domestic Science and Fine Arts streams of the Mudaliar Scheme were meant primarily for women. In 1958, the Govt of India set up the Durgabai Deshmukh Committee (National Committee for Women's Education) which recommended that (1) for some more years, the question of women's education should be treated as a special problem, (2) a joint advisor for women's education should be appointed in Central Administration, (3) similar appointments should be made in all the States, (4) the appointment of female teachers in girls' schools should be made compulsory, (5) a common curriculum at primary stage and a differential provision for girls at secondary stage should be made, (6) separate vocational and adult education programmes should be provided for women, (7) a standing national committee for girls' and women's education should be formed at an early date.

Thereafter a committee was formed under Sm. Hans Mahta to consider the question of separate curricula. This committee opined that special attention to women's education within the general scheme should serve the purpose and curricular differentiation should be a transitional practice. A further committee under Bhaktabatsalam considered the special problems of women's education in six under-developed States.

The reports of the Mudaliar Commission and the aforesaid committee laid the track for women's education in free India. Some quantitative expansion has surely been achieved. While in 1901 girls accounted for 12% of boys in primary education and 4% in secondary education, the same figures at present are 60% and 30%. In 1901, only 26 girls were registered for higher education. The figure at present is several lakhs. Conservatism has also declined to an extent that 85%, 78%, and 30% of girl students at present read in co-educational schools at primary, lower secondary and secondary levels. The demands for professional and vocational education also went up.

The problems also are many. The proportion between boys' education and girls' education exhibits a wide disparity. The rural people are still lagging behind. Backward castes and tribes are still very insignificant in the picture. Early marriage is still practised. Transport and other problems, specially in rural areas constitute a stumbling block. And there is no

denying the fact that in the eyes of the parents, sons are still more valuable than girls. The selection of studies is also defective. As yet, girls prefer humanities to the sciences. And it must be noted above all that unemployment of educated women has already created a gaping wound.

This situation influenced the deliberations of the *Kothari Commission*. The Commission attached great importance to women's education. Although the commission recognised special claim of women to teaching, nursing and other social service avenues, it recommended equal treatment of women's education with men's education on terms of parity. Hence it recommended the abolition of Domestic Science stream from the scheme of general education and recommended its treatment on a vocational basis. It also placed special emphasis upon the study of science and mathematics by our girls.

Surely we have made progress. While the total intake of girls in 1947 had been 3550503 in 16951 institutions, the figures for 1954-55 became 8248284 in 22088 institutions. Thereafter the growth has been continuous. The following data will show.

Intake of students in lacs :—

	Primary	Junior	Schools/H.S.
1955—56	76.4	8.7	3.3
1860—61	114.0	16.3	5.6
1965—66	182.9	28.8	12.0
1973—74	240.36	45.31	20.69
1978—79	288.00	59.8	24.6
6th Plan Target	410.00	108.0	43.00

True it is that there is constitutionally recognised equality between men and women. True it is that efforts are being made to spread education among rural women, and education of girls upto complete secondary stage is 'free' in most of the States. Yet the obstacles and problems are also many. Social superstition and conservatism, particularly amongst muslims and tribal people is still deep. Provisions to look after the children of working women (i.e. creche-nursery-k.g.) are lacking. Wide avenues of vocational fulfilment (other than cottage handicrafts) are not open. In spite of the Age of Consent Act, child marriage is still prevalent and it seldom

occurs that girls can freely pursue their educational career in post-marital days. And above all, the illiteracy of mothers tells heavily upon the span and depth of girls' education.

We may admit that backwardness of Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Tribes, early marriage and early motherhood, poverty of the millions, wastage have been causes of short fall. Yet they cannot be excuses to explain away our failures. A comparison with other neo-independent countries may be made. Let apart the examples of China, Cuba, Nicaragua, we may refer to Nijeria or Vietnam.

Vietnam—An Example

Members of a women's delegation from Vietnam which visited India recently stated that for the Vietnams the relationship between the society's educational and economic structure did not mean the promise of an upward mobility, but an enhanced ability to contribute to their country's development.

In rural areas the backward customs and practices did not die so early. Yet, women are on par with men in primary and secondary education. 39% of graduates are women. 55% of women are educated upto higher secondary standard.

Yet, women are lagging. Why? Marriage is very important in Vietnamsese life. It is very difficult to pursue education after marriage. And educational levels are lower in villages. Most of women graduates are from urban areas. There is similarity with India.

But women constitute 46% of total labour force. In agriculture, and in the production of consumer goods and handicrafts it is as high as 70 to 80%. Change in structure of economic relationship vitally changed family relationships. Wives are no longer cowed. They even became pioneers in the use of some types of agricultural tools when men were unable. They work in regular night shifts and face no sex-harassment. The concept of women representing beauty and virtue is not carrying any weight in family matters or economic status. The three traditional customs of obedience to father, husband and elder son was changing into three responsibilities of productive work, management of family affairs and political commitment. (It is to be noted that Vietnam attained independence a few years later than India, but it attained simultaneously a social revolution).

Case of West Bengal

Women's Education in Bengal progressed under the impact of various social movements, political influences and economic compulsions. A bitter and longdrawn battle had to be waged against the concepts of early marriage of girls at 9 years, or that education would cause widowhood. In the different phases, these movements were led by Raja Rammohan (with the help of missionaries like Alexander Duff), Derozio, the Young Bengal, Debendranath, Vidyasagar etc. It should be particularly noted that the conservative leader Raja Radhakanta Dev, inspite of all his differences with the Brahmos and liberal Hindus or with the extremist Young Bengal was an upholder and patron of women's education.

Newspapers played a valient role in forming public opinion in favour of women's education. Samachar Darpan of Serampore Mission, 'The Enquirer' of Rev. Krishnamohan Banerjee, 'Jnananvesana' of Rasik Krishna Mullick and Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, "The Bengal Spectator" of Ramgopal Ghosh and Tarachand Chakraborti, 'Mashik Patrika' of Pyarichand Mitra and Radhanath Sikdar, 'Tattwabodhini Patrika' of Debendranath Tagore and Aukshay Kumar Datta should specially be referred to. Even the journal conducted by Radhakanta Dev was vocal.

Raja Radhakanta Dev had pundit Gourmohan Vidyalkar write a monograph entitled "Stree Siksha Vidhayak" and had it published by the Female Juvenile Society in 1822.

The history of women's education in Bengal is also interesting. A short account is ;—

The Missonaries of Serampore had been pioneers in the field. Then stepped in the Female Juvenile Society. The British and Foreign School Society of London sent out Miss Cook who, in a short period, established 24 girls' schools, the management of which was subsequently transferred to the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education." (estd. 1824). This society, under the initiative of Raja Vaidyanath Roy of Jorasanko started the Central Female School in 1828 at a place where now stands the B. Ed. Department of Scottish Churches College. Girls' schools were established also in Mufussil areas like Serampore, Burdwan, Krishnagore, Dacca, Kalna, Backergunj, Katwa, Chittagong.

The middle of the 19th Century saw further developments. Under

the initiative of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune a girls school for secular education was established in 1849. This school had a chain of names—viz. Calcutta Female School, Hindu Female School, Native Female School and lastly Bethune Girls' School. Vidyasagar became secretary of this school in 1850. His friend Madan Mohan Tarkalankar not only became an honorary teacher, but also had his daughters Bhubanmala and Kundamala admitted as students. Tarkalankar wrote his "Sishu Siksha" in 3 parts in 1849-50 and used then as text books in the school. He also contributed an illuminating article on women's education to "Sarba Subhakari", a trimonthly journal of Hindu School seniors.

The Despatch of 1854 spoke favourably of womens' education. Vidyasagar became inspector of schools for the districts of Nadia, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. With the assent of Governor Mr. Haliday, he planned to establish girls' schools if villagers contributed school houses.

In 1857 he started a girls' school at Jougram in Burdwan. In 1858 he established 23 girls' schools in Hooghly, 11 in Burdwan, 3 in Midnapore, 1 in Nadia—a total of 38 schools. The D. P. I. Mr. Gordon Young wanted to put a brake upon this effort, and Vidyasagar resigned his inspectorship in 1858. When the authorities expressed reluctance to finance the established schools, Vidyasagar opened a non-official Charity Fund "Nari Siksha Bhandar".

The Bethune School which enjoyed the patronage of Ramgopal Ghose, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee and Debendranath Tagore flourished rapidly. It started college classes. Girls also successfully came out of the medical college. Yet progress was not satisfactory.

A fresh impetus came from the National Education Movement and the Non-cooperation. The movement for female emancipation, for rights of women and the movement for women's education merged with one another. Similarly, the movement in Bengal became an integral part of India's efforts at women's education.

In the recent years, West Bengal has forged ahead considerably. While aggregate illiteracy in India in 1981 had been 64%, female illiteracy had been 75% i.e. average literacy of women was 25% (urban = 40% and rural 10% only.), West Bengal made an all out effort

to break the ice in rural Bengal and in urban slums. Through free-education, distribution of free-books, tiffins, uniforms, incentives etc. and by making education free upto class XII, a great impetus was given to Women's education. It is gratifying that West Bengal's progress in women's education was adjudged the best in India, for 1984.

In West Bengal there are separate and special types of girls' institutions apart from the Co-educational institutions. In the rural areas $\frac{2}{3}$ of the girls at the secondary level and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the girls at collegiate level read in Coeducational institutions on equal terms with boys.

As said earlier, school education of girls as well as of boys in "free" in West Bengal. Various types of scholarships or stipends are also in vogue. Girls are gradually turning to the study of the sciences. Yet the proportion of girls in comparison with boys on the educational stage is still not gratifying. But unemployment amongst women is already acute. Need is many more diverse courses of vocational nature, more junior and senior polytechs and expansion of employment market.

CHAPTER XIV

Development of Adult Education

(Social Education)

We have just referred to the baneful effects of largescale illiteracy of our women. This tragedy is equally true of our male population too. But even in the early part of the last century, literacy in India had not been inferior to that in Europe. It had been claimed that India's literacy had been like 6%. Had the question of mass education and literacy received proper attention since then, our present problem of acute illiteracy might not have existed at all. But this was impossible for a colonial country.

Considered in the context of modernism in socio-economic life, there is no denying that our consciousness also dawned late. However, the growth of national consciousness led to a concomitant consciousness about literacy. The commission of 1882 had to devote its thought to the problem. Some isolated efforts were made since then. But little effect could be discerned. This again was natural because our organised national movement was initiated and led by the upper and middle classes who could not be expected to be enamoured of mass education.

A positive scope arrived when education was transferred to the control of elected Indian ministers consequent upon the Constitutional Reforms of 1919. The Congress policy of "mass contact" also created a favourable situation. But the great economic crisis of 1929 obstructed any startling effects. But our ideas became gradually clear, particularly under the impact of Gandhiji's educational thought. The administration also felt the impact. Provincial autonomy created some scope of work. The Govt of India's Adult Education Committee was formed in 1939. The Congress ministries in the provinces chalked out a programme under the initiative of Dr. Syed Mahmood. A provincial Adult Education Council was formed in Bombay in 1937. Bihar Govt. adopted the slogan "Make your home literate". Libraries and reading rooms were provided. The Sargent Committee envisaged a programme of total literacy in 40 years. But nothing remarkable could be achieved before independence. It was distressing and disgraceful that even after 200 hundred years of British rule, India's literacy in 1951 stood at 17% only.

In 1948, the Education Minister of the Govt. of India presented a 12 point scheme of Adult Education. Education Ministers' Conference in 1949 resolved that at least 50% of 12—50 age group would be made literate within 3 years. (A target fixed too hot-headedly indeed !!). The Govt of India adopted a 5 point programme viz. (1) Literacy. (2) Knowledge of the rules of health and sanitation. (3) Financial uplift of the educands. (4) Education in Citizenship. (5) Education for healthy leisure time entertainment.

Our ideas became gradually clear. In the 15th session of the C.A.B.E. (1949). Moulana Abul Kalam Azad said, "The aim of adult education should not be confined to literacy, but to make each citizen a wise member of the democratic set up." Thus originated the concept of Social Education.

Moulana Azad said again in 1949, "By Social Education we mean education of the complete man—literacy, so that knowledge of the world may be accessible to him, harmonisation with environment, best use of physical conditions, improved craftsmanship and modes of production for economic betterment, rudiments of personal and community hygiene, training in practical citizenship, particularly intelligent exercise of franchise."

Prof. Humayun Kabir said that the course of study in adult education should be directed towards the production of consciousness of citizenship and promotion of social solidarity, inculcate a lively sense of rights and duties of citizenship as individuals and as members of the community.

The difference between the meanings of adult education and social education should be understood. Adult education does not simply mean making the adults literate. K. G. Saiyadain says that Adult Education includes political and civic as well as moral education. Prof. S. N. Mookherjee says that adult education includes all instructions—formal or informal. In India, it ought to have two aspects—(1) Adult Literacy (2) Continuation Education.

Our concept changed after independence. Literacy was combined with Fundamental Education to make it Social Education. Hence the concept of social education is much wider than the traditional concept of literacy or adult education.

The programme of social education includes literacy, citizenship, political and economic education, health education and leisure education, all simultaneously through a single programme. Adult literacy programme has been integrated with community development scheme. Attempts are being made through rural Radio or T.V. Centres, night schools, jail schools, documentary film shows, mobile libraries etc. Training Colleges for the training of adult education teachers and social workers impart training in agriculture, crafts, poultry, co-operative, health, etc.

Nature

Aims and
Purposes

A committee on Adult Education under the chairmanship of Mohanlal Saxena in 1949 formally suggested the name "Social Education." The aims of Social Education detailed out by the Commission were :

- (1) To rouse a sense of rights and duties of citizens and a spirit of social service.
- (2) Creation of love of democracy.
- (3) To acquaint the adult population with national problems.
- (4) To make them proud of cultural heritage through history, geography etc.
- (5) To educate them for effective use of the opportunities of pleasure (like music, dance, drama etc.)
- (6) To impart a permanent knowledge of the 3 Rs.
- (7) To impart leisure time education.
- (8) To help them expand the bounds of knowledge through library services, debatings, and community colleges and centres.
- (9) To impart an attitude of co-operation with other people.

The purposes of Social Education so far as the individual is concerned are—(a) Mental development, (b) Professional development, (c) Physical development, (d) Cultural development and (e) Development of social skill.

Purposes

The purposes so far as the society is concerned are—(a) promotion of social cohesion, (b) conservation and improvement of culture and values, (c) to build up social co-operation and (d) to inculcate a social ideology.

Social Education should, thus, answer to the needs of illiterate adults, should answer to the need for complete education, answer to the need of healthy recreation and also political and economic needs of the country.

Needs

The problem of curriculum and methods of instruction is, however, very complex. All the adult population do not stand at the same academic standard. 64% of India's people are still illiterate. The literacy standard of even the 'literate' is so low that 86% of them cannot read a book properly, many of them cannot do the simple arithmetical calculations needed in daily use and many cannot judiciously exercise their franchise.

There are illiterates, semi literates and neoliterates. Obviously, there should be multiple curricula and multiple types of text books.

Curricula
and
Methods

So far as methods of instruction are concerned, we should learn from the experiences of countries where mass drives ended in mass literacy. To begin with "reading" should be the first commandment even among the basic three Rs. The reading materials should be organised on the "word to sentence" pattern based upon known things and phenomena. Varied types of audio-visual aids should be pressed into commission. Help should be taken of the mass media of communication and troupes of theatrical and performing arts. Exhibitions and fairs should be extensively organised. The adult students should be pressed into practical activities, so that literacy may be genuinely functional.

Provisions for adults who had had some formal education (of whatever type or whatever standard) should be made in a scheme of continuation education, in-service or out of service, vocational or general in nature, full time or part time. The planners of such education should be sufficiently posted with information about needs of industries and the employment market.

Non-formal education (which we shall discuss in another chapter) and measures against wastage (which we shall discuss in another chapter) may retrieve the situation to some extent. Youth and students' organisations should be pressed into voluntary service, as had been done in many countries to secure wonderful results. The drive for Social Education should be led as a powerful social movement. The need is genuine motivation.

The First Five Year Plan allocation for Adult Education had been Rs. 7.5 crores, and that for the 2nd Plan had been Rs. 10.00 crores and Rs 10 crores more for National Extension and Community Development. Emphasis had been placed upon securing the services of Gram Panchayats, Co-operative

Progress under
the plans

Societies and professional unions and organisations. The 3rd Plan allocation had been Rs. 12'00 crores with emphasis upon centres of literacy, training of workers and organisers, libraries and audio-visual institutes etc. The 4th Plan with an allocation of Rs. 64'00 crores placed emphasis upon libraries, adult schools, night schools, Training Colleges for workers, formation of a National Adult Education Board and State Boards. The 5th Plan allocation was again reduced to Rs. 35'0 crores—with emphasis upon Non-formal Education and integrated, problem oriented, environment based knowledge.

The allocation under the 6th plan has been Rs. 200 crores. The adopted schemes are —

- (a) Farmers' functional literacy for rural areas,
- (b) Labour institutes and multipurpose adult education centres for urban areas,
- (c) Adult Education departments in Universities.
- (d) Nehru Youth Centre,
- (e) National Service Scheme,
- (f) Assistance to voluntary organisations.

With emphasis upon age group 15—35, the target for the plan period is to bring 650 lac people under adult education and literacy programme. The spacing proposed was—

First year = 15 lac.

Second „ = 45 „

Third „ = 90 „

Fourth „ = 180 „

5th „ = 320 „

It is evident that allocation increased from plan to plan. But it was never proportionate to the increase in the total outlay of the plans and it never reached any commendable level even within the very meagre allocation of 1% for education as a whole. The states, however, spent on their own account as will be evident when we discuss West Bengal.

Apart from the paucity of funds, the other problems are proper training and supply of teachers, the selection of agencies and the shouldering of responsibility. It is true that the State Govt. has to play a big role, but the ultimate onus lies with the Union Govt. in consequence of the Directive Principles of the constitution. A National

Book Trust and a National centre of Fundamental Education work as Central Agencies to render some help.

Correlation Between Poverty and Illiteracy

Irrespective of religious, caste, regional and sex differences, socially and economically handicapped people exist throughout India. Due to prolonged social neglect, illiteracy, religious myopism superstitions have been deeply embedded in them. Innumerable workers, peasants men and woman, innumerable bonded labour and child labour, innumerable Muslim, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are smarting under the bondage of illiteracy and lack of education. Exploited and poor people of the upper castes are no better. They are equally weak. This explains why although 15% of Hindus belong to the category of Scheduled Castes and only 8% to the scheduled tribes, illiteracy still stands at 64% of the total population.

Need of Universal Literacy

Literacy and education is essential for healthy social life. Literacy, education and culture are essential for adjustment with national culture and heritage. Civil liberty is essential to strengthen democracy in political life. Literacy and education constitutes a guarantee to civil liberty. Even, a judicious casting of vote in an electoral system necessitates literacy. Above all, active work in mills and factories in this period of modern mechanical production requires literacy, education and training. In fact, universal literacy and universal education is a sign of progressiveness of any modern State. And yet, the curse of illiteracy and lack of education has been crippling our economic system and social life.

After independence we imagined that power in our own hands would enhance literacy in geometric progression. But even after 37 years of independence, literacy in 1984 stood at 36%. It means that 64% (45 crore Indians) are still illiterate. Our population increases by 1 crore, 30 lakh (2.3%) a year. We cannot think of overtaking this growth in our literacy drive.

Lack of interest of British rulers in this field was understandable. They had colonised India to exploit her to enrich themselves. They provided that type and that amount of education for only those classes as would not spell a danger for themselves. They did not 'waste' their re-

sources for mass literacy. But, history of other capitalist countries shows that whenever it became evident that handling of modern machines of production demanded some education and vocational training of the workers, *the ruling classes and the owners of the means of production themselves came forward to spread education amongst the masses which would fetch them higher profits.* Hence, Acts for compulsory primary education were passed in England, Germany and U. S. A. No such laws were passed in pre-1917 Czarist Russia, because the economic and social set up there had been conservative and reactionary. *In post-revolution Soviet Russia* a new social system guaranteed not only primary or higher education, but also mass education and literacy to the extent that illiteracy no longer exists. On the other hand Negro-baiting in the U.S.A. has kept millions of poor black people under fetters of illiteracy even today.

In fact, mass education and universal literacy depends upon the social system and democracy in practice. In present India, apart from religious, caste and social divisions of many types, economic inequality stands as barrier to literacy of the weaker sections. An idea of the extent of poverty in our country may be had from the following data—

$\frac{2}{3}$ of the world's hunger stricken men are Indians.

57% of rural Indians do not get the necessary calorie in their daily meals.

50 – 60% of expectant mothers are anaemic.

More than 50% people live below poverty line.

Per capita income has not reached four figures.

25000 children loose sight every year for lack of neutrition.

42% of school age children are engaged as child labour in agriculture, mines, plantations, shops, industrial and household work. (These data come from the Anti Slavery Association of England). Even today, there are more than 5 lakh bonded labour (who are equivalent to slaves).

Because of these conditions, 8·8 crore children of 6—11 age group are illiterate even today (the majority being girls). More then 60% drop out before completing primary education and lapse into the dark depths of illiteracy. And what remains to be said of those who had never been to school? No wonder that 64% of Indians are still illiterate.

Constitutional Provisions

Art 41 of the Directive Principles states that the State shall, within limits of its capacity and development, make effective provisions for right to education.

Art 45 promises compulsory free and universal education upto 14 years of age, within a decade.

Art 46 states that the State shall promote the interests of weaker sections (particularly Scheduled Castes and Tribes).

Art 15 of the Fundamental Rights promised to guarantee the fundamental rights irrespective of religion, caste, place of birth, sex etc. *But right to education was not placed in the list of fundamental rights.* What more prominent proof of our political weakness could there be? Herein was sown the seed of our educational weakness. Whatever was done, was done in a bureaucratic style. Fight against illiteracy was not integrated with fight against poverty.

We may set aside our own opinion in favour of the observations of the "*Food and Agricultural Organisation*" (F.A.O.) of the U.N.O, about India's backwardness in literacy. In its opinion—Absence of genuine land reforms, the resultant fall in purchasing power of rural masses, shrinkage of export market, and the command of the rich purchasing countries on the price of India's agrarian exports kept India's rural people poor. Illiteracy is associated with this poverty. In fact, semi-feudalism in agrarian system, heavy numbers of landless agrarian labour, problems of share cropping and uneconomic holding of the poor peasant must be viewed together with education if we do mean to end the curse of illiteracy.

Moreover, the problem of poverty is not simply a rural problem. What sincere attention have we paid to the growing economic crisis of the urban poor—the factory worker, the mining labour, the plantation labour, the contract labour and the day labour? Countless half fed, half clad people live in shanties and insanitary bustees in "coolie lines". What place has been given to them in the educational map? Here again the problems are not different for upper caste and scheduled caste, Hindu and Muslim, men and women. *The common problem for all is poverty which keeps them weak. Mixed with it is the problem of literacy and education.*

This problem also is being more acute every day. Food and cloth of the worker depend upon the siren of the mill or rotation of wheels

in factories. But sluggishness in our industries *has been creating unemployment apace*. In 1979, there had been 1.43 crore registered unemployed in India. In 1984, the figure shot up to 3.31 crore. Ordinary labourers very often do not register their names at the employment exchange. Many woman also do not. Obviously the real figure of unemployment is much higher than the paper record. Pressure of unemployment naturally cast the poor people away from education.

And what surety is there for those who are employed ? Incidents of lay off, lock out and closure are ever increasing ! In such periods of enforced worklessness the affected people are so much engrossed with efforts to make the two ends meet that they can seldom bother with education.

Whether in town or in village, in the life of the peasant or the worker, there is economic backwardness of the millions. This causes parallel backwardness in education. The gates of higher education are closed before them. Even literacy is at a low key. Their problem of education will hang fire unless their economic handicap is removed.

Through land reforms and change in agrarian relationship, strict labour legislations guaranteeing decent wages, absolute prohibition of child labour, emancipation of bonded labour, economic emancipation of women are a few of the measures urgently called for. In fact, only a socio-economic egalitarianism may guarantee mass literacy and mass education in India.

CHAPTER XV

DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST BENGAL

Our understanding will be more concrete and worthwhile if we concentrate upon the case of any particular State. Let us select West Bengal for this purpose.

Primary Education

Historical retrospect gives us a picture that Bengal had, in early 19th Century, a considerably extensive system of elementary education (ref : Adam's Report). But Bengal had led the field in accepting Western Education and English language, and to the proportionate extent primary education was neglected. A section of the gentry went to the extent of outspokenly opposing financial and administrative liability on mass education. This was definitely a tragedy for the education and culture of Bengal. A beginning of nourishment was made by Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and others. The Despatch of 1854 recorded change in Govt's attitude, although it remained more a paper record than a practical proposition. Bengal belonged to the permanently settled revenue areas and the Zaminders raised objection to obligatory payment of education cess. The cess controversy caused a wastage of time.

A few modern primary schools were established while the traditional pathsalas were defeated in their struggle for survival. The serious beginning, as it was made in 1882, led ultimately to the *Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919*. Limited compulsion for boys within urban areas was proposed, although the achievements were negligible. The next step was the "Biss Scheme" for expansion of primary education. *The Bengal Primary Education (Rural) Act* was belatedly passed in 1930. This act proposed extension

Development till
1947

of compulsion to the rural areas and led to the formation of District School Boards. The Boards were charged with the responsibility of local planning and administration of primary education under supervision of the District administrative authorities with local cess and state grants. Sir Azizul Haque, as Education Minister, drew up a plan for expansion. But concrete achievements were little till 1947,

Freedom came with partition of Bengal and concomitant intensification of problems. West Bengal also accepted the 'Basic' pattern

and in 1949 decided to orient the old schools and to establish new schools of the same pattern. The Junior Basic school would have 5 classes and 4 teachers.

During the first plan, an "Intensive Block" was established at Banipur with one Post Graduate Basic Training College, 2 Junior Basic Training Colleges, one Janta College, 32 Junior Basic schools, Research Centre, Community Centre, Library, State Orphanage etc.

A similar "Comprehensive" Block was established at Kalimpong. A few more Senior and Junior Training Colleges were established. Disparity between Primary and Basic schools was sought to be removed by

appointing "basic-trained" teachers in ordinary primary schools. The teacher problem was partially solved by the Employment Relief Scheme (Special Cadre Scheme). During the 2nd Plan, a craft was made compulsory for ordinary primary schools. During the 3rd Plan more emphasis was placed upon orientation of primary schools than establishment of "basic" schools, and special attention was paid to the establishment of basic schools in urban areas. The *Urban Primary Education Act of 1963* was passed during the third plan period. This Act directed the Municipalities to introduce free and compulsory primary education and permitted the imposition of an education cess in the urban areas. They were further directed to assess their resources and needs, and were assured of state subsidy.

Under the impact of all these measures and the general popular urge for education, there has, no doubt, been an expansion of primary education (including Basic education) of age group

6—11 years in West Bengal since 1947. The following data will make it sufficiently clear :—

Primary & Basic Schools		Pupils	Teachers
1950-51	14783	1416526	43192
1977-78	44000	6055000	145000
1984-85	51000	76 lakh	170063

Enrolment ratio of girls (6—11) 83—84 = 78.5%

„ of S. caste „ „ = 119000

„ „ S. Tribes „ „ = 275000

Teacher Training College = 48 ; Intake 5595 per annum.

Percentage of teachers trained = 52%

Teacher : Student Ratio = 1 : 44.3

Although pre-primary education has not yet been brought within the concept of compulsion, the total number of *recognised* pre-primary or pre-basic institutions is 186 with 519 teachers and 21200 children of the age group. Moreover, hundreds of centres with one teacher each have been established under the Intensive Child Development Project.

Some more data in regard to age group 6—11 for 1984—85 are ;

(a) Gross enrolment percentage to total child population of the age group = 94.31

Over the next 5 years, the aim is to reach an enrolment level of 95 lakh, i.e. 100% of age group.

(b) New primary schools (target)—Rural 7384

Urban 1516
<hr/>
Total = 8900

(c) No. of primary schools = 51000.

(d) No of school-less villages (i.e village with population exceeding 300 and with no primary school within 1 km.) = 400 only.

(e) Incentive programmes—

(i) State Nutrition Programme covers 29.21 lakh children and CARE assisted programme covers 6.5 lakh children. This, however, represents 50% coverage of primary students. Much more is called for.

Plan expenditure for this nutrition programme in 1983 had been 2 crores.

(ii) All text books upto class V are given free of cost to the students.

There are 18 titles in Nepali

5	„	„	Hindi
4	„	„	Urdu
4	„	„	Santhali (Alchiki Scripts)

apart from books in Bengali for all the classes. Total number of books distributed in 1984-85 was 2.93 crores, produced at a cost of Rs. 4 crores 50 lakh. 77 lakh students of 50000 schools were thus covered.

(iii) Slates and exercise books are now given to all children.

(iv) School dress is now given to all Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe girl students in rural areas and 40% of girls of other communities.

(v) Ashram-type residential schools have been established for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Children.

(vi) Sports materials are supplied to all schools and local, district and State level sports competitions are now held every year.

And it is needless to say that primary education in officially maintained schools throughout the State is 'free' of tuition fees.

(f) Coverage of age group in 1984 = 94.31%. It is expected that 100% coverage will be attained before expiry of the 7th Plan.

(9) Capital expenditure for primary school houses was Rs. 28 crore for 1977—84.

(h) Stagnation figures for 1971 had been (percentage of students)—

Class I = 36.54%

Class II = 26.59%

Class III = 26.60%

Class IV = 22.62%

Class V = 18.80%

This stagnation implied wastage of resources to the tune of 30%. This has been eliminated by the introduction of "Continuous Evaluation" and "No Detention" policy.

More pernicious than stagnation is wastage by drop-out of students due to economic factors and economic stagnation. The State Planning Board had estimated that drop-out rates in respect of new entrants to Class I in 1972—73 had been 70%. Huge drop-outs continued in all the other classes. At present this rate has been reduced substantially.

Defects and drawbacks, however, should not be lost sight of. The following figures will be educative—

(a) Annual Household	Below	1000	2500	above
		to	to	
income (in rupees)	1000	2500	5000	5000
(b) Enrolment ratio				
of age group 6—11	29.36%	51.21%	71.91%	80.23%

It is evident that enrolment rate is least among the poorest and the percentage rises parallel with higher income slabs.

Housing problem is extremely acute. The 4th Education Survey conducted by N.C.E.R.T. showed that in West Bengal at the end of 1978=

1886 primary. schools were held in open air.

16	„	„	„	open tents.
6912	„	„	„	thatched huts.
16509	„	„	„	kutchra structure
8713	„	„	„	semi pucca buildings
8586	„	„	„	pucca buildings.
37171	„	„		had adequate accomodation.

Capital Expenditure of Rs. 28 crores between 1977—84 improved the situation considerably.

Again the same survey showed that—

40.7%	primary schools had play ground.
41.9%	„ „ „ furniture.
71.3%	„ „ „ Black Board.
47.7%	„ „ „ water supply facilities.
22.9%	„ „ „ Lavatories/urinals.

The situation improved considerably between 1978—84, particularly in respect of Furniture, Black Board, play materials etc.

Educational records show the existence of one primary school per sq mile area, on average. A new syllabus for primary education was introduced in 1981. It will be proper to discuss the new primary syllabus.

The syllabus drafting committee claimed that (i) The new syllabus reflects the latest educational thoughts and primary education has been viewed as an aid to the all round development of the child and the society. (ii) The “left out” of 6—11 age group have been attended to. (iii) Emphasis has been laid upon direct experience and work in order that education may be life-centric and may occur with socio-natural environment. (iv) Productive and creative work has been emphasised so that efficient citizens may be produced.

The basic aims of primary education were stated as (i) Recognition of body, intellect, work and emotions and to emphasise the basic skill in mother tongue and general arithmetic as levers of thought and organisation of higher knowledge, (ii) Balanced development of human feelings and aesthetic sense, (iii) Acquisition of habits to ensure personal and community health. (iv) Freedom from blind superstitions about nature and society. (v) Development of attitudes and values for effective living in a democratic society free from explo-

itation. The prime necessities are knowledge, skills, habits and proper vision and attitude.

Acquisition of knowledge would include—(a) understanding of natural environment, (b) understanding of social environment, (c) acquisition of knowledge about personal and community health, (d) understanding the truth that productive human labour is at the root of society and parasites and exploiters are enemies of humanity, (e) capacity to understand others and to express one self in mother tongue (f) acquisition of basic ideas about numbers and simple mathematical exercises.

Along with this knowledge aspect, there will be physical exercises, social co-operation, emotional balance, application of acquired knowledge, acquaintance with productive methods and processes and engagement in creative activities.

The syllabus has been divided into 4 parts, (i) Games & Exercises, (ii) creative and productive work, (iii) work-based and direct experience, (iv) Reading-writing. The last sector includes only Mother Tongue, Arithmetic, Environmental studies. It has been unequivocally stated that no language other than the mother tongue will be taught at the primary stage.

But this had led to a temporary row. Those who want to retain the compulsory study of English argue that (i) English is necessary for higher education, services and foreign tours, (ii) English is a language of international culture, (iii) Start of English from class VI will not ensure an effective standard of mastery, (iv) Richer people will learn English of their own, while the poor people will not. This will create a class cleavage,

Arguments against are ;—(i) Only 3% people are service holders. Service in the case of most of them does not require English. (i) the argument that higher education is not possible without compulsory learning of English at the primary stage is not tenable, (iii) only a few people go abroad. To impose English in their interest will mean driving away the majority from the doors of primary education or to cause wastage and stagnation, specially when the rate of child labour is high, (iv) effective learning of english is possible even after starting it in class VI, because of the influence of maturity and transfer value, (v) mastery of mother tongue must facilitate the learning of a second

language. (vi) from class VI onward there will be freedom to pursue English right upto the post graduate stage, (vii) Different commissions, Gandhiji and Rabindranath had expressed views against a second language at the primary stage, and lastly (viii) the interest of mass education and literacy demands that the learning field should not be burdened with any other language than the mother tongue.

The principle of "mother tongue only" has come to stay. Further assessment lies in the womb of future.

There is, however, no scope of complacence

- (a) Enrolment does not tally with actual school attendance.
- (b) Single teacher schools are not absent.
- (c) About 40000 out of 51000 schools are 4-class institutions, class V being located in high schools.

(d) Conditions in urban areas are not gratifying. The Urban Primary Education Act of 1963 had empowered the Municipal bodies to go far. But little concrete was done. Very few out of 110 Municipalities could make primary education compulsory and absolutely "free."

(e) Some high schools run attached primary schools/sections on a tuition fee basis (the amount being not insignificant).

(f) In the slum areas of Calcutta there are some institutions which are schools only by name.

Out of a total child population of about 5 lakh in Calcutta, about 1 lakh are yet left out of the provisions.

(g) There are the English medium schools (currently enjoying a mushroom growth) which do not care for registration, aid or control. Privately owned and managed schools are inordinately high in numbers.

(h) There is no denying that the standard of education in the free primary school is low. The principle of "continuous evaluation and no detention" has not been implemented in the proper spirit. The richer citizens may buy better education at a high price

(i) Primary education in West Bengal is administered under several legislative acts (viz. the Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930, The Calcutta Municipal Act of 1951, The Urban Primary Education Act of 1963 etc. Calcutta was kept out of the Act.) There in no

State Board, although a Comprehensive Act was passed. This has long been awaiting presidential assent.

The situation calls for unhesitated implementation of article 45 of Constitutional Directives, a uniform system of primary education for the whole State, an attendance mechanism, a common school pattern and better financing.

Secondary Education

Various socio-economic factors had provided a good soil in Bengal for the plantation of modern Western education in early 19th century. Even before the despatch of 1854 Secondary Schools of modern type had been established. In contrast to some differential developments in other provinces, the pattern of English education through English medium was determined by the needs of the middle classes and dominated by university mindedness.

—Yet Bengal was the soil which produced a good crop of national consciousness and an extremist politics. Secondary education felt the impact of national movement, including the national education movement. One of the effects of national consciousness was a rapid expansion of secondary education. In the early years of the current century, Bengal had 50% of all the secondary school student-population in India. Despite Lord Curzon's restrictive operations, the rate of growth was never slowed down. The reports of various committees had stirred up the intellect and academic interest of the Bengalee gentry. But a thorough reform was never attempted. Even a Board of Secondary Education could not be formed for many years. Bengali, however, was accepted as medium of instruction during Provincial Autonomy.

Independence came with partition of Bengal and the concomitant educational problems caused by large scale influx of refugee population from East Bengal. One positive feature, however, was that many new schools were established and teachers from East Bengal spread out in all corners of West Bengal facilitating a very rapid expansion of secondary (and consequently higher) education in this State.

The report of the West Bengal School Education Committee (Rai

Chowdhury Committee) formed shortly after independence favoured a longer secondary education. Almost simultaneous publication of the report of Radhakrishnan Commission strengthened the urge for educational reforms. Its immediate effect was the formation of the Board of Secondary Education. The Board, however, remained genetically weak, because the "Autonomous" Board under a "nominated" President was given wide responsibilities while financial resources earmarked for it were meagre and controlled by the State Govt. Apparent failures of the Board led to its supersession in 1954 and the beginning of a 10 year rule of an Administrator.

Meanwhile was published the Mudaliar Report which was broadly supported by the De Committee formed for West Bengal, with the exception that it suggested certain changes in the formation of the State Secondary Board, the essence of which was circumscription of the Board's autonomy. The projected Board was not formed till 1963. Meanwhile the amended Mudaliar Scheme was accepted and introduced under the joint auspices of the State Govt and the Administrator of the "Board". The bureaucratic method of implementation under the influence of political or other pressure-groups caused haphazard development of Higher Secondary education, upgrading being mainly effected with the Humanities-stream. Real multipurpose education, as had been conceived of by the Commission, was implemented only in name.

The System of Secondary Education in W. Bengal

West Bengal implemented the amended Mudaliar Scheme. Higher Secondary Schools were established. But equal justice was not done to all the streams. Humanities led the field with Science and Commerce following in the second and third positions. Agriculture, Technical and Fine Arts streams were stray features. Some girls' schools, however, introduced the Domestic Science stream. Schools with more than 3 streams were rare.

Secondary Education in W. Bengal was divided into 3 phases viz— (i) Junior High stage (class VI to class VIII), (ii) Secondary/School Final stages (IX and X), and (iii) Higher Secondary stage (classes IX, X, XI). There were two external examinations, (i) School Final at the end of Class X, followed by one year Pre-University course con

ducted by the University, (ii) H.S. Examination at the end of Class XI, followed by 3 Year Degree Courses. (This system continued till 1976.)

There was one Board of Secondary Education for the whole of W. Bengal (with 4 regional centres established a few years ago). Viswabharati has its own school and examination. Many schools are affiliated to Indian School Certificate System. Schools are conducted with Bengali, English, Tamil, Telegu, Oriya, Hindi, Nepali, Panjabi etc. as media and the Board conducts examinations in all these languages. West Bengal

therefore, has a cosmopolitan variety. This "variety" is however associated with class differences in education. There are costly schools at hill resorts. Missionary schools and Convents are no less costly. The English medium schools of the neo-aristocrats of post-independence period also claim a socio-economic "prestige" correlated with a commercial economy. Schools may also be classified on the basis of ownership and control. There are (i) Govt and Govt-sponsored schools, (ii) A few schools established by the corporate bodies, gradually handed over to Govt. management, (other Municipal bodies do but little in the field of secondary education), (iii) the majority are private schools—aided, unaided and even proprietary.

In spite of these shortcomings, West Bengal recorded numerical expansion of secondary education as will be borne out by the following data :

Enrolment (1984—85) at Junior High stage = 58.86% of age group 11—14 years. The state aims to enrol 76% of the age group by 1990.

1984—85—Enrolment of girls = 50.80% of 11—14 group

" " „ S. Castes = 20.42% „ „

" " „ S. Tribes = 18.36% „ „

Special provisions have been made for these backward communities viz.—

- Provision of tuition-free education,
- Free tiffin for about 1 lakh girl students,
- Provision of free uniform for girl students,
- Attendance scholarships for S. Castes and S. Tribes of this age group at the rate of Rs. 60 per annum.
- Book grants to girl students of the backward communities at the rate of Rs. 60 per year

- Text Book banks in Junior High Schools in backward areas.
- Ashram type Hostel Schools for S. Caste and S. Tribe students, full charges being paid by the state Govt.
- Those incentives cost the state budget in 1984—85 to the extent of Rs. 125 lakhs.

In addition to the above the S. Caste and Tribes Welfare Deptt operates a few educational schemes viz.—

- (a) Provision of Book Grants and Examination fees at varying rates for classes V to X.
- (b) Hostel charges for S. Caste and S. Tribe students.
- (c) Payment of "other fees" (excepting tuition) for S. Tribe students.
- (d) Maintenance grants for students not residing at hostels.
- (e) Group coaching arrangement for S. Caste and Tribe students with 10 students in a batch.
- (f) Post-Matric scholarships for the deserving S. C. and S. T. students on a basis of 50:50 sharing of expenses by Central and State Govts.

Free education at primary stage with "Non-detention" policy, together with various incentives at primary stage caused a sharp rise in student-population at Junior High and Madhyamik stages. This rush was faced by

- (a) establishment of new Junior High Schools,
- (b) up grading 2 class J. High schools to 4-class schools.
- (c) up grading 4 class schools to High Schools. The following table will be meaningful. Figures for 1984—85 :—

Enrolment, VI to VIII (11—14 group) = 26·20 lakh

No. of Junior Schools " = 3885

Enrolment, class IX to X (14—16) group = 9·0 lakh.

No of High Schools = 5653

Total. No of Secondary Schools VI—X = 9538

" " " students " = 35·20 lakh

Secondary schools are so widely distributed throughout the State that 95% of habitation with population exceeding 500 are served by Junior Schools within 5 km. and 93% of habitation with population exceeding 2000 are served by High Schools within 8 km.

Some schools though established within the State are not recognised by the State Board, but are either central schools or schools recognised by Central Board of Secondary Education, Delhi, or

Indian Council of Secondary Education (I.C.S.E. on the prior permission or recommendation of State Govt.)

Expansion of Secondary education is reflected in the Madhyamik Examination—Figures for 1984—

Total No. of Candidates	Successful	1st. Div.	2nd Div
270363	57.96%	8.24%	31.95%

About teachers—

No. of Secondary school teachers in 1984 = 133500

No. of Training Institutions = 45

Annual intake 3500 deputed and 4100 fresher,

Extent of success = 6100 in average.

Deputed teachers are paid their pay and allowances and freshers are awarded stipends.

Secondary teachers in West Bengal are well qualified. Under-graduate teachers are few in numbers, and appointment of U.G. teachers has been stopped. About 50% of teachers are Honours Graduates or Post Graduate degree holders and well above 60% are trained.

But, all is not well, as will be evident from the findings of the 4th Education Survey of India which gave figures for 1978 as

80% of Junior High Schools are short of accomodation

83% „ High Schools

53% of Junior H. Sahools „ „ furniture

27% „ High Schools

„ „ „

The standard of secondary education is also non-satisfactory. Number of good schools showing good results is very limited. A good number constitute mediocrity. And the rest (a huge number) form a 'bad' category.

Higher Secondary Education

West Bengal introduced the 10+2 system with effect from 1976. under the supervision and control of the West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education. The curriculum was divided into two major streams—the General stream and the vocational stream. As a matter of exigency, Higher Secondary courses were introduced in schools and colleges and in a few separate 2 year institutions (classes XI and XII). After 1979, a policy was adopted not to open H. S. courses in any college.

H.S. Education as it stands in 1984-85

No. of Schools = 1064

No. of Colleges = 269

Enrolment = 352000

„ per Institution = 264

No. of candidates appeared in final Exam. in 1984 = 221938

(Male = 143507

Female = 78431)

Percentage of Candidates passed = 49.46

(Div. I = 5366

Div. II = 31774.

Vocationalisation :

There are currently 57 institutions offering vocational courses in H. S. education. Only 7 institutions admit girls. The syllabus allows five broad groups—Agriculture, Technical Education, Trade and Commerce, Paramedical and Industry. Total enrolment in vocational groups in 1983-84 had been only 2889.

It must be admitted that we failed to draw lessons from the failure of Technical or Agricultural streams of the 11 year H. S. course. Vocationalisation, as it stands now, has not been attempted with any scientific reference to job analysis and job prospects. The scope of practical training is also limited. The attempt at vocationalisation has entered into a blind alley. However, a high power committee has been formed to go into the matter.

Administration of Secondary Education :—

(1) Madhyamik Education is administered by the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education

(2) H. S. Education is administered by the Higher Secondary Council constituted in terms of the West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education Act of 1975. The Council is charged with the responsibility of (a) Recognition of H.S. Schools, (b) Framing of Syllabi and curricula, (c) Publication of essential text books, (d) Controlling H.S. Examination etc.

(3) On the pattern of the N.C.E.R.T., a State Council of Educational Research and Training (S.C.E.R.T.) was formed in 1978. It is entrusted with ;—

(a) Preparation of text books and instructional material for primary classes. (It prepared 52 primary text books in different languages and 5 teachers' guide books).

(b) Orientation of primary teachers in connection with the new syllabus and evaluation.

(c) To conduct the UNICEF assisted projects in the State.

(d) To develop learning materials for use at Non-formal Education Centres.

(e) To develop activities in Community Education.

(f) Implementation of the Population Education Project.

(g) Educational Broadcasting from Technology Cell of the S.C.E.R.T. etc. etc.

Madrasah Education

Madrasah syllabus and curriculum have recently been modernised to keep pace with general education without losing its special characteristics. Subjects in the categories of social science, life science, physical science have been included together with traditional subjects. The West Bengal Madrasah Education Board grants recognition to Madrasahs, hold High Madrasah examination etc.

Expansion : 1984-85 figures are—

High Madrasah = 158,

Junior High Madrasah = 174

Senior Madrasah = 93.

Sanskrit Education

The traditional Tols and Chatuspathis also are under the Grant-in-aid system and academic supervision of the State Govt. The State Govt. has set up the Bangiya Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad as an academic body for supervising the functions of the Tols and also to disburse the Govt's Grant-in-aid.

In 1984-85 there are 846 Tols with 25000 students.

Curricular organisation made in West Bengal in pursuance of the recommendations of Rai Chowdhury Committee and Mudaliar Commission proved immensely heavy. Children had to tackle 16 and 22 books in classes VI and VII respectively. The 3 language formula has not been effective. (Mother tongue throughout, compulsory English from class V onwards.

compulsory Hindi for three years form class V.) The burden was further increased with the addition of compulsory Sanskrit for lower secondary class and for Humanity Stream in the H. S. courses. Educational aids, appliances and equipment remained as of old. The result was consistent erosion of standard and mass failure. Extreme liberalisation of the system of compartmental examination could not plug wastage. The situation took a sharp turn with the implementation of the recommendations of Kothari Commission.

Educational finances fall much short of needs. A considerable part, even of the scanty allotment, is consumed by plants and buildings, and "administration." Resources for real improvement of teaching and welfare work are scanty. The situation improved considerably with the introduction of free education upto class XII. The State Govt. accepted the total responsibility of paying employees' salaries.

Solution of West Bengal's problems calls for robust measures on all fronts, (A) In respect of "policy", all types of schools should be brought under State control and "common school" principle should be effected, (B) On the pedagogic front (i) The language formula should be more effectively applied; (ii) The curricula and syllabuses should be more rationalised, (iii) all vocational institutions of the medium level should be treated as secondary schools, (iv) Examination system should be thoroughly reformed, to guard against wastage and stagnation, (v) Teaching methods, aids and appliances should be improved, (vi) Special secondary schools should be provided for the crippled and handicapped, (C) On the administrative front we require more finances, and gradual advancement towards universal and compulsory secondary education. (D) Miscellaneous improvements are required in respect of (i) school accomodation in densely populated areas, (ii) attention to hygienic condition in school environment. (iii) provision of effective library, subject rooms, sports, cocurricular work, welfare programmes and guidance and counselling.

We have theoretically accepted the principles of (i) vocationalisation of secondary education, (ii) longer period of secondary education, (iii) social service, (iv) work-experience and (v) equality of opportunity. The nature, extent and method of implementation of

the recommendations of Kothari Commission and the National Policy on Education will test the sincerity of our professions and purposes.

The State Dept in conjunction with the Board of Secondary Education introduced the scheme of 10 year school education with effect from 1974. Class V is still located in the secondary category, although it is proposed to be transferred to the primary stage in the near future. Hence West Bengal will have an integrated secondary education of 5 year duration (classes VI to X) with two sub-stages—VI to VIII and IX & X.

The new 10 year school education has been introduced with a new curricular pattern as follows :

(a) *Classes VI-VIII*—2 languages initially and one more language in VII and in VIII (classical, modern foreign or modern Indian).

Physical Sciences ; Mathematics ; Life Sciences ; History ; Geography ; Social Service and Work Education.

(b) *Classes IX and X*—3 languages (including one elected from classical, modern foreign and modern Indian groups ; Mathematics ; Physical Sciences ; Life Sciences ; History ; Geography ; Social Service, Work Education & Physical Education. An additional subject may be elected from a group of listed "academic" subjects or from a group of listed "vacational subjects."

The new curriculum could, by its nature, not be above criticism. Criticism was most labelled against the scheme of "social service" and "work education" as implemented by the Board of Secondary Education. The scheme also led to many more associated problems viz. syllabus pattern and weight of curricular contents.

The curriculum has *further changed since then* as we shall consider in our subsequent discussion.

University Education

The problem of University education may be brought into high relief by citing the history of Calcutta University. This University, the oldest of the modern Indian Universities, had started on its journey in 1858. Bengal recorded the maximum expansion of higher education. Yet practical and production-orientation in education was literally unattained.

The University had achieved spectacular success under the leadership of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee between 1906 and 1914. Curzon's policy was practically defeated. Expansion was remarkable. The

University took upon itself the task of teaching. Before 1912, at least 50 Professors and Lecturers were appointed for various subjects included in the curriculum. A real beginning of Science education was made with handsome endowments from Rashbehari Ghose and Taraknath Palit. Post Graduate classes were started before 1919 and a Post Graduate Council was formed. The recommendations of Calcutta University Commission (Sadler) were more effective outside Bengal. *Yet the academic recommendations were implemented in Calcutta* Since then, the University achieved a steady growth. New faculties were opened, new subjects were introduced, roll strength more and more increased, and more and more colleges were affiliated.

The partition of Bengal had given a great jolt to the university. Most of the then colleges fell in the jurisdiction of East Pakistan, while a huge influx of student population taxed the resources of the University. The situation was improved by upgrading the Intermediate colleges, by establishing sponsored colleges in accordance with a "dispersal scheme" and private enterprise advanced apace. While in 1948 West Bengal had only 55 colleges, the number has now exceeded 300.

In the meantime, the number of Universities also went up. West Bengal, at present has 8 Universities (including the Central University of Viswabharati and the Bidhan Chandra Agricultural University). Mere multiplication of the same type of University irrespective of local environment and local needs could not solve the problems. Most of the universities remained affiliating and teaching. Some of the universities had to pass through a period of crisis in respect of teaching staff, library, equipment. The universities which had been created as unitary ones (Kalyani & Jadavpur) started taking non-resident students and affiliating colleges. Yet, the pressure upon the Calcutta University could not be reduced. It remains the biggest University with 9 faculties, 72 departments, and a roll strength amounting to 12% of the total university population in India. Students in the greater Calcutta area number about 2 lakh.

However staggering these figures might seem, *a very small per centage of people in the 17—22 age group are fortunate to get higher education.* The percentage has not much exceeded four. Of these fortunate ones, only 25% pursue science courses, a few thousand pursue

technological, medical and other professional courses and the vast majority pursue arts & commerce courses. A figure worked out a few years ago showed the following distribution of students among different branches of study (in Calcutta University).—Arts 49·2%, Sciences 23·2%, Commerce 16·8%, Engineering and Technology 3·8%, Medicine 2·3%—Law 2·1%, Education 1·3%, Agriculture 0·3%, Veterinary sciences 0·1%, and others 0·1%.

Dominance of
liberal studies

These figures expose the basic defects of one-sidedness

in higher education. There are many more acute problems viz. accomodation, lack of equipment for research, shortage of qualified teaching staff, insignificant provisions of honours courses in the rural colleges, haphazard establishment of colleges and universities, outmoded syllabuses and methods of examination, colossal failure in examinations, lack of multiple avenues to draft the younger ones, absence of welfare work to ameliorate the condition of poor students etc. Students' unrest is a part and parcel of higher education which is augmented by the spectre of unemployment.

Adult Education & Literacy

The scheme of part time non-formal education to extend education to unenrolled children and dropouts had been introduced experimentally during the 5th plan period. During the 6th plan period it was seriously extended to cover the weaker sectors viz. scheduled Castes and Tribes, landless labourers, urban slum dwellers and illiterate women. The Govt. of India introduced a centrally sponsored scheme on 50 : 50 cost sharing basis. Subsequently a separate scheme on 90 : 10 cost sharing basis for girls' non-formal centres was introduced in 1983-84.

The work acquired a momentum. By the end of 1984 the achievement figures were 17119 N. Formal centres in the State. 429770 beneficiaries (190340 being women). 3184 N. F. centres were run by voluntary agencies and the rest by the State Govt.

8460 N. F. Education Instructors were given orientation training. The targets for 1984-85 are—

No of Centres = 18260.

No of Instructors = 18260.

No of Learners (9 - 14 group) = 456000

District level committees were formed to supervise the centres and to ensure involvement of Panchayats and other local bodies. The Curriculum was finalised and instructional materials developed and instructors trained.

Yet, the coverage remains insignificant compared to the number of unenrolled children and drop outs even of the 9-14 age group.

As an integral part of the adult education drive, the Library Services were strengthened in volume and intensity.—The West Bengal Library Act was passed in 1979. The following figures for 1984-85 will explain themselves—

No of District Libraries = 38

No of Sub-Div/Town Libraries = 155

No of Area/primary/rural libraries = 2977

With the help of State Library Council, a long list of 1500 books and journals has been prepared. The libraries are to utilise upto 30% of Govt. Grants for purchases from this list. The rest (70%) may be used to purchase books as per decision of the library authorities.

Annual Grants to libraries :—

District libraries = Rs. 5000/-each.

Sub-Div/Town ., = Rs. 10500/-

Primary libraries = Rs. 4000/

The Director of Library Services under the Education Dept, is in overall charge of the service. Under him there are district library officers. Local Library Authority in each district is in charge of setting up and maintenance of libraries in the district.

CHAPTER XVI

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES-1968, 1979

Year after year we had been thinking in terms of a National System of Education. We have declared three National Policies in succession. We should make an idea about what a national system of education implies.

Colonial Education vs. National Education

Although some members of the young Derozian Group had raised educational questions which had bearings upon the nation's future prosperity instead of the sectional prosperity of a particular class of people, nothing tangible came off, and the Despatch of 1854 introduced a fulfledged system of English education in India. The British rulers made no secrets of the colonial objectives of the education system i.e. production of reliable employees for the colonial administration and encouragement to agrarian colonial economy as an appendage to colonial exploitation.

What were the specific features of the system of education which was imposed upon India, and which we call colonial? It is a proverbial truth that illiteracy, conservatism, fatalism and superstitious prejudices go hand in hand with economic exploitation. The specific characteristics of colonial education are :

(1) The vast masses are kept illiterate and education is provided for a small minority who are considered essential as kingpins of colonial economy and administration.

(2) A chasm is thereby created between the uneducated many and the educated few.

(3) This privileged few are alienated from the millions.

(4) The chasm is accelerated by a colonial linguistic scheme, providing favoured language (often the language of the rulers) as against the language of the millions i.e. mother tongue.

(5) These factors obstruct universalisation of education, even primary education, and accentuate illiteracy of the masses.

(6) A colonial ruler cannot but obstruct the development of a modern economy, particularly scientific and industrial economy, lest it should militate against colonial exploitation. A colonial system of education, therefore, hampers the development of purposeful vocational education in the interest of the ruled.

(7) The system of education is given a bureaucratic structure which has little to do with needs and aspirations of the millions.

(8) The bureaucratic structure is clothed in a bureaucratic administration unsympathetic to the people and perforated with corrupt practices.

(9) There is total absence of social integration and democracy. Instead, there are different systems within a so called "system" on the basis of socio-economic status of parents.

(10) The difference is accentuated by colonial techniques of administration by the use of weapons like communalism or sectarianism and linguistic and regional chauvinism within education and culture.

(11) A scientific modern outlook is not allowed to penetrate into the life of the masses. The outcome is conservatism, superstition, casteism etc.

(12) A scientific and genuinely common school system based upon equal opportunities can never be attained in a colony.

With the development of national consciousness the ideal of a national system of education also took roots. Some attempts were made through the national education movement. But this movement failed to overstep the middle class and aristocratic periphery. The objective, therefore, remained unattained. Sporadic attempts were made to decolonise our education by bringing it closer to the needs and aspirations of people. Gandhiji's scheme of Basic Education attempted to solve the problem by bridging the gap between manual labour and mental labour, by education through mother tongue. Tagore scheme attempted to attack the issue from another angle. Sargent scheme projected an integrated total system of education. This too failed to reflect the national aspiration and could not be characterised as a scheme of national education. And lastly, the Kothari Commission recommended an integrated system of education for national development. Most of the recommendations are still unimplemented. In fact, we are far from a National System of Education, although everyone promises one.

What are the characteristics of a national system of education ? We may enumerate them as—

(1) A national system of education should stand for conservation, dissemination and creation of knowledge as a part of culture.

(2) It's roots should be in the healthy national traditions and should reflect patriotism, morality, value and culture.

(3) It should accept what is acceptable from others and reject what ought to be rejected. It must look back and look forward for adjustment between past and present.

(4) It should promote appreciation of true national heritage, the contributions of people in various parts of the country and induce the people to feel a legitimate pride in variety and diversity in a land of composite life and culture as India is (and fight out the unhistorical view of a monolithic culture).

(5) A national system of education should rouse the students against revivalism, obscurantism, casteism and chauvinism of any type as well as

against exploitation and injustice. It should be thoroughly permeated with a scientific tenor.

(6) A national system should rouse the students against imperialism, and in India it should infuse a pride in the students for India's fight against imperialism.

(7) A national system should be intimately connected with long term national aspirations and programme for national development. It should promote a democratic and egalitarian society with self sufficiency in economy, with firm faith in the nation's sovereignty. At the same time it should foster international understanding. It should be ready to accept new light from others.

(8) A national system should ceaselessly modernise itself and foster healthy values. Hence it should accord a high priority to science and technology.

(9) A national system should provide equality of opportunity and varied scope for fulfilment of all. Obviously it should abolish disparity between urban and rural facilities.

(10) It should provide vertically as well as horizontally integrated ladder from pre-primary to higher stage of education including adult education.

(11) A national system of education must stand upon the firm foundation of literacy, equalisation of all communities, secularism and democracy, attainment of economic productivity through education for national development, development of the different languages while making the mother tongue the sole medium of instruction.

(12) To ensure "free" education, universalisation of education and equality of educational opportunities, the State should bear the total responsibility while providing a truly democratic administration.

It goes without saying that India has not only not established a national system of education, but also that she should make very fundamental changes in theory and practice and go a long way before attainment of such a system.

In the context of these discussions we may now take note of the national education policy and current education plan to understand which way we have been heading.

National Educational Policies and Current Plans

The Kothari Commission Report had been discussed in various committees and institutes. A general acceptance of the recommendations had been indicated in the National Education Policy of 1968.

National Education Policy—1968

The seventeen-item policy had included (a) Universal free and compulsory education upto 14+, (b) equalisation of educational opportunities by removing imbalances and inequalities between regions, communities, sexes etc. (c) introduction of the 10+2+3 scheme, (d) gradual implementation of common school pattern, (e) part time and correspondence education, (f) literacy and adult education, (g) qualitative improvement together with quantitative expansion, (h) expansion of technical and vocational education at the secondary level, (i) emphasis upon the teaching of Mathematics, Sciences and upon researches, (j) scholarships for the meritorious students, (k) attention to work-experience, social service and character formation, (l) publication of standard text books, (m) reform of examinations (n) expansion of physical education, sports and students welfare, (o) improvement of the professional efficiency of teachers, (p) three language formula, (q) allocation of 6% of National Income for education by stages.

The Fifth Education Plan

The fifth plan which came after the policy declaration and was supposed to reflect these policies had, however, a different tone. The pillars of the plan frame were—

(i) Check upon expansion and incorporation of the ideas in terms of selection, wastage, return, quality etc. It suggested reduction of burden for Universal Primary and middle school education with part time education, voluntary teachers etc.

(ii) In the field of secondary education it wanted to bring down cost for expansion.

(iii) For university education it called for economy.

By giving a call for self study, self employment, self enterprise, and by issuing a blank cheque for private enterprise and class interests, in the name of economy and quality, the plan cut across the principle of equality of opportunities.

The Janata Interregnum

It was not easy to assess the progress of education made during the 5th plan. It was during this period that the new pattern of secondary education recommended by the Kothari Commission was implemented. Immediately after the curricular patterns had been reconstructed, there were debates and controversies raised, particularly in as much as the primary and secondary levels of education were concerned. The central authorities had to set up a review committee.

Moreover, the party affiliation of the Union Govt. was changed in

1977. The question of reconsidering the entire system of planning was raised. Intense heat was created for some months over the proposal for a "running plan" to be considered on an annual basis. Personnel in the U.G.C. and N.C.E.R.T. were also changed.

Notwithstanding these debates and organisational changes various "task forces" went into action. Conferences were held and blue prints prepared. A chain of reports, recommendations, "expert" opinions and financial estimates was created. Happily, however, the question of universal primary education and adult literacy featured prominently and proposals were adopted to give a new orientation to planned education.

New Education Policy, 1979

And yet, ultimately, the 6th five year plan was drafted. A new national education policy was announced in 1979. The new policy reflected the admission of failures over the years, and particularly supported the principles embodied in the 6th five year plan. Without entering into minor details, we may mention the major points made in the policy statement, as—

(a) Upward review of fees (the word "revision" was avoided) in secondary and higher education (because the planned expenditure on education had already reached the stupendous figure of Rs. 2500 crores), (b) Restrictive expansion of higher education and a ban upon proliferation of colleges and universities with the object of raising the standard of education and of insuring against frustration of students and parents in later-life, (c) Selective admission of students into colleges and universities (because a large number of students go to college simply to get jobs, and their admission undermines the standard of higher education), (d) Higher education, however, would not be neglected. Instead it will be more oriented towards the life of the people in course of the next decade, (e) The number of public examinations would be limited to 3, at the end of classes X, XII and undergraduate stage, (f) Integration of the Public and exclusive schools with the common school system, (g) Fees in schools and colleges should be so raised as to bear relationship with the parents' capacity to pay, (h) Social and National Services to be made an integral feature of higher education, (i) Assumption of responsibility by the university system for the development of society, (j) Vocationalisation of higher secondary education to form a major plank in educational endeavour, (k) Technical education would be so designed as to impart entrepreneurial skills to the students and to facilitate "self employment", (l) It should also develop meaningful interaction and collaboration with industries, (m) At least one agricultural university in each state, (n) Delinking degrees from jobs and designing new recruitment policies with pre-service training appropriate for the job, (o) Expansion of educational opportunities for the

handicapped, (p) Universal literacy for age group 6-14 years in ten years, (q) Functional education for the adult people in pursuance of a national adult education policy, (r) The main drive will be to reach the masses, (s) Attempt to introduce 8+4 system, (t) Treatment of higher secondary stage as a part of school education, (u) Adoption of only mother tongue for primary education, and emphasis on mother tongue and arithmetic at this stage.

In spite of all these professions of a mass approach, there is no denying that this National Policy Statement was a *regressive policy statement*, more regressive than the 6th plan proposals, particularly because it meant a shifting of burden on to the shoulders of parents. In fact the policy was practically still born.

The 6th Education Plan (1978-83/1980-85)

The 6th plan started with self satisfaction with the phenomenal growth of education over the years.

The principles and propositions made were—

The Policy Frame : The proposals for the development of education during the 6th plan were claimed to have been based on six major changes of policy :—

(1) Programme of adult education, which thus far received less than one percent of the total educational expenditure, would be given high priority with 10% of outlay, with special emphasis on age group 15-35.

(2) A far greater priority would be accorded to the programme of universalising primary education in age group 6-14, with allocation of half the total outlay on education for the 6th plan period. Special reforms would be made to reduce the ineffectiveness and inefficiency, as well as the drop out rates. Special emphasis would be placed on the enrolment of girls and children of weaker sections, viz. scheduled castes, tribes and agricultural labourers.

(3) So far quantitative expansion of secondary and higher education had received greater priority and larger funds. It was proposed to regulate enrolments in the general academic streams of higher secondary and higher education, to keep down expansion facilities to the minimum and to shift the emphasis to vocationalisation at the secondary stage and to the improvement of quality in secondary and higher education.

(4) The non-plan government expenditure on education had become very large, with an annual growth rate of 12% in the last decade. It was proposed to have an integrated look at plan and non-plan provisions.

(5) The implementation of educational programme had so far been far from optimal. It was proposed to improve the quality of implementation, particularly in the fields of elementary education and

adult literacy programmes.

(6) It was proposed to ensure a rural bias, to develop science education and scientific attitude and provide a system of non-formal education and training at all stages.

Provisions and Targets :

1. So long, the emphasis had been placed on enrolment in Classes I-V and VI-VIII. The inflated enrolment figures did not take into account the huge drop out, which was 60% between classes I and V, and 70% between Classes I and VIII. The principle of "average attendance" would be adopted in determining quantitative progress, and specific targets would be fixed for enrolment in classes I, V and VIII. Special measures would be adopted to plug wastage and stagnation.

2. Careful plans would be made on priority basis for location of new primary and middle schools with particular care to feed the rural areas.

3. Every primary school would prepare a census of all children of the age group 6-7 and prepare for their admission.

4. Instead of a single point entry and exclusively full time education which would not give opportunity to grown up children and the dropouts, the plan proposed—(a) a multi-entry system and special condensed courses of non-formal education for age group 9-14 with special emphasis upon age group 11-14. These children would be taken to the level of Class V in 12-24 months. (b) A system of part time non-formal education would be designed for children who entered school, but subsequently dropped out in the age group 9-14.

It was expected that enrolments in elementary education would rise by 320 lakhs (220 lakhs in classes I-V, and 100 lakhs in VI-VIII). This would mean educational facilities for 110% of age group 6-11, 57% of age group 11-15 and total 90% of age group 6-14 by 1982-83).

A vast majority of non-attending children were girls, scheduled castes, tribes, agricultural labourers. Special measures for them would be taken—viz. (i) appointment of more women teachers, (ii) free supply of text books or even clothing, (iii) mid-day meal, (iv) Ashrama schools in tribal or sparsely populated areas, (v) separate targets for the enrolment of girls, children of scheduled castes and tribes, (vi) extensive popular propaganda, (vii) attempt to reduce regional imbalances by identifying backward areas. (viii) action oriented educational research and experimental projects, (ix) a mass movement of parental education to be particularly undertaken by teachers and (x) strengthening of supervising machinery.

5. Programmes would be adopted for qualitative improvement of primary education and for enhancing the attracting and holding power of schools by allocating adequate funds for (i) socially useful productive work,

(ii) curricular reform to link education to environment to make it relevant and interesting, (iii) improvement in quality of books and (iv) adopting better methods of teaching etc.

Allocation for Primary Education

The demand for greater investment would be met by (i) economy in unit costs, (ii) more effective use of existing resources, (iii) increased allocation. Unit costs would be reduced by part time and non-formal education and double shift system, at least for Classes I and II. Existing facilities were grossly under-utilised by over lapping, duplication, bad location of schools, irrational posting of teachers. These will be sought to be rectified.

It was proposed to allocate Rs. 900 crores (nearly 50% of total allocation, and about 2 times that during 1974-78).

Adult Education

The existing programmes of adult education were (i) The farmers functional literacy project for rural areas, (ii) Shramik Vidyapiths for urban areas, (iii) Adult education departments in universities, (iv) Nehru Yuvak Kendras, (v) National Services Scheme and (vi) Assistance to voluntary organisations. These programmes would be continued with greater zeal.

But the main emphasis in the 6th plan would be placed upon a very large, intensive and nation wide programme of adult education—specially for age group 15-35. While previously the maximum number of adults made literate every year was 5 lakhs, the plan proposed to cover 650 lakhs (15 lakhs in first year, 45 lakhs in second year, 90 lakhs in third year, 180 lakhs in fourth year and 320 lakhs in fifth year). Unorganized people in rural and urban areas living below poverty line, women, scheduled castes and tribes, landless agricultural labourers would form the special target group.

Besides literacy, the programme would include appropriate mix viz. citizenship training, health education, family planning, vocational skills, understanding of science and technology in every day life, physical education and cultural activities.

Attempts would be made for the training of workers, preparation of improved learning materials and adoption of dynamic methods of instruction. Full utilisation was proposed to be made of voluntary organisations, economic and workers' organisations. Teachers would be recruited on a selective basis.

With a National Board of Adult Education at the centre, the programme would be administered by suitable agencies to be set up at state, district, block and community levels. The programme would go beyond the traditional boundaries of education department.

Allocation: The total planned allocation would be Rs. 200 crores

(10% of total outlay as against Rs. 18 crores i.e. 1% of 5th plan outlay). Resources were also expected from employer groups, project authorities, tribal sub plan outlay for rural development and agriculture.

Secondary Education

Emphasis had so long been placed upon expansion of facilities which led to haphazard over-lapping, duplication, uneconomic and nonviable institutions. Establishment of new secondary schools would be inevitable in backward areas. But indiscriminate opening of new schools would be discouraged. Emphasis would be placed upon rationalisation and consolidation of existing provisions and uniform patterning of school and college classes.

Additional enrolment of 30 lakhs (equal to the numbers that had been envisaged in the 5th plan) would be made not by opening new schools only, but mostly better and more efficient utilisation of existing secondary schools. In addition, programmes of non-formal education and correspondence courses would be encouraged.

Emphasis would be placed upon quality improvement (through useful productive work, better teaching of languages, mathematics and the sciences etc.). Similarly, emphasis would be placed upon vocationalisation with the object of making secondary education employment-oriented and directly useful for the students. Existing training facilities in I. T. Is., polytechnics, agricultural polytechnics, para medical school etc. would be fully utilised and fresh needs identified particularly in rural areas.

The present system of public (and similar schools) run by private bodies and charging high fees which restrict them to the children of affluent classes is inconsistent with present day social ideals. Govt. must take steps to enable the poor talented children to join such schools and also to persuade existing institutions of this kind to admit and provide free studentships to a substantial number of talented students from economically handicapped families.

Allocation

The total allocation for secondary education was Rs. 300 crores. This needed to be supplemented by additional resources. Development fees, additional fees for work experience, science teaching, school buildings and equipment should be made universal. Private support in cash and kind should be invited.

It was said that the tendency to take over complete financial liability of privately-managed institutions needed to be reversed and the trend towards the general abolition of fees at the secondary stage needed to be halted. Liberal provisions might be made for scholarships to help the meritorious poor. But fees in secondary schools needed to be charged at rates which would bear a

reasonable relationship with the cost of providing education.

General Higher Education

There had been an unplanned and rapid expansion of general higher education in the first four plans. It was proposed to check the tendency during the 6th plan.

No new universities would be established during the plan (1978-82). Colleges would be set up with great restraint, only after ensuring adequate resources in terms of teachers, finance and materials. The policy would be to rationalise existing institutions, so that selected colleges might concentrate on a few subjects or subject-combinations and there would be rigorous control over the starting of additional courses in existing institutions.

Tuition fees for higher education should be a 'must', because it would curb expansion. Non-formal education, private studies should be encouraged and all universities should open their examinations to private candidates. The main emphasis would be placed upon qualitative improvement.

To implement these principles, the U. G. C. had already prepared a broad policy frame, which included –

(1) Access to higher education should be linked to talent and aptitude. Admission to full time first degree and post graduate levels would be selective and on merit (with safeguards for weaker sections).

(2) Courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels would be restructured to make them more meaningful to the student and the society alike by extensive diversification, modernisation, interdisciplinary activities, researches and extension services bearing upon rural development, adult education etc.

(3) The Indian languages would be adopted as media of instruction at undergraduate stage and books in Indian languages published, while scope should be provided for acquiring working knowledge of English and other foreign languages.

(4) There would be considerable decentralisation from university to the departments and affiliated colleges. The programme for autonomous colleges would be pursued.

(5) U G. C. assistance would be given to the improvement of academic standards in colleges on a selective basis. Grants in aid from state govts should also be used as instruments for qualitative improvement.

(6) Extension programmes should constitute an integral part of higher education.

(7) Post graduate courses and research would be concentrated largely in university departments. A few centres of better quality might be established, but unnecessary proliferation should be avoided.

Allocation

The allocation for higher education (1978-83) was Rs. 256 crores. The deficiencies might be met by internal resources, viz tuition fees from students.

Technical Education :

The inbuilt capacity of annual intake of 25000 students for degree courses and 50000 students for diploma courses in different branches of engineering and technology would be sufficient for the next 5 years. Hence no expansion was planned. Instead, attempts would be made for removal of obsolescence and for improving laboratories and workshops, with special attention to rural development.

The financial outlay for 5 years would be Rs. 1955 crores exclusive of the annual non-plan provisions.

Criticism :

It is evident that many things proposed in respect of primary education remained wishful thinking. Secondary education was sought to be expanded at the cost of the parent's purse. The plan unequivocally cried a halt to introduction of free secondary education. Yet it spoke loudly of egalitarianism.

Similarly there would be no expansion of general higher education. Higher education would be related with merit. But what provisions would be made for the unmerited ? There was tall talk of vocationalisation of secondary education. Would these children with vocational preparation stand any chance of getting a fair deal in life ?

Evidently, the 6th plan followed in the wake of the 5th plan with the same motive and principles. And the promises made in the National policy of 1979 have been thrown overboard. The 6th five year plan ended in a similarly low note. True it is that the original 6th plan had been drawn up during Janata Govt, and that the National Policy of 1979 was adopted by the same Govt. The subsequent Congress Govt. implemented the plan from 1980 with changes and amendments.

We had been thinking in terms of a new National Education Policy expected to be shortly issued and also the 7th five year plan, which would be called upon to face serious challenges on educational front as well as employment front.

The first scene was enacted with a bang, with trumpets and fanfare in the form of a document entitled " Challenge of Education".

CHAPTER XVII

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY-1986

Challenge of Education

The much awaited announcement on the national education policy came after all on 20th August 1985. It was not yet an accepted policy statement. It came in the form of a policy paper presented before Parliament under the title "Challenge of Education". The proposition remained open for countrywide discussions and deliberations, and ultimately a Policy was finalised. We may accept the policy paper as containing the essentials of the "policy" that would be.

The paper makes a candid admission that if the National Policy of 1968 were implemented in proper letter and spirit, 50% of students at + 2 level of secondary education should have developed employment-oriented vocational skill. As opposed to this, in 1982-83, student-intake in vocational courses in India at + 2 stage had reached the meagre figure of 60000 per annum.

Coming to the question of literacy, the paper candidly admits that in absolute terms, there were more illiterates in 1981 (437 million) than there had been in 1947 (300 million) although literacy progressed steadily in this period from 16.67% in 1951 to 37.23 % in 1981. It means that we have at present 137 million more of illiterate persons in comparison with the number in 1951. The paper states unequivocally that if things continue as they are now, in 2000 A. D. there would be 500 million illiterate people in India. The paper therefore hints at a policy of (i) Universalisation of primary education, (ii) Adult education in a big way, (iii) Emphasis upon non-formal education, and (iv) Continuing education.

The paper deals with vocationalisation of education. Vocationalisation should be linked not only with employment in industry, but should be aligned with agriculture, services, various programmes of rural development, communication, other productive sectors and self-employment.

Previously, the Prime Minister had made a public statement that education would be delinked from employment. Education Minister Sri K.C. Pant made an amended statement that "education would be service-oriented, with no connection with knowledge. That much of education would be required as would keep the employee free from difficulty in job". The alternative to formal higher education, the paper states, would be the open university. (a bill was already moved for the establishment of Indira Gandhi Open University at Delhi).

The objective of education will be to produce modern men fit to adjust

with modern technology. This will be attempted through various types of vocational education.. It may be noted that the central govt. has already embarked upon a policy of computer education. Degrees will be delinked from govt. jobs.

The policy paper, together with policy statements made in public addresses and seminar discussions in Govt. forum, also places emphasis upon national integration and loyalty to Indian traditions and ethos through a uniformity in the system of education, in curricular organisation and in language scheme.

Just as the policy paper mournfully admits of the failure to implement the policy of 1968, so may we mourn on a future day our failure to implement this policy. It would inevitably be impossible to implement the policy in the present socio-economic system and under financial strains. We may go on producing vocationally skilled youth and cannot guarantee jobs for them.

Many items are simple re-statements of old policy viz. universalisation of primary education, extension of adult education, continuing education, non-formal education etc. Some other items seem to be old wine in new bottle, viz. vocationalisation 'in a big way', multiheaded vocationalisation.

A *novel proposition*, however, is delinking of degrees from Govt. jobs or service-oriented education without connection with knowledge. It is yet to see what sort of education this would be. The method of selection for employment will be tested in practice. (India has no fame for non-partisan "selection".)

The meaning of national "ethos" is not unequivocally clear. The recent statement on medium of instruction in the model school constitutes a departure from the accepted 3 language formula.

And lastly comes the question of *model primary schools, model secondary schools* etc. as pace setters. These institutions will cater to the requirements of a handful of "chosen" children.

The proposition for universal primary education and literacy of the common poor must flounder this proposal.

The paper declared that our society has twin experiences-

(1) A small group of elites cornered education and utilised it for their group or class benefits only, although they grabbed the major part of society's sweat and blood for their own education.

(2) Elites contributed towards the forward march of the people. India does not lack in experience and knowhow of various types in conformity with the needs of the 20th century. But at the same time India has the largest number of illiterate citizen, suffocating in superstitions and extreme backwardness. In order to step into the 21st century abreast of the advanced

countries, India must give a new direction to her education by (a) Universalisation of primary education, (b) Continuing and adult education, (c) Multiheaded vocational education, (d) Creation of productive manpower with necessary technical training, and (e) Creation of a total atmosphere and mental state for change and development. The phase of expansion of education in post-independence days is over. Now is the stage for quality and productivity. The paper discussed the state of educational things and weaknesses thereof viz.

- (i) Low literary- Men 46.9% ; Women 24.8%
 In urban areas Men 65.8% ; Women 47.8%
 In rural areas Men 40.8% ; Women 18.0%

And there were variations between states viz Kerala 70.4% ; Rajasthan 14.81%.

(2) Primary Education – Schooling facilities could be provided for 76% only.

But much credit should go to non-formal education.

And wastage was tremendous viz. between classes I and V, 60% children dropped out. But population figures are going up, creating new problems of accommodation and institutions.

Similar was the case with secondary education. Only 22% children entered the secondary classes. Teacher-pupil ratio was unfavourable. The standard of students' performance was very poor. Vocationalisation of secondary education was a failure. University education was not production oriented. Similar defects were existent in women's education.

The fundamentals of the new proposition were declared as :-

1. Uniform system of education
2. National integration
3. Ethos of patriotic past
4. Pride in national culture
5. Clear conception of national history.
6. Universal scope of education irrespective of age barriers.
7. Uniform national curricula.
8. Upgrading the standard at every stage.
9. Vocationalisation of education
10. Modernisation of education by computerisation
11. Higher education only for the meritorious few
12. Basic change in methods of teaching
13. Stress on auto education rather than teaching
14. Expansion of social and moral values.
15. Politics-free education.
16. One Education Act for the whole country.

Secondary education must not be populist. If necessary, excellent autonomous colleges for the talented and open university for the ordinary, depoliticisation of education and more powers in the hands of the U.G.C; non-acceptance of students' role in educational administration. Delinking jobs from degrees.

The objectives of educational planning should be to-

- (a) Ensure the individual's creativity and welfare :
- (b) Development of scientific, moral and democratic attitude
- (c) Awareness about national, social, economic and practical needs.
- (d) Recognition of the dignity of labour
- (e) Unflinching faith in secularism, national integration and international amity
- (f) Enhancement of economic capacity
- (g) Equalisation of opportunities and
- (h) Depoliticisation of education (as said earlier)

Administrative onus should rest with the ministry of human resources development which should be the administrative pivot. The C.A.B.E. would be strengthened further. Re-establishment of all India education service. Strengthening of the state board of education. Every district should have a district council of education. Special training would be provided for heads of institutions and educational administrators. The authority and scope of the U.G.C. should be extended. Institutions for specialised education would be strengthened. A teachers' code of conduct should be drawn up. Special appeal would be issued for private donations for public education.

National Policy on Education : 1986

We may venture to make a study of this latest education policy by almost a verbatim reproduction of the "policy" which was carried through the Parliament with slight changes of a secondary nature and importance, keeping our comments in abeyance.

Introductory

1.1 *Education is a continuum.* Since the dawn of human history, it has continued to evolve, diversify and extend its reach and coverage. Every country develops its system of education to express and promote its unique socio-cultural identity and also to meet the challenges of the times. There are moments in history when a new direction has to be given to an age-old process. That moment is today.

1.2. The country has reached a stage in its economic and technical development when a major effort must be made to derive the maximum benefits from the assets already created and to ensure that the fruits of change reach all sections. Education is the highway to that goal.

1.3. With this aim in view, the Government of India announced in January 1985 that a new Education Policy would be formulated for the country. A comprehensive appraisal of the existing educational scene was made, followed by a countrywide debate. The views and suggestions received from different quarters were carefully studied.

The 1968 Education Policy and After

1.4 The national policy of 1968 marked a significant step in the history of education in post-independence India. It aimed to promote national progress, a sense of common citizenship and culture, and to strengthen national integration. It laid stress on the need for a radical reconstruction of the education system, to improve its quality at all stages, and gave much greater attention to science and technology, the cultivation of moral values and a closer relation between education and the life of the people.

1.5. Since the adoption of the 1968 Policy, there has been considerable expansion in educational facilities all through the country at all levels. *More than 90% of the country's rural habitations now have schooling facilities within a radius of one kilometre.* There has been sizeable augmentation of facilities at other stages also.

1.6 Perhaps the most notable development has been the acceptance of a common structure of education throughout the country and the introduction of the 10 + 2 + 3 system by most states. In the school curricula, in addition to laying down a common system of studies for boys and girls, science and mathematics were incorporated as compulsory subjects and work experience assigned a place of importance.

1.7 A beginning was also made in restructuring of courses at the undergraduate level. Centres of advanced studies were set up for post-graduate education and research, and we have been able to meet our requirements of educated manpower.

1.8 While these achievements are impressive by themselves, the general formulations incorporated in the 1968 policy did not, however, get translated into a detailed strategy of implementation, accompanied by the assignment of specific responsibilities and financial and organisational support. As a result, problems of access, quality, quantity, utility and financial outlay, which accumulated over the years, have now assumed such massive proportions that they must be tackled with the utmost urgency.

1.9 Education in India stands at the cross roads today. Neither normal linear expansion nor the existing pace and nature of improvement can meet the needs of the situation.

1.10 In the Indian way of thinking, a human being is a positive asset and a precious national resource which needs to be cherished, nurtured and

developed with tenderness and care, coupled with dynamism. Each individual's growth presents a different range of problems and requirements, at every stage, from the womb to the tomb. The catalytic action of education in this complex and dynamic growth process needs to be planned meticulously and executed with great sensitivity.

1.11 India's political and social life is passing through a phase which poses the danger of erosion to long-accepted values. The goals of secularism, socialism, democracy and professional ethics are coming under increasing strain.

1.12 The rural areas, with poor infrastructure and social services, will not get the benefits of trained and educated youth, unless *rural-urban disparities are reduced* and determined measures are taken to promote diversification and dispersal of employment opportunities.

1.13 The growth of our population needs to be brought down significantly over the coming decades. The largest single factor that could help achieve this is the spread of literacy and education among women.

1.14 Life in the coming decades is likely to bring new tensions together with unprecedented opportunities. To enable the people to benefit in the new environment will require new designs of human resource development. The coming generations should have the ability to internalise new ideas constantly and creatively. They have to be imbued with a strong commitment to human values and to social justice. All this implies better education.

1.15 Besides, a variety of new challenges and social needs make it imperative for the government to formulate and implement a new education policy for the country. Nothing short of this will meet the situation.

The Essence and Role of Education

2.1 In our national perception *education is essentially for all*. This is fundamental to our all-round development, *material and spiritual*.

2.2 Education has an Acculturating Role. It refines sensitivities and perceptions that contribute to *national cohesion, a scientific temper and independence of mind and spirit* — thus *furthering the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy enshrined in our constitution*.

2.3 Education *develops manpower* for different levels of the economy. It is also the substrata on which research and development flourish, being the *ultimate guarantee of national self-reliance*.

2.4 In sum, Education is a *Unique Investment* in the present and the future. This cardinal principle is the key to the national policy on education.

National system of Education

3.1 The constitution embodies the principles on which the national system of education is conceived of.

3.2 *The concept of a national system of education implies that up to a given level, all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of a comparable quality. To achieve this, the government will initiate appropriately funded programmes. Effective measures will be taken in the direction of the common school system recommended in the 1968 policy.*

3.3 *The national system of education envisages a common educational structure. The 10+2+3 structure has now been accepted in all parts of the country. Regarding the further break up of the first 10 years efforts will be made to move towards an elementary system comprising 5 years of primary education and 3 years of upper primary, followed by 2 years of high school.*

3.4 *The national system of education will be based on a national curricular framework which contains a common core along with other components that are flexible. The common core will include the history of India's freedom movement, the constitutional obligations and other content essential to nurture national identity. These elements will cut across subject areas and will be designed to promote values such as India's common cultural heritage, egalitarianism, democracy and secularism, equality of the sexes, protection of the environment, removal of social barriers, observance of the small family norm and inculcation of the scientific temper. All educational programmes will be carried on in strict conformity with secular values.*

3.5 *India has always worked for peace and understanding between nations, treating the whole world as one family. True to this hoary tradition, Education has to strengthen this world view and motivate the younger generations for international cooperation and peaceful co-existence. This aspect cannot be neglected.*

3.6 *To promote equality, it will be necessary to provide for equal opportunity to all not only in access, but also in the conditions for success. Besides, awareness of the inherent equality of all will be created through the core curriculum. The purpose is to remove prejudices and complexes transmitted through the social environment and the accident of birth.*

3.7 *Minimum levels of learning will be laid down for each stage of education. Steps will also be taken to foster among students an understanding of the diverse cultural and social systems of the people living in different parts of the country. Besides the promotion of the link language, programmes will also be launched to increase substantially the translation of books from one language to another and to publish multi-lingual dictionaries and glossaries. The young will be encouraged to undertake the rediscovery of India, each in his own image and perception.*

3.8 *In higher education in general, and technical education in particular, steps will be taken to facilitate inter-regional mobility by providing equal*

access to every Indian of requisite merit, regardless of his origins. *The universal character* of universities and other institutions of higher education is to be underscored.

3.9 In the areas of research and development, and education in science and technology, special measures will be taken to establish network arrangements between different institutions in the country to pool their resources and participate in projects of national importance.

3.10 The nation as a whole will assume the responsibility of providing resource support for implementing programmes of educational transformation, reducing disparities, universalisation of elementary education, adult literacy, scientific and technological research, etc.

3.11 Life-long education is a cherished goal of the educational process. This presupposes *universal literacy*. *Opportunities will be provided to the youth, housewives, agricultural and industrial workers and professionals to continue* the education of their choice, at the pace suited to them. The future thrust will be in the direction of open and distance learning.

3.12 Other institutions which will be strengthened to play an important role in giving shape to the national system of education are the *University Grants Commission*, the *All India Council of Technical Education*, the *Indian Council of Agricultural Research* and the *Indian Medical Council*. Integrated planning will be instituted among all these bodies so as to establish functional linkages and reinforce programmes of research and postgraduate education. These together with the National Council of Educational Research and Training and the National Institute Of Educational Planning and Administration, will be involved in implementing the education policy.

(Please refer to our previous discussion "Colonial Vs. National Education").

A Meaningful Partnership

3.13. The Constitutional Amendment of 1976, which includes Education in the Concurrent List, was a far-reaching step whose implications—substantive, financial and administrative—require a new sharing of responsibility between the Union Government and the States in respect of this vital area of national life. While the role and responsibility of the States in regard to education will remain essentially unchanged, the Union Government would accept a larger responsibility to reinforce the national and integrative character of education, to maintain quality and standards (including those of the teaching profession at all levels), to study and monitor the educational requirements of the country as a whole in regard to manpower for development, to cater to the needs of research and advanced study, to look after the international aspects of education, culture and human resource

development and, in general, to promote excellence at all levels of the educational pyramid throughout the country. Concurrency signifies a partnership which is at once meaningful and challenging, and the national policy will be oriented towards giving effect to it in letter and spirit.

Education for Equality

Disparities

4.1 *The new policy will lay special emphasis on the removal of disparities and to equalise educational opportunity by attending to the specific needs of those who have been denied equality so far.*

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY

4.2 Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The national education system will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions. This will be an act of faith and social engineering. Women's studies will be promoted as a part of various courses and educational institutions encouraged to take up active programmes to further women's development.

4.3 The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority, through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring. Major emphasis will be laid on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education at different levels. The policy of non-discrimination will be pursued vigorously to eliminate sex stereo-typing in vocational and professional courses and to promote women's participation in non-traditional occupations, as well as in existing and emergent technologies.

The Education of Scheduled Castes

4.4 The central focus in the SCs' educational development is their equalisation with the non-sc population at all stages and levels of education, in all areas and in all the four dimensions – rural male, rural female, urban male and urban female.

4.5 The measures contemplated for this purpose under the New Policy include :

- i) Incentives to indigent families to send their children to school regularly till they reach the age of 14 ;
- ii) Pre-matric scholarship scheme for children of families engaged in oc-

cupations such as scavenging, flaying and tanning to be made applicable from class I onwards. All children of such families, regardless of incomes, will be covered by this scheme and time-bound programmes targetted on them will be undertaken ;

iii) Special steps to provide non-formal education to SC children who drop-out of school in large numbers, and well- designed programmes of adult education;

iv) Constant micro-planning and verification to ensure that the enrolment, retention and successful completion of courses by sc students do not fall at any stage, and provision of remedial courses to improve their prospects for further education and in employment.

v) The recruitment of teachers from scheduled castes, will receive particular attention ;

vi) Provision of facilities for sc students in hostels at district headquarters, according to a phased programme ;

vii) The location of school buildings, Balwadis and adult education centres in such a way as to facilitate full participation of the Scheduled Castes ;

viii) The utilization of N.R.E.P. and R.L.E.G.P. resources so as to make substantial educational facilities available to the scheduled castes ;

ix) Constant innovation in finding new methods to increase the participation of the Schedules Castes in the educational process.

The Education of Scheduled Tribes

4.6 The following measures will be taken urgently to bring the scheduled tribes on par with others :

i) Priority will be accorded to opening primary schools in tribal areas. The construction of school buildings will be undertaken in these areas on a priority basis under the normal funds for education, as well as under the N.R.E.P., R.L.E.G.P., Tribal Welfare Schemes, etc.

ii) The socio-cultural milieu of the S. T. has its distinctive characteristics including, in many cases, their own spoken languages. This underlines the need to develop the curricula and devise institutional materials for the use of tribal languages at the initial stages, with arrangements for bridging over to the regional language.

iii) Educated and promising members of the Scheduled Tribes will be encouraged and trained to take up teaching in tribal areas.

iv) *Residential schools, including Ashram Schools*, will be established on a large scale.

v) Incentive schemes will be formulated *for the Scheduled Tribes*, keeping in view their special needs and life styles. *Scholarships for higher education will emphasise technical, professional and para-professional courses*. Special remedial courses and other programmes to remove psycho-social impedi-

ments will be provided to improve their performance in various courses.

vi) Anganwadis, *Non-formal Education Centres* and adult education centres will be opened on a priority basis in areas predominantly inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes.

vii) The curriculum for all students at all stages of education will create an awareness of the rich cultural identity of the tribal people as also of their enormous creative talent.

Minorities

4.7 Some minority groups are educationally deprived or backward. Greater attention will be paid to the education of these groups in the interests of equality and social justice. This will naturally include the constitutional guarantees given to them to establish and administer own educational institutions, and protection to their languages and culture. Simultaneously, objectivity will be reflected in the preparation of textbooks and in all school activities, and all possible measures will be taken to promote an integration based on appreciation of common national goals and ideals, in conformity with the core curriculum.

The Handicapped

4.8 The objective should be to *integrate the physically and mentally handicapped with the general community as equal partners, to prepare them for normal growth and to enable them to face life with courage and confidence.*

The following measures will be taken in this regard :

i) Wherever it is feasible, the education of children with motor handicaps and other mild handicaps will be common with that of others.

ii) *Special Schools with hostels* will be provided, as far as possible at district headquarters, for the severely handicapped children.

iii) Adequate arrangements will be made for the vocational training of the disabled.

iv) Teachers' training programmes will be reoriented, in particular for teachers of primary classes to deal with the special difficulties of the handicapped children ; and

v) Voluntary effort for the education of the disabled, will be encouraged in every possible manner.

Adult Education

4.9 Our ancient scriptures define education as that which liberates -i.e. provides the instruments for liberation from ignorance and oppression. In the modern world, it would naturally include the ability to read and write, since that is the main instrument of learning. Hence the crucial importance of adult education, including adult literacy.

4.10 The critical development issue today is the continuous upgradation of

skills so as to produce manpower resources of the kind and the number required by the society. Since participation by beneficiaries in the developmental programmes is of crucial importance, *systematic programmes of adult education linked with national goals such as alleviation of poverty, national integration, environmental conservation, energisation of the cultural creativity of the people, observance of small family norm, promotion of women's equality, etc.* will be organised and the existing programmes reviewed and strengthened.

4.11 The whole nation must pledge itself to the eradication of illiteracy, particularly in the 15-35 age-group. The central and state governments, political parties and their mass organisations, the mass media and educational institutions must commit themselves to mass literacy programmes of diverse nature. It will also have to involve on a large scale teachers, students, youth, voluntary agencies, employers etc. Concerted efforts will be made to harness various research agencies to improve the pedagogical aspects of adult literacy. The mass literacy programme would include, in addition to literacy, functional knowledge and skills, also awareness among learners about the socio-economic reality and the possibility to change and improve it.

4.12 A vast programme of adult and continuing education will be implemented through various ways and channels, including-

- (a) Establishment of centres in rural areas for continuing education ;
- (b) Worker's education through the employers and concerned agencies of government ;
- (c) Post-secondary educational institutions ;
- (d) Wider promotion of books, libraries and reading rooms ;
- (e) Radio, television and films, as mass and group learning media ;
- (f) Creation of learners' groups and organisations ;
- (g) Programmes of distance learning ;
- (h) Organizing assistance in self-learning ; and
- (i) Need and interest based vocational training programmes.

Reorganisation of Education at Different Stages

Early Childhood Care & Education

5.1 The National Policy on Children specially emphasises investment in the development of the young child, particularly children from sections of the population in which first generation learners predominate.

5.2 Recognising the wholistic nature of proper child development, viz., nutrition, health and social, mental, physical, moral, and emotional development, Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) will receive high priority and be suitably integrated with the integrated child development services

programme, wherever possible. *Day-care Centres* will be provided as a support service for universalisation of primary education, to enable girls engaged in taking care of siblings to attend schools and as a support service for working women belonging to poorer sections.

5.3 *Programmes of ECCE will be child-centred, focussed around play*, and the individuality of each child and will discourage formal methods or the early introduction of the 3 R's. The local community will be fully involved in these programmes.

5.4 *A full integration of child care and pre-primary education will be brought about, both as a feeder and a strengthening factor for primary education and to human resource development in general. In continuation of this stage, the School Health Programme will be strengthened.*

Elementary Education

5.5 The new thrust in elementary education will emphasise two aspects : (i) *universal enrolment and universal retention* of children up to 14 years of age, and (ii) *a substantial improvement in the quality of education.*

Child-Centred

5.6 A warm, welcoming and encouraging approach, in which all concerned share a solicitude for the needs of the child, is the best *motivation* for the child to attend school and learn. A *child-centred and activity-based* process of learning should be adopted at the primary stage. *First generation learners should be allowed to set their own pace* and be given *supplementary remedial instruction*. As the child grows, the component of cognitive learning will be increased and skills organised through practice. *The policy of non-detention at the primary stage will be retained, making evaluation as disaggregated as feasible. Corporal punishment will be firmly excluded from the educational system and school timings as well as vacations adjusted to the convenience of children.*

School Facilities

5.7 Provision will be made of *essential facilities* in primary schools, including at least *two reasonably large rooms* that are *usable in all weather*, and the *necessary toys, blackboards, maps, charts, and other learning material*. At least two teachers, one of whom *a woman*, should work in every school, the number *increasing as early as possible to one teacher per class*. A phased drive, symbolically called *OPERATION BLACKBOARD* will be undertaken with immediate effect to improve primary schools all over the country. *Government, local bodies, voluntary agencies and individuals will be fully involved.*

Non-formal Education

5.8 *A large and systematic programme of non-formal education will be*

launched for school drop-outs, for children from habitations without schools, working children and girls who cannot attend whole-day schools.

5.9 Modern technological aids will be used to improve the learning environment of NFE centres. Talented and dedicated young men and women from the local community will be chosen to serve as instructors, and particular attention paid to their training. Steps will be taken to facilitate their entry into the formal system in deserving cases. All necessary measures will be taken to ensure that the quality of non-formal education is comparable with formal education.

5.10 Effective steps will be taken to provide a framework for the curriculum on the lines of the national core curriculum, but based on the needs of the learners and related to the local environment. Learning material of high quality will be developed and provided free of charge to all pupils. The programmes will provide participatory learning environment, and activities such as games and sports, cultural programmes, excursions, etc.

5.11 Much of the work of running NFE centres will be done through voluntary agencies and Panchayati Raj Institutions. The provision of funds to these agencies will be adequate and timely. The government will take over-all responsibility for this vital sector which is not yet fully established.

A Resolve

5.12 The New Education Policy will give the highest priority to solving the problem of children dropping out of school and will adopt an array of meticulously formulated strategies based on micro-planning and applied at the grass-roots level all over the country, to ensure children's retention at school. This effort will be fully coordinated with the network of non-formal education. It shall be ensured that all children who attain the age of about 11 years by 1990 will have had five years of schooling, or its equivalent through the non-formal stream. Likewise, by 1995 all children will be provided free and compulsory education upto 14 years of age.

Secondary Education

5.13 Secondary education begins to expose students to the differentiated roles of science, the humanities and social sciences. This is also an appropriate stage to provide children with a sense of history and national perspective and give them opportunities to understand their constitutional duties and rights as citizens. Conscious internalisation of a healthy work ethos and of the values of a humane and composite culture will be brought about through appropriately formulated curricula. Vocationalisation through specialised institutions or through the refashioning of secondary education can, at this stage, provide valuable manpower for economic growth. Access to secondary education will be widened to cover areas unserved by it at present. In other areas, the main emphasis will be on consolidation.

Pace-setting Schools

5.14 It is universally accepted that *children with special talent or aptitude* should be provided opportunities to proceed at a faster pace, by making good quality education available to them, irrespective of their capacity to pay for it.

5.15 Pace-setting schools intended to serve this purpose will be established in various parts of the country on a given pattern, but with full scope for innovation and experimentation. Their broad aims will be to serve the objective of excellence, coupled with equity and social justice (with reservation for SCS and STS), to promote national integration by providing opportunities to talented children largely rural, from different parts of the country to live and learn together, to develop their full potential, and most importantly, to become catalysts of a nation-wide programme of school improvement. The schools will be residential and free-of-charge. These Navodaya Vidyalayas will be distinct from the kendriya vidyalayas.

Vocationalisation

5.16 The introduction of systematic, well-planned and rigorously implemented programmes of vocational education is crucial in the proposed educational reorganisation. These elements are meant to enhance individual employability to reduce the mis-match between the demand and supply of skilled manpower, and to provide an alternative for those pursuing higher education without particular interest or purpose.

5.17 Vocational education will be a distinct stream, intended to prepare students for identified occupations spanning several areas of activity. These courses will ordinarily be provided after the secondary stage, but keeping the scheme flexible, they may also be made available after class VIII. In the interests of integrating vocational education better with their facilities the Industrial Training Institutes will also conform to the larger vocational pattern.

5.18 Health Planning and Health Service management should optimally interlock with the education and training of appropriate categories of health manpower through health-related vocational courses. Health education at the primary and middle levels will ensure the commitment of the individual to family and community health, and lead to health-related vocational courses at the +2 stage of higher secondary education. Efforts will be made to devise similar vocational courses based on agriculture, marketing, social services, etc. An emphasis in vocational education will also be on development of attitudes, knowledge, and skills for entrepreneurship and self-employment.

5.19 The establishment of vocational courses or institutions will be the responsibility of the Government as well as employers in the public and private sectors; the Government will however, take special steps to cater to the needs

of women, rural and tribal students and the deprived sections of society. Appropriate programmes will also be started for the handicapped.

5.20 Graduates of vocational courses will be given opportunities, under predetermined conditions, for professional growth, career improvement and lateral entry into courses of general, technical and professional education through appropriate bridge courses.

5.21 Non-formal, flexible and need-based vocational programmes will also be made available to neoliterates, youth who have completed primary education, school dropouts, persons engaged in work and unemployed or partially employed persons. Special attention in this regard will be given to women.

5.22 Tertiary level courses will be organised for the young who graduate from the higher secondary courses of the academic stream and may also require vocational courses.

5.23 It is proposed that vocational courses cover 10 per cent of higher secondary students by 1990 and 25 per cent by 1995. Steps will be taken to see that a substantial majority of the products of vocational courses are employed or become selfemployed. Review of the courses offered would be regularly undertaken. Government will also review its recruitment policy to encourage diversification at the secondary level.

Higher Education

5.24 Higher education provides people with an opportunity to reflect on the critical social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialized knowledge and skills. It is therefore a crucial factor for survival. Being at the apex of the educational pyramid, it has also a key role in producing teachers for the education system.

5.25 In the context of the unprecedented explosion of knowledge, higher education has to become dynamic as never before, constantly entering uncharted areas.

5.26 There are around 150 universities and about 5,600 colleges in India today. In view of the need to effect an all round improvement in these institutions, it is proposed that, in the near future, the main emphasis will be on the consolidation of and expansion of facilities in the existing institutions.

5.27 Urgent steps will be taken to protect the system from degradation.

5.28 In view of mixed experiences with the system of affiliation, autonomous colleges will be helped to develop in large numbers until the affiliating system is replaced by a freer and more creative association of universities with colleges. Similarly, the creation of autonomous departments within universities on a selective basis will be encouraged. Autonomy and freedom will be accompanied by accountability.

5.29 *Courses and programmes will be redesigned to meet the demands of specialisation better. Special emphasis will be laid on linguistic competence. There will be increasing flexibility in the combination of courses.*

5.30 *State level planning and coordination of higher education will be done through Councils of Higher Education. The UGC and these Councils will develop coordinative methods to keep a watch on standards.*

5.31 *Provision will be made for minimum facilities and admission will be regulated according to capacity. A major effort will be directed towards the transformation of teaching methods. Audio-visual aids and electronic equipment will be introduced to streamline development of science and technology, curricula and material, research, and teacher orientation. This will require preparation of teachers at the beginning of the service as well as continuing education thereafter. Teachers' performance will be assessed systematically. All posts will be filled entirely on the basis of merit.*

5.32 *Research in the universities will be provided enhanced support and steps will be taken to ensure its high quality. Suitable mechanisms will be set up by the UGC for coordinating research in the universities, particularly in thrust areas of science and technology, with research undertaken by other agencies. An effort will be made to encourage the setting up of national research facilities within the university system, with proper forms of autonomous management.*

5.33 *Research in Indology, the humanities and social sciences will receive adequate support. To fulfil the need for the synthesis of knowledge, inter-disciplinary research will be encouraged. Efforts will be made to delve into India's ancient fund of knowledge and to relate it to contemporary reality. This effort will imply the development of facilities for the intensive study of Sanskrit and other Classical languages.*

5.34 *In the interests of greater coordination and consistency in policy, sharing of facilities and developing interdisciplinary research, a national body covering higher education in general, agricultural, medical, technical, legal and other professional fields will be set up.*

Open University and Distance Learning

5.35 *The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as an instrument of democratising education.*

5.36 *The Indira Gandhi National Open University, established in 1985 in fulfilment of these objectives will be strengthened.*

5.37 *This powerful instrument will have to be developed with care and extended with caution.*

5.38 *A beginning will be made in de-linking degress from jobs in selected areas.*

5.39 *The proposal cannot be applied to occupation-specific courses like Engineering, Medicine, Law, Teaching, etc. Similarly, the services of specialists with academic qualifications in the humanities, social sciences, sciences, etc. will continue to be required in various job positions.*

5.40 *The de-linking will be applied in services for which a university degree need not be a necessary qualification. Its implementation will lead to a re-fashioning of job-specific courses and afford greater justice to those candidates who, despite being equipped for a given job, are unable to get it because of an unnecessary preference for graduate candidates.*

5.41 Concomitant with de-linking, an appropriate machinery, such as a *National Testing Service*, will be established, in appropriate phases, to conduct tests on a voluntary basis to determine the suitability of candidates for specified jobs and to pave the way for the emergence of norms of comparable competence across the nation.

Rural University

5.42 The new pattern of the *Rural University* will be consolidated and developed *on the lines of Mahatma Gandhi's revolutionary ideas on education* so as to take up the challenges of *microplanning at grassroot levels* and the transformation of rural areas. *Institutions and programmes of Gandhian basic education will be supported.*

Technical and Management Education

6.1 It is essential to look at technical and management education together, in view of their close relationship and complementary concerns.. The reorganisation of Technical and Management Education should take *into account the anticipated scenario by the turn of the century, with specific reference to the likely changes in the economy, social environment, production and management processes, the rapid expansion of knowledge and the great advances in science and technology.*

6.2 The infrastructure and services sectors as well as the unorganised rural sector also need a greater induction of improved technologies and a supply of technical and managerial manpower. This will be attended to by the Government.

6.3 In the order to improve the situation regarding manpower information, the recently set up *Technical Manpower Information System* will be *further developed* and strengthened.

6.4 Continuing education, *covering established as well as emerging technologies, will be promoted.*

6.5 As computers have become important and ubiquitous tools, a minimal exposure to computers and a training in their use will form part of professional education. *Programmes of computer literacy will be organised on wide*

scale from the school stage.

6.6 In view of the present rigid entry requirements to formal courses restricting the access of a large segment of people to technical and managerial education, *programmes through a distance-learning process*, including use of the mass media, will be offered. *Technical and management education programmes*, including polytechnics, will also be on a flexible modular pattern based on credits, with provision for multi-point entry. A strong guidance and counselling service will be provided.

6.7 In order to increase the relevance of management education, particularly in the non-corporate and under-managed sectors, the management education system will study and document the Indian experience and create a body of knowledge and specific educational programmes suited to these sectors.

6.8 *Appropriate formal and non-formal programmes* of technical education relevant to their skills will be devised for the benefit of women, the economically and socially weaker sections, and the physically handicapped.

6.9 The emphasis on vocational education and its expansion will need a large number of teachers and professionals in vocational education, educational technology, curriculum development, etc. Programmes will be started to meet this demand.

6.10 To encourage students to consider "self-employment" as a career option, *training in entrepreneurship* will be provided through modular or optional courses, in degree or diploma programmes.

6.11 In order to meet the continuing needs of updating curriculum, renewal should systematically phase out obsolescence and introduce new technologies or disciplines.

Institutional Thrusts

6.12 Some polytechnics in the rural areas have started training weaker groups in rural areas for productive occupations through a system of community polytechnics. The community polytechnic system will be appraised and appropriately strengthened to increase its quality and coverage.

Innovation, Research and Development

6.13 Research as a means of renovation and renewal of educational processes will be undertaken by all higher technical institutions. It will primarily aim at producing quality manpower capable of taking up R & D functions. Research for development will focus on improving present technologies, developing new indigenous ones and enhancing production and productivity. A suitable system for watching and forecasting technology will be set up.

6.14 The scope for cooperation, collaboration and networking relationships

between institutions at various levels and with the user systems will be utilised. Proper maintenance, and an attitude of innovation and improvement in daily life, will be promoted systematically.

Promoting Efficiency and Effectiveness at All Levels

6.15 As technical and management education is expensive, the following major steps will be taken for cost-effectiveness and to promote excellence :

i) High priority will be given to modernisation and removal of obsolescence. However, modernisation will be undertaken to enhance functional efficiency and not for its own sake or as a status symbol :

ii) *Institutions will be encouraged to generate resources using their capacities to provide services to the community and industry. They will be equipped with up-to-date learning resources, library and computer facilities.*

iii) *Adequate hostel accommodation will be provided, specially for girls. Facilities for sports, creative work and cultural activities will be expanded :*

iv) *More effective procedures will be adopted in the recruitment of staff. Career opportunities will be enhanced and improvements effected in service consultancy norms and other perquisites.*

v) *Teachers will have multiple roles to perform : teaching, research and development of learning resource material, extension and administration or managing the institution. Initial and inservice training will be made mandatory for faculty members and adequate training reserves will be provided. Staff Development programmes will be integrated at the State and coordinated at Regional and National levels.*

vi) The curricula of technical and management programmes will be targetted on current as well as the projected needs of industry or user systems. Active interaction between technical or management institutions and industry will be promoted in programme planning and implementation, exchange of personnel, training facilities and resources, research and consultancy and other areas of mutual interest.

vii) Excellence in performance of institutions and individuals will be recognised and rewarded. The emergence of substandard and mediocre institutions will be checked. An institutional climate conducive to excellence will be promoted with full faculty involvement.

viii) *Select institutions will be awarded academic, administrative and financial autonomy of varying degrees, building in safeguards with respect to accountability.*

ix) Networking systems will have to be established between technical education and industry, R & D organisations, programmes of rural and community development and with other sectors of education with complementary characteristics.

Management Functions and Change

6.16 In view of the likely emergence of changes in management systems and the need to equip students with the ability to cope with them, effective mechanisms will be devised to understand the nature and direction of change and to develop the important skill of managing change.

6.17 In view of the integrated nature of the task, the Ministry of Human Resource Development will coordinate the balanced development of engineering, vocational and management education as well as education of technicians and craftsmen.

6.18 Professional societies will be encouraged and enabled to perform their due role in the advancement of technical and management education.

6.19 The *All India Council for Technical Education* will be vested with statutory authority for planning, formulation and the maintenance of norms and standards, accreditation, funding of priority areas, monitoring and evaluation, maintaining parity of certification and awards and ensuring the coordinated and integrated development of technical and management education. Mandatory periodic evaluation will be carried out by a duly constituted Accreditation Board.

6.20 In the interests of maintaining standards and for several other valid reasons, *the commercialisation of technical and professional education will be curbed*. An alternative system will be devised to involve private and voluntary effort in this sector of education, in conformity with accepted norms and social goals.

Making The System Work

7.1 It is obvious that these and many new tasks of education cannot be performed in a state of disorder. Education needs to be managed in an atmosphere of utmost intellectual rigour, seriousness of purpose and, at the same time, of freedom essential for innovation and creativity. While far-reaching changes will have to be incorporated in the quality and range of education, the process of introducing discipline into the system will have to be started, here and now, in what exists.

7.2 The country has placed a boundless trust in the educational system. The people have a right to expect concrete results. The first task is to make it work. All teachers should teach and all students study.

7.3 The strategy in this behalf will consist of -

- (a) a better deal to, and the *greater accountability of teachers* ;
- (b) *provision of improved students' services and insistence on observance of acceptable norms of behaviour* ;
- (c) provision of a threshold of facilities to institutions ; and
- (d) *Creation of a system of performance appraisals of institutions according to standards and norms set at the National or State levels.*

Reorienting The Content and Process of Education

The Cultural Perspective

8.1 The existing schism between the formal system of education and the country's rich and varied cultural traditions needs to be bridged. *The preoccupation with modern technologies should not be allowed to sever new generations' roots in India's history and culture. De-culturation, de-humanisation and alienation must be avoided at all costs. Education can and must bring about the fine synthesis between change-oriented technologies and the country's continuity of cultural traditions.*

8.2 The curricula and processes of education will be enriched by cultural content in as many manifestations as possible. Children will be enabled to develop sensitivity to beauty, harmony and refinement. Resource persons in the community, irrespective of their formal educational qualifications, will be invited to contribute to the cultural enrichment of education, employing both the literate and oral traditions of communication. To sustain and carry forward the cultural tradition, the role of old masters, who train pupils through traditional modes will be supported and recognised.

8.3 Linkages will be established between the university system and institutions of higher learning in art, archaeology, oriental studies etc. *Due attention will also be paid to the specialised disciplines of Fine Arts, Museology, Folklore etc. Teaching, training and research in these disciplines will be strengthened so as to replenish specialised manpower in them.*

Value Education

8.4 The growing concern over the erosion of essential values and an increasing cynicism in society has brought to focus the need for readjustments in the curriculum in order to make education a forceful tool for the cultivation of social, ethical and moral values.

8.5 In our culturally plural society the values that are to be fostered through education *should have a universal appeal, and should be oriented towards the unity and integration of our people. Such value education should help eliminate obscurantism, religious fanaticism, violence, superstition and fatalism.*

8.6 Apart from this combative role, value education has a profound *positive content, based on our heritage, national and universal goals and perceptions. It should lay primary emphasis on this aspect.*

Languages

8.7 The Education Policy of 1968 examined the question of the development of languages in great detail ; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are as relevant today as before. The implementation of

this part of the 1968 Policy has, however, been uneven. The Policy will be implemented more energetically and purposefully.

Books and Libraries

8.8 The availability of books at low prices is indispensable for a people's education. Effort will be made to secure easy accessibility to books for all segments of the population. Measures will be taken to improve the quality of books, promote the reading habit and encourage creative writing. Authors' interests will be protected. Good translations of foreign books into Indian languages will be supported. Special attention will be paid to the production of quality books for children, including textbooks and workbooks.

8.9 Together with the development of books, a nation-wide movement for the improvement of existing libraries and the establishment of new ones will be taken up. Provision will be made in all educational institutions for library facilities and the status of librarians improved.

Media and Educational Technology

8.10 Modern communication technologies have the potential to bypass several stages and sequences in the process of development encountered in early decades. Both the *constraints of time and distance* at once *become manageable*. In order to avoid structural dualism, modern educational technology must *reach out to the most distant areas* and the *most deprived sections* of beneficiaries simultaneously with the areas of comparative affluence and ready availability.

8.11 *Educational technology will be employed in the spread of useful information, the training and retraining of teachers, to improve quality, sharpen awareness of art and culture, inculcate abiding values, etc., both in the formal and non-formal sectors. Maximum use will be made of the available infrastructure.* In villages without electricity, batteries or solar packs will be used to run the programme.

8.12 The generation of relevant and culturally compatible educational programmes will form an important component of educational technology, and all available resources in the country will be utilised for this purpose.

8.13 The media has a profound influence on the minds of children as well as adults; some of it has encouraged consumerism, violence etc. and thus had a deleterious effect. *Radio and T.V. programmes which clearly militate against proper educational objectives will be prevented.* Steps will be taken to discourage such trends in films and other media also. An active movement will be started to promote the production of children's films of high quality and usefulness.

Work Experience

8.14 Work experience, *viewed as purposive and meaningful manual work, organised as an integral part of the learning process and resulting in either goods or services which are useful to community*, is considered as an essential component at all stages of education, to be provided through well-structured and graded programmes. It would comprise activities in accord with interests, abilities and needs of students, the level of skills and knowledge to be upgraded with the stages of education. This experience would be helpful on his entry into the workforce. Pre-vocational programmes provided at the lower secondary stage will also facilitate the choice of the vocational courses at the secondary stage.

Education and Environment

8.15 There is a paramount need to create a consciousness of the environment. It must permeate all ages and all sections of society, beginning with the child. Environmental consciousness should inform teaching in schools and colleges. This aspect will be integrated in the entire educational process.

Mathematics Teaching

8.16 Mathematics should be visualised as the *vehicle to train a child to think, reason, analyse and to articulate* logically. Apart from being a specific subject, it should be treated as a concomitant to any subject involving analysis and reasoning.

8.17 With the introduction of computers in schools, *educational computing* and the emergence of learning through the understanding of *cause-effect relationships* and the *interplay of variables*, the teaching of mathematics will be suitably redesigned to bring it in line with modern technological devices.

Science Education

8.18 Science education will be *strengthened* so as to develop in the child well defined abilities and values such as the spirit of inquiry, creativity, objectivity, the courage to question, and an aesthetic sensibility.

8.19 Science and mathematics are *compulsory upto class X*. Science education programmes will be designed to enable the learner to acquire *problem solving* and *decision making* skills and to discover the relationship of science with health, agriculture, industry and other aspects of daily life. Every effort will be made to extend science education to the vast numbers who have remained outside the pale of formal education.

Sports and Physical Education

8.20 Sports and physical education are an *integral part of the learning process*, and will be included in the evaluation of performance. A nation-

wide infrastructure for physical education, sports and games will be built into the educational edifice.

8.21 The *infrastructure will consist of playfields, equipment, coaches and teachers* of physical education as part of the school Improvement Programme. Available open spaces in urban areas will be reserved for playgrounds, if necessary by legislation. Efforts will be made to establish sports institutions and hostels where specialised attention will be given to sports activities and sports-related studies, along with normal education. Appropriate encouragement will be given to those talented in sports and games. Due stress will be laid on indigenous traditional games. As a system which promotes an integrated development of body and mind, Yoga will receive special attention. Efforts will be made to introduce yoga in all schools; to this end, it will be introduced in teacher training courses.

The Role of Youth

8.22 Opportunities will be provided for the youth to involve themselves in national and social development through educational institutions and outside them. Students will be required to participate in one or the other of existing schemes, namely, the *National Service Scheme, National Cadet Corps*, etc. *Outside the institutions*, the youth will be encouraged to take up programmes of development, reform and extension. The *National Service Volunteer Scheme* will be strengthened.

The Evaluation Process and Examination Reform

8.23 Assessment of performance is an integral part of any process of learning and teaching. As part of sound educational strategy, examinations should be employed to bring about qualitative improvements in education.

8.24 The objective will be to re-cast the examination system so as to ensure a method of assessment that is a valid and reliable measure of student development and a powerful instrument for improving and learning. In functional terms, this would mean:

- i) The *elimination of excessive element of chance and subjectivity*;
- ii) The *de-emphasis of memorisation*;
- iii) *Continuous and comprehensive evaluation* that incorporates both scholastic and non-scholastic aspects of education, spread over the total span of instructional time;
- iv) *Effective use of the evaluation process by teachers, students and parents*;
- v) *Improvement in the conduct of examinations*;
- vi) The introduction of *concomitant changes* in instructional materials and methodology;
- vii) The introduction of *the semester system from the secondary stage in*

a phased manner ; and

viii) The use of grades in place of marks.

8.25 The above goals are relevant both for external examinations and evaluation within educational institutions. Evaluation at the institutional level will be streamlined and the predominance of external examinations reduced.

The Teacher

9.1 *The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of a society ;* it is said that no people can rise above the level of its teachers. The Government and the community should endeavour to *create conditions which will help motivate* and inspire teachers on constructive and creative lines. Teachers should have the freedom to innovate, to devise appropriate methods of communication and activities relevant to the needs and capabilities of and the concerns of the community.

9.2 *The methods of recruiting teachers will be reorganised* to ensure merit, objectivity and conformity with spatial and functional requirements. The pay and service conditions of teachers have to be commensurate with their social and professional responsibilities and with the need to attract talent to the profession. Efforts will be made to reach the desirable objective of *uniform emoluments, service conditions and grievance-removal mechanisms* for teachers throughout the country. Guidelines will be formulated to *ensure objectivity* in the postings and transfers of teachers. A system of *teacher evaluation—open, participative and data-based—* will be created and *reasonable opportunities of promotion* to higher grades provided. *Norms of accountability* will be laid down with incentives for good performance and disincentives for non-performance. Teachers will continue to play a *crucial role in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes.*

9.3 Teachers' associations must play a significant role in upholding professional integrity and enhancing the dignity of teachers ; they should also help in curbing professional misconduct. In cooperation with the Government, national level associations of teachers will prepare a National Code of Professional Ethics for Teachers and see to its observance.

9.4 Teacher education is also a continuous process and its pre-service and in-service components are inseparable. As the first step, the system of teacher education will be overhauled.

9.5 The programmes of teacher-education will emphasise continuing education and the need of teachers to meet the thrusts envisaged in this Policy.

9.6 District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET) will be established with the capability to organise pre-service and in-service courses for elementary school teachers and for the personnel working in non-formal and

adult education. As DIETs get established, sub-standard institutions will be phased out. selected Secondary Teacher Training Colleges will be upgraded to complement the work of State Councils of Educational Research and Training. The National Council of Teacher Education will be provided the necessary resources and capability to accredit institutions of teacher-education and provide guidance regarding curricula and methods. Networking arrangements will be created between institutions of teacher education and university departments of education.

The Management of Education

10.1 An overhaul of the system of planning and the management of education will receive high priority. The guiding considerations will be : —

- a) Evolving a long-term planning and management perspective of education and its integration with the country's developmental and manpower needs ;
- b) Decentralisation and the creation of spirit of autonomy for educational institutions ;
- c) Giving pre-eminence to people's involvement, including association of non-governmental agencies and voluntary effort ;
- d) Including more women in the planning and management of education ;
- e) Establishing the principle of accountability in relation to given objective and norms.

National Level

10.2 The Central Advisory Board of Education will play a pivotal role in reviewing educational development, determining the charges required to improve the system and monitoring implementation. It will function through appropriate Committees and other mechanisms created to ensure contact with and coordination among, the various areas of human Resource Development. The Departments of Education at the Centre and in the states will be strengthened through the involvement of professionals.

Indian Education Service

10.3 A proper management structure in education will entail the establishment of the Indian Education Service as all-India Service. It will bring a national perspective to this vital sector. The basic principles, functions and procedures of recruitment to this service will be decided in consultation with the State Governments.

State Level

10.4 State Governments may establish State Advisory Boards of Education on the lines of CABE. Effective measures should be taken to integrate mechanism in the various State departments concerned with Human

Resource Development.

10.5 Special attention will be paid to the training of educational planners, administrators and heads of institutions. Institutional arrangements for this purpose should be set up in stages.

Districts and Local Level

10.6 District Boards of Education will be created to manage education up to the higher secondary level. State Governments will attend to this aspect with all possible expedition. Within a multi-level framework of educational development, Central, State, District and local level agencies will participate in planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation.

10.7 A very important role must be assigned to the head of an educational institution. Heads will be specially selected and trained. School complexes will be promoted on a flexible pattern so as to serve as networks of institutions and synergic alliances to encourage professionalism among teachers, to ensure conservice of norms of conduct and to enable the sharing of experiences and facilities. It is expected that a developed system of school complexes will take over much of the inspection functions in due course.

10.8 Local communities, through appropriate bodies, will be assigned a major role in programmes of school improvement.

Voluntary Agencies and Aided Institutions

10.9 Non-government and voluntary effort including social activist groups will be encouraged, subject to proper management, and financial assistance provided. At the same time, steps will be taken to prevent the establishment of institutions set up to commercialise education.

Resources and Review

11.1 The Education Commission of 1964-66, the National Education Policy of 1968 and practically all others concerned with education have stressed that the egalitarian goal and the practical, development-oriented objective of Indian society can only be realised by making investments in education of an order commensurate with the nature and dimensions of the task.

11.2 Resources, to the extent possible, will be raised by mobilising donations, asking the beneficiary communities to maintain school buildings and supplies of some consumables, raising fees at the higher levels of education and effecting some savings by the efficient use of facilities. Institutions involved with research and development of technical and scientific manpower should also mobilize some funds by levying a cess or charge on the user agencies, including Government departments, and entrepreneurs. All these measures will be taken not only to reduce the burden of State resour-

ces but also for creating a greater sense of responsibility within the educational system. However, such measures will contribute only marginally to the total funding. The Government and the community in general will find funds for such programmes as : the universalisation of elementary education; liquidating illiteracy; equality of access to educational opportunities to all sections throughout the country; enhancing the social relevance, quality and functional effectiveness of educational programmes; generating knowledge and developing technologies in scientific fields crucial to self-sustaining economic development; and creating a critical consciousness of the values and imperatives of national survival.

11.3 The deleterious consequences of non-investment or inadequate investment in education are indeed very serious. Similarly, the cost of neglecting vocational and technical education or research is also unacceptable. Sub-optimal performances in these fields could cause irreparable damage to the Indian economy. The network of institutions set up from time to time since Independence to facilitate the application of science and technology would need to be substantially and expeditiously updated, since they are fast becoming obsolete.

11.4 In view of imperatives education will be treated as a crucial area of investment for national development and survival. The National Policy on Education, 1968, had laid down that the investment on education be gradually increased to reach a level of expenditure of 6% of the national income as early as possible. Since the actual level of investment has remained far short of that target, it is important that greater determination be shown now to find the funds for the programmes laid down in this Policy. While the actual requirements will be computed from time to time by close monitoring and review, it is proposed that the outlay on education hereafter would uniformly exceed the level recommended in the 1968 Policy.

Review

11.5 The implementation and parametres of the New Policy must be reviewed every five years. Appraisals at short interval will also be made to ascertain the progress of implementation and the trends emerging from time to time.

The Future

12.1 The future shape of education in India is too complex to envision with precision. Yet, given our tradition which has almost always put a high premium on intellectual and piritual attainment, we are bound to succeed in achieving our objectives.

12.2 The main task is to strengthen the base of the pyramid, which might touch a billion people at the turn of the century. Equally, it is important to

ensure that those at the top of the pyramid are among the best in the world. Our cultural wellsprings had taken good care of both the ends in the past ; the skew set in with foreign domination and influence. It should now be possible to further intensify the nation-wide effort in Human Resource Development, with Education playing its multi-faceted role.

Comments

It is evident that no stage of education is proposed to be abolished nor any type of education is proposed to be abandoned. The novelty, amounts to re-orientation, shifts in emphasis and the supposed purposiveness. There are innumerable gaps, chasms, ifs and buts. There are big question-marks on the financial side.

The total system is to be led by

1. University Grants Commission for University education.
2. C.S.I.R. for scientific researches.
3. All India Medical Council for medical education.
4. All India Council for Technical Education (A.I.C.T.E.) for vocational-technical education.
5. State Board of secondary education for each State and N.C.E.R.T. for researches and as well as Central Board of Secondary Education.
6. State Boards of Primary Education or Department of Education of the State Govt.
7. There is C.A.B.E. for a total over view.

Probable impact of the New National Education Policy

The new education policy was carried through the Parliament in 1986. If additions and alterations were made in accordance with this policy, a good lot of change to the system of education was due to come off at the end of the 7th Plan.

The important contentions of the new policy in simplest analysis are :—

1. Up to a certain age level, every one irrespective of race, habitat, sex etc. will get free education of equal value.
2. The system uniformly throughout India will be divided into 10 + 2 + 3 stages.
3. Education will be conducted on the basis of a common curriculum for the whole country with necessary local variations.
4. Education will ensure national integration and international brotherhood.

5. All Students will get equal opportunities.

6. Exchanges of ideas between different localities in India will be made the easier.

7. With the basic object of ensuring equality of opportunities, special provisions will be made for women's education, education of the scheduled castes and tribes, minority groups, the handicapped, the adult (15-55 years) and universal literacy.

8. The Union Govt. will play its due role, since education has been placed in the concurrent jurisdiction.

9. Work, on behalf of the Union Govt. will be conducted by U.G.C., All India Council for Technical Education, Agricultural Research Institute, Indian Medical Council, N.C.E.R.T., National Institute for Planning and Administration.

10. Elementary education up to 14+ will be achieved before a prefixed deadline. With the object of reaching the goal extensive use will be made of non-formal methods, Radio, T.V. and modern technology. The panchayats and non-official organisations will be approached for help in literacy drive.

11. In secondary education, emphasis will be placed upon vocational orientation and work culture.

12. Novodaya (model) schools would be set up as pace setting institutions to be emulated by the general secondary schools. Admission in these schools will be determined only by merit. Rural children and children from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes will be given some special advantages. Living together in a residential institution will enhance the cause of national integration. These schools will have grades VI to XII. From VI to VIII, regional language may be taught together with Hindi and English. In the secondary classes (IX & X) only Hindi and English will be provided, leaving aside the regional language (mother tongue). Special emphasis will be placed upon Mathematics, Sciences, and Physical education.

13. Various types and various grades of technical and vocational subjects will be offered. Computer Science and latest high technology will be so provided that they will enable India to step into the 21st Century on equal terms with the most advanced countries of the world.

14. Instead of further expansion of higher education, attention will be paid to its consolidation and improvement. The Universities will produce specialists and highly qualified scholars and teachers. The universities will not keep their doors open for entry of all and sundry. Merit and quality will be the key to the door. Higher education has to be made dynamic. Hence a few selected colleges will be freed from the bondage of tradition and rules

and given an autonomous status including syllabus making, teaching and degree giving rights. These colleges must be "excellent".

15. Rural Universities will be founded to serve the rural areas. (In this connection it may be recalled that 40 years ago the Radhakrishnan Commission had suggested such universities. But not a single such university saw the light of the day in the course of six completed five year plans).

16. Open Universities will be founded to conduct evening and half day courses, Correspondence courses and teaching through cassetts, Radio and T.V. etc. Examination will also be conducted. (But it is not yet clear how much value the people and employers will attach to the degrees conferred by the open universities).

17. Technology, Applied Sciences and Management will be provided at the highest level.

18. Proper administration of education will be provided by the C.A.B.E. Indian Education Service (I.E.S.) will be re-established. Every state will form a state Advisory Board of Education. Each district will have a District Education Board. Cooperation will be sought from private persons and institutions. State level educational plans will be made.

Above promises are apparently brilliant. But the action plan attached to the policy gives rise to several questions and doubts, viz—

1. On Navodaya School : During the 7th plan one such school was to be established in each district (total of 432 schools in India). In a co-educational system children will study from class VI to XII. They will not be required to pay tuition fees. Moreover, lodge and boarding, dress, text books and other necessary things, will be provided free of cost. Each school will be provided with good library, rehearsing room for elocution and theatrical performances, auditorium, gymnasium, canteen, spacious bath rooms, teachers' and principal's room, office, extensive hostels, study rooms, kitchen and dining rooms. Students will receive transport cost to and from home during vacations. Each school with a sprawling campus of 900 bighas of land will have playground, swimming pool, and provision for fine arts and cultural functions, as also modern teaching aids, radio, T.V. micro-computer, extensive laboratory. The cost for each school (establishment only) has been estimated at Rs. one crore, apart from the recurring expenses.

But, how many children will benefit ? With 80 children (in two sections) in each class, each school will have only 560 children. This means that in the whole of India, Navodaya schools will serve only 241920 students. As against

this the "Ordinary" secondary schools are 56000 in numbers with a roll strength of lakhs. In West Bengal, there were 8 lakh children in class V in 1987. The same number had been expected to be promoted to class VI in 1988. While in the 17 Navodaya schools in as many districts there will be a total accomodation for 9520 children. It is obvious that huge expenditure will be incurred for a small number at the cost of a much bigger number.

Moreover, the Novodaya schools will have no links with the state Govt's ministry of education, the State Board of Secondary education or the "ordinary" schools. It has been proposed that districtwise selective examinations will be conducted for the selection of students on the basis of "merit." There will be 20% urban students, 1/3 girl students and reservations will be maintained for Schedule Castes and Tribes. The Central Board of Secondary Education will stand responsible with a registered association for the control of schools and teachers.

Such an arrangement will be contrary to the principle of equal opportunities. It is also to be considered if our economy is strong enough to foot the bill.

Proposals have been made for extensive vocational and technical education. But no job-guarantee has been proposed for technically prepared pupils. Perhaps with 'hi-tech' many seek jobs in other countries, where the production-base is technically advanced. In fact, 4 or 5 thousand highly educated young men leave the land every year in expectation of lucrative jobs elsewhere.

What about the employment of technically prepared personnel within India? It has moreover been proposed that degree will be delinked from employment. Excepting the selection of engineers, medical men and teachers requiring high academic qualifications, the other jobseekers will be subjected to testing by the employing authorities only.

The question of primary education is most intriguing. The Action Plan proposed that every primary school will be provided with various types of maps and globes, play materials, wisdom bloc, fauna, football, volleyball, science kit, mini tool kit, two-in-one, at least 200 children's books, newspapers, magazines, tabla, harmonium etc, and each school will be housed in a pucca house.

And what is the real state of our primary education now? There is 70% wastage. Out of 5 lakh primary schools, 45 thousands have no house at all. 9 lakh have no black boards, 2.60 lakh have no play grounds, 3 lakh schools have no black boards, 2.60 lakh have no play grounds, 3 lakh schools have no provisions for drinking water, 3 lakh schools have no pucca house, 3 lakh schools have no provisions for drinking water, 1.75 lakh school have one teacher each. (There figures have been taken from the 4th survey of education conducted by the Central Govt.). And

Non-formal education has been proposed for even primary education which falls within the compulsory obligation of state-provided free, compulsory, universal primary education. What a short cut !!

Freedom from this discouraging state may be attained by judicious spending of thousands of crores of rupees. But the Central Govt. never spent more than 2.5% of the plan-estimates for education. In the annual budget for 1987 only 1.3% was earmarked for education. And almost the same persisted in 1988. Evidently, the sub marine rock of finance may wreck the Titanic of education. It is the future only which will stand a proof of the future.

The Action Plan published in pursuance to the Educational policy statement spoke of 'Operation Black Board'; special training of teachers; Academic Staff College for the training of college teachers; Computer training in selected schools; Expansion of Non-formal Education; Provision for Distance Education etc. (These items will be discussed in Vol. II)

Evaluation

It was in the nature of things that the National Policy would be appreciated as well as negatively criticised.

Arguments in favour

- (1) In the post independence days highly qualified personnel were prepared by the system of education. But they could not bring development of the nation as a whole. The enterprise was practically futile.
- (2) In this Space Age, India has been dragging her feet as a slow coach. Our education must be so geared that India may step into 21st Century on equal terms with other modern and advanced countries.
- (3) India must respond to the demand of the 21st Century by adopting hi-tech and computerisation.
- (4) What India most needs now is education free from communalism and casteism.
- (5) Emphasis should shift from numbers to quality.
- (6) The need therefore is search for talent and development of talent through excellent education.
- (7) This calls for pace-setting institutions to lead the ordinary institutions. A seed farm technology should be adopted.
- (8) In the field of higher education the present unpurposive mess should make room for excellent education which should be catered for the few.
- (9) Service oriented higher education should be replaced with job and

production oriented education.

(10) Apathy towards physical labour should be ended and vocational education should be made productive.

(11) Universal primary education for 6-11 group should be ensured before 1990 and education upto 14+ ensured before 1995.

(12) Half of the children at primary stage, the innumerable drop outs and illiterate adults upto 35+ may be served with non-formal education and the demand of the ordinary students for higher education may be met by the Open University.

(13) For infrastructural development of primary education Operation Black Board may be adopted as a method. Radio, T.V., video and computers may be supplied to schools and colleges. The N.C.E.R.T. curricula may be adopted.

(14) A revolutionary change may be effected in the system of assessment.

(15) Application of this policy will depend on teachers. Hence teacher education at all levels should be reoriented.

(16) Education must be depoliticised.

(17) Educational administration should be improved by strengthening the Central organs of administration.

(18) 10+2+3 system should continue.

(19) India no longer needs mediocrity. Need is excellence. Need is intellectual elitism of merit.

(20) The new policy should be implemented at the earliest, from the 7th Plan period.

The strongest argument in favour is that modern life requires modern education. Modern education ensuring hi-tech and productivity cannot co-exist with populism.

Arguments Against

(1) So long the technique was assessment of public opinion through committees or Commissions before announcing a policy. No such assessment was made in this case. Even an assessment of the policy of 1968 and that of 1979 was not made. The policy was proposed and enunciated arbitrarily.

(2) A subjective study instead of an objective study was made of the existing state of things.

(3) No evaluation even of the implementation and effects of the Kothari Commission recommendations was made.

(4) The subjective method of evaluation could not diagnose the ailment and could not prescribe the proper medicines.

(5) Even after forty years since independence, the constitutional directive in regard to primary education remains far from fulfilment. In such a state, the sarcastic evaluation of mass education as "populism" is an unkindest cut. It amounts to self degradation and high brow class superiority.

(6) India surely requires to be modernised. But what should be the method of modernisation? Will only computerised high-tech education of the few with a back drop of obscurantism, superstition, witch-killing and bride-killing ensure modernisation? Illumination of the top does not ensure light for the whole body.

(7) India will step into the 21st Century with 50 Crore of her people illiterate or 54% of the total world load of illiteracy. Where should priority be fixed?

(8) 4.2% children of India are labouring people working for themselves and families. Should they be left in the lurch?

(9) To say that Indian labourers are less productive would amount to character-assassination. Our workers are less productive because we failed to give them proper education. Even our talk of vocationalisation of secondary education was a hollow verbalism. Even the vocationally trained youth remain unemployed because their training did not tally with job requirements.

(10) Mediocrity has been condemned and a case has been made for elitism and excellence through Navodaya Schools and Excellent Colleges. But the irony is that the cost of this elitism will come from the taxes paid by the illiterate masses.

(11) Hi-tech and computerisation have been proposed. But successful application of computer is possible at a particular stage of industrial and social development from which we are far away. Obviously, this over emphasis on computer and hi-tech must remain high sounding lip service.

(12) The Challenge of Education admits that young men with academic excellence produced by "good" schools were drained out by rich countries. Is there any guarantee that the products of Navodaya and excellent colleges will not follow suit?

(13) The proposal for delinking degree from employment will place unusual advantage at the discretion of the employers. This will strengthen class conflict and enhance unemployment.

(14) Non-formal education, distant education or even Open University will be second grade institutions given with an element of charity.

(15) Curtailment of teachers' freedom and academic independence and calling upon the same teachers to provide value-based education

can not go together.

(16) Mass education (otherwise characterised as populist education) is the surest guarantee against casteism, religious myopism and communalism.

(17) The important question is that of priority. Whether 99.4% or 0.6% of the people would receive due importance ?

(19) Education being placed in the concurrent list, the Union Govt. may make proposals. But at the same time responsibility must devolve on that authority. In regard to administration the only suggestion is centralisation of powers.

(20) The question of finance is vital. The total scheme must fail if sufficient financial provisions are not made by the state.

(It is not yet time to announce a final judgment which may be subjective. Arguments for or against have been recorded above. Readers will formulate their judgments.)

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The Education Policy of 1986 has already produced many off shoots. They will be discussed in volume II since they are intimately related with the question of educational administration.

CHAPTER XVIII

Some Current Issues in Indian Education

There is no denying that India's educational achievement is not gratifying. Moreover, socio-economic anomalies kept it maimed and dwarfed in many respects and infested it with problems. Problems of primary, secondary, higher education as well as of technical education, women's education, adult education were discussed in the previous chapters. A few more interesting and live issues may be discussed now.

A. Universalisation of Primary Education

The call for universal primary education is no style in the present days. Democracy demands it. Economic development of the nation requires it. It ensures cultural development. National integration requires it as a base. This is, however, not an easy task, nor a magician's game. The required measure are—

(1) *Universal Provision* : It should be seen that primary school is available within a distance of about a mile from home of every child. And a junior high (or higher primary school) is available within 3 miles.

(2) *Universal Enrolment* : There is now a heterogeneity of cohort in class I. This should be reduced and the bulk in this class should be 6—7 years.

(3) *Pre-registration* : A system of pre-registration of names of potential entrants in class I on the basis of birth certificates should be introduced so that phased provision of accomodation and teaching personnel may be planned in advance.

(4) *Passage from primary to higher stage* : The transfer rate from primary (class V) to junior high (VI) should be raised, so that there is no siltation.

(5) *Universality of Retention* : Stagnation and wastage is very high in class I. Hence class I & II should be taken as a cycle, and III and IV as another. If possible, the whole length of schooling from class I—IV should be integrated, to guarantee that there is no wastage caused by stagnation during this period.

Many children admitted to class I, take a lot of time to adjust to school atmosphere. Hence they fail to qualify for promotion to class II. This is particularly true of children who are first generation learners that get no scope of preparation at home. One year of pre-school education may be helpful in this regard. Application of playway technique in class I may help retention of children in school.

Stagnation and wastage in other classes should be reduced by providing part time education and parental education.

(6) *Literacy Class* : Provision should be made for literacy classes for children between 11 and 14 years who did not complete primary education and lapsed into illiteracy. Class hours in primary school should be kept flexible.

Similar facilities for children who completed primary education and desired to go further should also be provided.

(7) Special attention should be paid to the education of (a) girls, (b) handicapped children and (c) backward communities and tribes. (These would be discussed hereafter in details).

(8) Universalisation of primary or any other education is dependent upon equalisation of educational opportunity.

B. Equalisation of Educational Opportunity

Equalisation of educational opportunities is a catchy slogan these days, because equalisation of opportunities is a basic feature of democracy, and every state wants to paint itself as democratic and egalitarian. India, in particular, is far from egalitarian practices although it is loudly professed from housetops, and different commissions recommended measures for narrowing down gaps of inequality.

Educational inequality is not created by nothing. It is created by social inequality and is nursed by the same. We may locate some of the cracks through which inequality enters into the system of education.

(1) Location of schools (in our country) is not always judicious. Assymetrical distribution of schools creates an unusual density of schools in some areas with a small number of children in each, while **there is absence** of the requisite number of schools in other areas. The need is dispersal and equitable distribution of schools.

(2) *Economic capacity of parents* widely differs in a country where, even today, 50% of the people exist below poverty line and wealth, power and facilities are concentrated in the top 5% and crumbs are reserved (in a graded fashion) for the remaining 45%. Educational gaps may be narrowed inspite of economic gaps if the state provides scholarships, hostel accomodation and transport facilities.

(3) There are *regional imbalances*, and *imbalances between districts*. The traditionally known backward areas, particularly areas of backward tribes and communities ought to be specially attended to.

(4) India, at present, exhibits *poverty of the millions and affluence of a few*. The poor millions should be helped with free books, stationery, uniform and other incentives to make them motivated. Their universal education will reduce the educational cleavage.

(5) There are *inequalities between schools* in respect of standards of performance. There is a wide gap between urban and rural schools, the latter being ill-fed.

(6) Children come from *different home environments* which tend to cause educational differences. The school environment should be so organised as to present a common environmental atmosphere for all.

(7) There are inequalities between schools in *urban areas* and those in *rural areas* in respect of plants, provisions, teachers etc. Even in urban areas, there is wide gap between "posh" schools and "ordinary" schools or between schools supposedly for "elite" children and schools for the common run.

(8) There is no denying that even today, there is inequality between men and women which is reflected in education too. Parents are not ready to make as much sacrifice for education of daughters as that of sons. The still-prevalent system of dowries helps to strengthen it.

(9) Scheduled castes and tribes in India constitute two backward sections of the population. In some areas, Muslims also fall in the same category. Special measures are being taken to bridge the gap between the upper castes and lower castes. As yet, however, caste-differences constitute a fissure to admit inequality.

(10) If we swear in then ame of democracy, we must also admit

of the rights of the handicapped children to receive education and economic rehabilitation. But the number of the blind, deaf & dumb, orthopaedically handicapped, and mentally handicapped children is 4 million, 3 million, 4 million and 4 million respectively. Educational facilities at present may provide for a small percent of them. This glaring inequality ought to be rectified.

(11) The wide prevalence of child labour is a social curse. At present, about 2 crore children in India are engaged in a bitter struggle for existence. Genuine abolition of child labour will do a lot to reduce inequality.

Perfect and complete equality of educational opportunities may not be feasible in the present type of society, particularly because of its competitive and careerist nature. Yet some remedial measures may be taken in the shape of—(a) Extensive issual of national and state level scholarships, loan scholarships etc. (b) Extensive provision of Day Centres may help the children prosecute their academic pursuits inspite of unfavourable home conditions. (c) Vocationalisation of education will ultimately help the children to stand on their own. (d) "Earn while you learn" scheme in real zest may be helpful. (e) Special attention should be paid to girls, scheduled castes and tribes, rural areas, muslims etc. (f) Child labour must be stopped and all children taken to school. (g) Strong measures should be taken against educational wastage and stagnation.

C. Wastage and stagnation

A most acute educational problem in our country is that of wastage and stagnation. This problem has been obstructing universal literacy and primary education.

Any effort—physical, mental or monetary made for a particular target lost or abandoned or frustrated before reaching the goal is wastage. If a child of class I drops out even before completing primary education, it may be called a wastage of his time and energy, a loss to the state which had made provisions for him, for the family which had pinned their faith in the child's education, for the society which would not be getting the services of a fully developed citizen.

Statistical data will open our eyes. Out of every 100 children

admitted to class I only 61.2 boys and 56.6 girls are found in class II.
 only 51.2 " " 45.8 " " " " class III,
 only 44.3 " " 35.5 " " " " class IV.
 Less than 40 reach class VI and
 " " 20 " Madhyamik stage.

Closely related with the problem of wastage is that of stagnation. Recurring in the same class for lack of promotion i.e for "failure" means stagnation. Repetition of such failures would ultimately throw the child out of school. Figures of stagnation given by Kothari Commission are eye-opening.

Stagnation (in percentage)—

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V.
Boys—40.3	26.6	22.6	21.7	16.4	
Girls—47.1	33.1	26.6	25.6	19.8	

It is to be noted that—

- Stagnation is highest in class I
- " " almost constant in classes III & IV,
- Rate of Stagnation decreases from class V.
- Stagnation among girls is greater.
- The same conclusions can be drawn in respect of wastage.
- There are regional variations.
- Wastage is higher in the rural areas.
- Wastage and stagnation is as yet, higher amongst scheduled

castes and tribes. A study in the district of Bankura in West Bengal showed that wastage is heavy among girls, lower castes, tribals etc.

Wastage and stagnation had plagued the colonial system of education in India all through its existence. It obstructed the attainment of literacy and effective expansion of primary education. The drop outs lapsed into illiteracy, augmenting the huge numbers of illiterates. Fifty five years ago, the Hartog Committee had drawn attention to this problem. But nothing worth while was done. After independence, mass consciousness improved the situation to some extent as will be evident in the following figures—

	Class I	Class IV	Class VII
1911-12	100 children	20	4 only
1946-47	100	36	15 "
1965-66	100	37	20 "

But the cause of wastage and stagnation accounts for still existent gaping wounds in our education. The causes are many—

- (a) Poverty and unemployment of parents.
- (b) Lack of educational equipment and facilities like school tiffin, uniform, books, slates etc.
- (c) Lack of parents' consciousness and urge.
- (d) Admission of children throughout the year and requirement to face an annual examination simultaneously for all on the same footing.
- (e) Heterogeneity of age composition in the same class. Admission of immature children.
- (f) Irregularity of attendance and even habitual absence of children.
- (g) Early marriage.
- (h) Unsuitable curricula.
- (i) Absence of play way technique.
- (j) Poor teaching-learning process.
- (k) Inadequacy of well-trained teachers.
- (l) Wrong system of examination, and
- (m) Unattractive school environment and atmosphere resulting in loss of the school's holding power.

Studies showed that parents and teachers hold different opinions on causes of wastage. Parents opine that poverty of parents is definitely one cause. But a more potent cause is the absence of productivity of school education. On the other hand, teachers opine that parents' poverty is one cause. But parents' disinterestedness is also responsible. A statistical compilation and analysis of teachers' opinions shows that—

32% wastage is caused by psychological factors.

34% " " " " socio-economic "

34% " " " " pedagogical factors.

Some measures have already been adopted to combat this problem. Curricular reforms, practical activities in school, examination reforms, including the principle of "no-detention" are already afoot. Other remedial measures may be inferred from the statement of causes.

D. Common School

"Education, at present, tends to increase social segregation and to widen and perpetuate class distinctions. In a democratic society, it is the responsibility of the education system to bring the different social

classes and groups together and thus promote the emergence of an egalitarian and integrated society" Thus observed Kothari Commission. "At the primary stage, free schools are of poor quality. Private schools which charge high fees are better. At the secondary stage a large number of schools are private schools, charging very high fees under various pretexts which are beyond the means of any but top ten percent of the people, though some of the middle class parents make great sacrifices to send their children to them."

There is thus segregation in education itself, the minority of private fee-charging 'better' schools meeting the needs of the upper classes and the vast bulk of free, publicly maintained, but poor schools being utilised by the rest. What is worse, this segregation is increasing and tending to widen the gulf between the classes and the masses.

Such availability of good education to a small minority usually selected not on the basis of talent, but on the basis of its capacity to purchase education at a high price is extremely antagonistic to the concept of egalitarianism, and even to the very basic ideal of democracy. Such a state of affairs in addition to weakening social cohesion, also renders the education of the richer children anaemic and incomplete.

One of the essential characteristics of democracy in education is a Common School system—

(a) Which will be open to all children irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, and economic or social status.

(b) Where access to good education will depend not on wealth, but upon talent.

(c) Which will maintain adequate standards in all schools and provide a reasonable proportion of quality institutions.

(d) In which no tuition fees will be charged.

(e) Which will meet the needs of the average parent and save him from sending children to expensive schools outside the system.

Kothari Commission goes on to say, "such an educational system, has, for instance been built up in the U. S. S. R. and is one of the major "factors which contributed to its progress."

In the countries with a capitalist system of economy and society, a general common school which runs opposed to class division is not practically achievable. In India, the British rulers had given a system of education which stood for education of the upper and middle

classes, and for illiteracy and lack of even primary education for the masses. But the constitution of free India stands on the pillars of sovereignty, secularism, democracy. Times without number we vouched for equality of opportunities. But the educational gulf has been widening in favour not only of the urban middle and better off classes with inflated money in their pockets, but also the rural rich, under many pretexts including the demand for a particular medium of instruction. The Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, the I. C. S. E. system and the Delhi Board are being utilised by the customers of dear education.

In fact, the concept of Common School is not clear for many of our people. Common School simply means bringing the different social classes and groups together and to promote an egalitarian integrated society through an integrated system of education which would not provide discriminatory privileges for sections of society or for individuals. This is particularly necessary for India with her multiple languages and communities and unequal developments.

Kothari Commission spoke of certain measures towards the attainment of common school—viz.

- (a) A common curricular frame (the detailed syllabuses and text books may be different for the regions and localities).
- (b) Community living in school and college.
- (c) Compulsory national and social service.
- (d) Compulsory participation in community development projects.
- (e) A common language scheme, with local variations.

All these measures are expected to infuse a spirit of oneness. Special attention to backward sections, communities and poverty-stricken millions as well as the handicapped should be added as another item.

Kothari Commission recommended the application of the principle of *Neighbourhood school*—which means that all children of a particular locality should be admitted to the school in the neighbourhood without sending them hither and thither in search of 'good' education. It means that the standards of all schools should be upgraded and made comparable or the freedom of parents curtailed. This is not possible in our present social set up. In fact, genuine Common School will not be possible until there is an egalitarian social revolution.

E. Urban Education VS Rural Education

India has been proverbially painted as a land of conservative tradition, resistant to changes, with her core of life nestling in the village. Such men are not lacking as are eloquent about sylvan beauty, peace and tranquillity in rural India, although they are town-dwellers themselves and never would prefer rural life for themselves.

Yes, there had been a time of milk and honey when India's life-line was laid in the villages, when villages were not as starved and denuded as they are today. Even in the feudal days, till the end of the 18th. century, Indian Villages had schools and centres of culture. They vied with and overwhelmed the few urban centres (excepting a few towns with feudal courts), as is evident from educational surveys of early 19th century.

British colonisation of India with a new pattern and system of administration turned the table completely. 18th century anarchy in political and economic life perpetrated a distinctive misfortune upon rural India. A new economy enhanced the growth of a new urban middle class. Town-centric educational, cultural and literary life accentuated rural misfortune. The misfortune was further aggravated by the introduction of the modern system of English education with its main clientele in the upper and middle classes, with its bureaucratic administration, with neglect of indigenous education, with the imposition of a foreign language as medium, with the apathy of foreign rulers to the cause of mass literacy and primary education.

This official system of English education alienated the town-based educated people from their rural compatriots. It encouraged a flight of educated rural youth and rural talent towards the town.

In short, the roots of urban—rural inequality lay in the nature and character of the system of education itself. English education drove a wedge between the "Educated" and the millions of "uneducated" and between the town and the village.

Educated Indians were no less responsible for widening the chasm. Only a few of our great thinkers had come out with warnings. Swami Vivekananda had given the clarion call that education must reach every herth and home in town and village irrespective of caste or community. Rabindranath Tagore selected a rural location for his

educational work. Rural India occupied a vital position in Gandhiji's Sarvodaya and Basic Education. Radhakrishnan Commission sold the ideal of a Rural University with the object of rural uplift.

Very often we render lip service to the cause of education of the rural poor, but we do not seem to be sufficiently conscious of the implications of the following facts that—

- (1) Even today, 70% of Indians live in rural areas.
- (2) Literacy in rural areas is 25% as against 36% in average. It means that urban literacy is much higher while the literacy of rural women is as low as 10% in many regions and castes.
- (3) 4·7% of Indian children are labourers.
- (4) 93% of child labour exist in rural areas.
- (5) Per capita monthly income in rural India is Rs. 29 only.
- (6) There is glaring disparity between educational facilities in urban and rural areas in terms of both quantity and quality.

In the present state of things, there are both advantages and disadvantages in urban provisions of education and in rural provisions.

Advantages in urban areas are—

- (a) Schools may be established in proximity of children's homes.
- (b) Easy transport is available in urban areas.
- (c) Density of population offers the scope of rapid expansion of education, provided resources may be marshalled.
- (d) Recruitment of teachers is easy in towns.
- (e) Aids and appliances are easily available, just as facilities for co-curricular activities are available.
- (f) Medical and other special services are better available in urban areas.

- (g) Parents in urban areas are more aware of the need of education.

Advantages in Rural areas are—

- (a) Easy availability of play ground, open space, garden and tranquil surroundings.
- (b) Simplicity in rural life helps the work of education.
- (c) Direct experience may be easily given in respect of object study and nature study.
- (d) Comparatively better scope to ensure children's health.
- (e) And there is no denying that a new urge for education has

visited the rural areas, which, if utilised positively, may bear golden fruits.

Just as there are advantages both in urban and rural areas, so there are disadvantages both in urban and rural areas which may be enumerated.—

Disadvantages in urban areas—

- (1) Lack of space makes school houses often unhealthy.
- (2) Unavailability of play ground, garden and soothing touch of nature.
- (3) Within the school the disparity between the rich and the poor becomes more pronounced than it is in rural schools.
- (4) Congestion in school and unhygienic home conditions in narrow lanes and slums create health problem of children.
- (5) Families in urban life are more broken than in rural life. Impact of broken family upon the child's education is heavy.
- (6) Urban schools in dingy and slushy lanes hide their dilapidated conditions behind face-lifts and fail to attract public attention while rural schools exist in exposure and attract local initiative for external services.
- (7) The present value system does not provide for popular respect, for teachers in urban areas and creates little enthusiasm for public donations, while teachers in rural areas do still command public respect, and donation at least of land for schools is still available in the villages.

Disadvantages are not absent in rural areas.

- (1) Transport problem is a stumbling block.
This gets enhanced in the monsoon months.
- (2) It becomes difficult to provide separate schools or colleges for girls in the remote areas because of unviable numbers.
- (3) It becomes difficult to provide scope of different types of sports and co-curricular activities. Special services and expertise are not easily available.
- (4) Qualified teachers are found unwilling to serve in rural areas. This problem is accentuated in the case of women teachers who are normally not found to be eager to go to the far ends.
- (5) Illiteracy of the rural people hampers the cause of education.

These problems are but problems of technical nature. The basic problems are medieval or semifeudal rural economy, unhealthy land system leading to large scale concentration in a few hands, and pauperisation of the landless agrarian labourers, sub-feudation of landed possession leading to the growth of uneconomic land holdings, absence of mechanised cultivation and modernised life. These factors give rise to conservatism and inertia. This is further intensified by problems of language, library, laboratory etc. Moreover, the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe people mostly live in rural areas. Problems of the backwardness of their education merge in the problems of rural education. The whole picture creates a state of dichotomy and inhibits any attempt at a common school system.

The rural poor requires special attention and educational nursing. Education must reach the doorsteps of every rural home. The facilities must be equally shared by urban and rural schools. It must be remembered that talent is not concentrated in town and in 2 or 3% of the urban rich. Nation's talent must be searched also in poor villages where more than 70% of Indians still live. This is a pre-condition for a National System of Education.

F. Problems of Scheduled Castes & Tribes

The problem of India's educational backwardness has been made more complex and acute by the backwardness of scheduled castes and tribes. The origin of the problem lay in the history of the nation i.e. the process of Aryanisation.

Vanquished though they were, the original tribes inhabiting the land stuck to their dearly held possessions of spoken language, dance, music and culture, customs and mores, even totems and taboos and maintained an integrated tribal life in isolation from the "civilised" people. Manual labour in agriculture, mining and forestry became their livelihood. But, in whichever way they had started, they gradually became an integral part of the main stream of Indian humanity.

The problem of the tribes acquired a bigger dimension under British Raj. The tribes and groups in the outlying north-western, northern and north-eastern regions of the British Indian Empire and the foothills became parts of the Indian body politic. The problem became still more acute.

Zemindari and Mahajani exploitation under British Rule, reckless loot and sub-human treatment led them to rebellions. The Santhal, Munda, Cole and Choad rebellions left foot prints on the path of history. The British rulers suppressed their revolts and tried to keep them isolated from the national freedom movement. On the other side, this concept also dawned in the national camp that they formed an integral part of the Indian masses. And their weakness and backwardness would be telling upon India's forward march. This thought began to be shaped from the *Native States' Praja Movement of 1937-38*.

These Adibashi Tribes have their verbal language (there are some scripts too). They have their cultural life and group integration. But, due to educational backwardness, they suffer from limitations in competitions with more advanced sections of society on equal terms.

The problem of education of the scheduled tribes peoples is to make them stand on equal ground with others, in the shortest possible time, by imparting modern education, while safeguarding their age-old and cherished cultural specialities.

The problems of the Scheduled Caste people were also products of history. The innumerable Sudras were earmarked in the Varnasram system of ancient Brahmanic India. Their assigned duty was to serve the people of the higher castes and to keep the wheels of society going by manual labour. They had been granted no social rights and no educational rights.

In the early stages one's caste was not always determined by birth. But, in course of time, social division of labour introduced family vocations, determined by birth in the family. Caste was also determined by birth. Hence, division of labour and division of caste became intermingled. *Within the Varnasram system these slave-like lowest castes never received social justice and never enjoyed educational "rights".*

In the horizontally divided society of the *Feudalistic ages*, education and all other advantages of life were concentrated in the possession of the aristocracy. In the lower stratum, the serfs, villeins, and labouring poor lived a life bereft of privileges.

In the modern era, those castes became self conscious and demanded safeguards and special reservations. On the other hand, the British rulers tried to play clever political tricks with them. Sensing the

trends, Gandhiji started his Harijan Movement against untouchability. But, the Gandhian movement was *basically tuned to humanism*.

Today, it is no longer a question of humanism, but a question of "rights." This thought dawned in independent India that it would be impossible to achieve total notional development while keeping one fifth of India's population half-educated or uneducated. *Hence the problem of education of the scheduled caste peoples also is to make them stand on equal grounds with others, in the shortest possible time by imparting modern education.*

Constitutional Safeguards

With that object of rapid improvement the constitution of India incorporated some specific provisions guaranteeing educational and other rights of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe peoples.

1. Article 46 of the Directive Principles states that special efforts would be made for improvement of the economic lot of weaker sections like Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe peoples.

2. Article 15 of the Fundamental Rights ensures that no discrimination would be made on grounds of religion, race, caste, place of birth, sex etc. The Union Govt. will have the right to enact special legislation for the promotion of educationally and socially backward sections, particularly Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3. Article 29 says that minorities will enjoy the right to preserve their language, script and culture.

4. Article 30 allows the minorities to establish their own educational institutions without fearing discrimination in the matter of State grants.

Together with this, untouchability has been prohibited by law. *Reserve quotas have been provided for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of employment.*

In spite of all this, however, "Right to Education" has not been enshrined in the Constitution.

Statistical Data

We may now look at some data in this respect.

10% of India's population are religious minorities. Muslims
[constitute the majority of them.

Of the rest, 15% belong to Scheduled Castes and 8% belong to Scheduled Tribes.

Efforts for their educational improvement were—Free primary education (this had existed even prior to the introduction of free primary education for all). Liberal grants of scholarships and stipends were provided, residential provisions were provided in Boarding schools. "Free" books were supplied. In West Bengal school tiffin and uniforms were provided. Ashram schools were established. Employment reservations are meticulously maintained.

Central allocations for the education of these backward people were—(in crores of rupees).

	<i>S. Castes</i>	<i>S. Tribes</i>
1st Plan	3·89	5·10
2nd ,,	13·00	8·05
3rd ,,	16·62	13·31
Three annual plans following the 3rd plan	9·08	9·11
4th Plan	30·00	25·35
5th ,,	S. Caste & S. Tribes	total = 197·37
6th ,,		
	,,	,, = 312·00

State level allocations are to be added to these.

But expected results did not come forth.

As said earlier, Scheduled Castes constitute 15% of the total population. But literacy amongst them is only 20%.

8% of the total population are Scheduled Tribes. But their literacy is only 13·3%. Amongst the literates only 2·67% are other than regular students of schools and colleges. 6·8% completed primary/Junior Basic education. Madhyamik and higher education constitute only 0·48%. One hopeful feature is that enrolment of Scheduled Tribe children at Madhyamik stage is going up by 11·06% per year. But stagnation figures are staggering. Stagnation at class IX is 34·61% and at class X is 32·34%.

West Bengal data will throw more light upon the issue.

In West Bengal the Scheduled Castes have 59 sub-castes. They constitute 19·90% of the total population of the State. But their literacy stands at 17·8% (men 25·78% and women 9·18%).

In West Bengal, there are 38 tribal groups. Amongst them the Santhals, the Oraons, the Mundas, the Bhumija, the Kora are numerically big. And there are the Lodhas. On the whole they constitute 5.72% of population. But literacy figures are too low.

In West Bengal, there is greater success in comparison with other States. Here, education for all children upto class XII is free. All text books at primary level are given free of cost. Prolonged researches led to the development of *Alchiki script* out of the Santhali Colloquial languages. Primary books are being printed in this language. Tripura has also developed the *Kakbarak script*.

When inspite of constitutional safeguards and of special financial grants made for the education of Scheduled Castes and Tribes the expected results have not come forth, the logical question arises whether the money was properly spent i.e., whether it had reached the poor men at the lowest rung for whom it was definitely meant. In pursuance of a survey, it was admitted in Parliament that *the money was not properly used*.

Backwardness is still explained in terms of caste, race or tribe. But within these castes and tribes there are class divisions and that class distinction is widening rapidly. Advantages are grabbed by those who have already been established in life by this or that means. Privileges are not percolating down to the bottom. Taking advantage of this unequal availability of help some denominational organisations are raising palatial schools and boarding houses even in the interior areas with money received from foreign aid sources and creating the image of a dreamland before the tribal youth. In north eastern regions under the initiative of some religious organisations, English has almost acquired the status of the mother tongue. Tribal culture had been expected to merge in the bigger national current. But it sometimes tends to move in the opposite direction. The result is secessionism of various kinds.

There is another side of the problem. Untouchability has not been abandoned altogether. This is but an external "form" of the problem. The "content" is economic. The scheduled people are mostly poor peasants or workers. Their economic struggles are ending in blood bath caused by castebaiting instigated by their exploiting masters

Such religious and caste baiting has been weakenig national integration as a whole.

There is no denying that there is considerable displeasure of the higher caste people against employment reservations for scheduled people. The percentage of reservation, the problem of caste-based promotions or the period for which reservation shall further continue, have been leading to fratricidal riots.

Through the crevices of reservation, further demands are being made for unjustifiable reservations. The Coustitution recognises the special privileges of religious minorities. In India, the Christians, the Persis or at the best the Jainas and Buddhists may be admitted as religious minorities. But what will be the fate of national integration if Brahma or any Hindu mission secures recognition as minorities?

In fact, the words "Minority" and "backwardness" need be redefined and revalued. Reference may again be made to West Bengal. 20.46% of the people of this State are Muslims and they are concentrated in 6 districts. Hence special attention should be paid to these districts for expansion of education, for (1) the majority of Muslims in West Bengal are peasants and workers in industrial centres. They are also as poor as other people. (2) As yet, conservatism is maximum in the Muslim people. (3) If it is found that although Muslims constitute 20.46% of population, Muslim students in schools and colleges are far less than this proportion, the natural conclusion should be that they are backward.

This also applies to the case of female population. Women constitute almost half of India's population. But, even in 1985, the rate of female education is 15%. And in some rural areas it is as low as 5%. Evidently women must be considered as backward. The case of poor peasants and labourers was discussed earlier.

In fact, *economic backwardness causes educational backwardness. Social backwardness is also caused by economic backwardness. So the question is not backwardness of particular castes or groups. It is total backwardness of the poor.* Hence, solution must be sought for all the poor classed together.

Solution of education problems of the scheduled Castes and Tribes and their equality with others is far off. They are depressed not only economically, but also socially. *Reservation is still necessary for them.*

Privileges should be further expanded. But there must be a guarantee that the privileges reach the poor amongst them i.e. the money should be productively utilised. On the other hand, care should be taken, that the scheduled Caste and Adibashi people do not suffer from opportunism. Care should also be taken that these privileges do not create any heart-burning among the higher caste people. This necessitates the rousing of sufficient democratic social sense on both sides.

Yet, *special educational privileges and employment reservation cannot continue infinitely*, because : (1) in spite of present satisfaction, the recipients will ultimately feel humiliation. (2) the spread of education will unleash competitions between themselves. (3) Hence *employment prospect should be enlarged irrespective of scheduled or non-scheduled claimants.* (4) What will be of the beauty of Adibashi life if, after education, the Adibashi youth leave the village in search of the town ? Hence employment should be provided in their own areas of habitat. And this may not be impossible. (Incidentally we may refer to the districts of Bankura and Purulia in West Bengal. Apart from modernisation of agriculture, there is immense prospect of development in other fields. The districts are rich in forest and mineral resources which have not yet been fully surveyed. The Mejia mines and the proposed thermal power plant may open up a wide vista of development. Education and training of local youth and their subsequent absorption in the probable medium and small scale plants may provide education, livelihood and economic development of the region and its people. Cut throat competitions for "services" may, thus, be avoided).

Hence the needs are—

1. Constitutional admission of the right to education as an *inalienable fundamental Right*.
2. *Admission of State responsibility* to provide proper education for all citizens.
3. Application of the principle of *equal educational opportunities* not in theory only, but in practice too.
4. Implementation of *common school principle*.
5. *Continuation of special aids* to scheduled castes' and tribes' education, and to enhance it, if possible.
6. To provide a guarantee that the *aids are not squandered* and

be effective. But the *time limits* for special privileges, should be strictly adhered to.

7. *Genuine land reforms* will foster economic development and better prospects of livelihood. In this matter Hindus (both Caste and Scheduled) and Muslims would be passengers on the same boat.

8. *Schedule VI of the Constitution* should be invoked to form autonomous districts in Tribal areas (as in Tripura).

9. *Infiltration of unhealthy forces*, even under cover of humanism should be guarded against.

10. *Prospects of employment* should be locally enhanced by survey of resources and establishment of big or small productive plants.

11. The problems of the socially backward sections should not be considered in isolation. Their problems should be considered together with the problems of the economically backward people and an *overall solution sought in the total system of education*.

12. The fight against illiteracy *should be made meaningful*. The adult illiterate will himself come forward if he realises that literacy will safeguard his own interest.

13. *Non-formal education* should be widened and made meaningful.

14. The education of the poor should not be limited to literacy, but *extended to the neo-literate stage and stages thereafter*.

15. Education, as a whole, should be *vocationally oriented*.

16. The system, provision and administration of education should be *democratically oriented*.

17. The *efforts for education of the economically and socially backward people* should be raised to the level of a vital social movement.

G. Work 'Education'

A vital concept of education in the present era throughout the world is that of integrated and comprehensive education combining practice with theory. This has gained currency under different designations, viz—dignity of labour, vocational orientation and vocationalisation of secondary education. The nature, extent and method of vocationalisation must vary from country to country in accordance with socio-economic structure.

The U.S.S.R. has adopted the polytechnisation method with the principle of bridging the gap between book learning and practical experiences of the productive world. The objective is to prepare the child for productive citizenship in a socialist system. Work experience is integrated with academic learning from the primary stage upwards. Major emphasis in the primary stage is placed upon manual dexterity, inquisitiveness about productive modes and processes and basic acquaintance with tools and materials. Emphasis in secondary schools is placed upon work in school workshop and visits to farms and factories. At the top level of school education the pupils are expected to take a hand in production, not with the target of turning actual producers, but with the object of abolishing dichotomy between knowledge and practice. It is expected that this thorough polytechnical education would enable the pupils to find out their respective avenues after leaving school.

Kothari Commission had adopted the ideal of Work Experience and prepared a detailed list of activities that might be provided under work experience scheme. It had explicitly stated that the types of work selected for pupils should be forward looking in keeping with the technological developments in the productive process and not backward and tied to traditional crafts, cottage industries and non-power handwork.

The commission had also suggested (1) education of parents, so that they may realise the worth of the practice, (2) proper training of teachers, (3) selection of activities which have social bearings and which may create avenues for the pupil's future, (4) provision of fields and workshops where the children may participate in productive activities and (5) extensive as well as intensive searches about best possible work in a particular environment.

The Work Experience scheme was introduced in West Bengal as Work Education scheme and introduced in a roughshod manner without proper thought being placed upon experimentation, preparation and proper selection of activities.

West Bengal Secondary Education Board's booklets declared, "For healthy social life there is need for social efficiency and productive efficiency. Social efficiency means capacity to live a cooperative life in a democratic and collectivistic society. Productive

efficiency means to feel a bond of unity with and belongingness to the productive activities of the society. Book learning should be verified in practice. Work Education means knowing whatever requires to be known in the world of productive work. The pupils should learn by contributing their intelligence and labour in productive endeavour".

Unfortunately the actual implementation of the work education scheme was far from what had been theorised, as recorded above. Work education projects in most of the secondary schools had remained limited to knitting, wool work, bag making and the like with which the modern system of economic production has not even a faint connection. And our girls' schools had long been accustomed to such programmes of work. Very little shift had therefore, been effected.

Rural schools do possess patches of land. But the students are not helped with scientific knowledge of agriculture, which they may now experiment with and adopt in their post-school life. Boys' schools in urban areas have advanced as far as candle, phenol, chalk making, book binding and the like. Very few schools of affluent children may provide mechanical and electrical gadget. But most of the schools have to move on the traditional track and to pay casual and cursory attention to the question under "duress". Things must, therefore, be improved.

Under whatever name—*work experience or work-education, productive experience is a "must"*. But it must be forward looking, in keeping with the modern scientific and technological improvements and modes of production. The Board rethought and announced a new programme of work education in 1981. Contrary to the views of Kothari Commission, Work Education received least importance in higher education. Something is called for here too. Work Education, in one form or another is an integral part of school curriculum in almost all the countries. As said earlier, Kothari Commission had called it Work Experience. The Iswaribhai Patel Review Committee replaced the nomenclature by "Socially Useful Productive Work"—(SUPW), and recommended allocation of 20% of school time for this area.

At the elementary stage the work should be predominantly skill and service oriented while at the secondary stage this should be

product oriented. *S. U. P. W.*, in classes IX and X should be vocational in nature so that students entering world of work at the end of class X have acquired sufficient vocational skill. A variety of work activities suitable for different stages of school education will have to be provided in schools.

The NCERT list includes work like—brick-making, building and construction, plumbing, farming, gardening, horticulture, food preservation, repair of electrical and electronic gadgets, repair of agricultural machines etc.

But educational planners and administrators ought to remember that all these items of work require land, machines, implements, money etc. The West Bengal list of Work Education items conforms well with the NCERT list. But the question of money has been working as the stumbling block.

H Non-formal Education

Non-formal education is an internationally recognised type of education encouraged by the U.N.E.S.O. and recently adopted in our country.

There are children, mainly of the poorer classes who had been thrown out or drop outs of formal education even in the primary stage, for economic or other causes. Engrossed in the struggle to earn bread, they lost contact with education and increased the very big army of illiterates. They must be brought back to the fold of education. But they cannot be forced to give up their avocations or struggle for life. Obviously, full time formal school is not possible for them. Special devices must be made so that they receive formal education without the gruelling formalities.

Special considerations to be made are—

1. Their age and maturity should be taken into account, because (a) a 16 year lad who had left studies from class II, cannot be classed now with 7 year olds. (b) But his maturity will give him an advantage that he may now do $2/3$ years work in one year.

2. The bread earner cannot be forced to conform to school calendar and daily time table. His own time should be accepted as school time for him.

3. Children who had given up studies at different times in

unequal stages, cannot be grouped by ages or even by standards. Each student should be treated as an individual.

4. Just as uniform classification is not possible, so also uniform evaluation of progress is impossible.

Hence provision should be so made that—(a) The time table should be flexible, providing advantage to the individual student.

(b) Instead of class tutor, class teaching and common examination, instructional process and evaluative process should be individualised.

To this extent, "forms" may be abandoned. But forms will be maintained that, a school will be there, a teacher will be there, graded text books will be there, radio, T. V. may be there, instruction and evaluation on individualised basis will be there.

Hence, this education is neither totally informal, nor totally formal. It combines elements of formal education with elements of informal education, but is not totally either of them. Hence the designation "Non Formal" education which is gaining currency in our land too as a remedy to mass illiteracy.

It is well known that India occupies a low position in terms of the percentage of literacy and a high position in terms of the absolute number of illiterates. The central govt. adopted a three point programme to fight illiteracy. 100 million people over 15 years of age would be made literate in the next five years. (We have already discussed above the modality of implementation and the hints on success thereof). The other two objectives are "universalisation of primary education", and 'a package programme of non-formal education for the dropouts'. Nearly 62 million people do not go to school and on an average, only 15% of the students admitted to primary classes reach the class X stage.

The central Govt expects to provide primary education for 1000 million children by 2001 A.D. India may, then, have 120 million boys and girls in urban and rural primary schools, 90 million in middle and secondary schools, and 20.5 million in universities.

It is, however, very easy to fix targets in a subjective fashion, and it is very difficult to take all the "ifs and buts" into consideration. *One of the stiffest stumbling blocks is child labour.* Official data shows that incidence of child labour in India is highest in the world, being 4.7% of the number of children. A sample survey conducted by the

National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development showed that 93% of the child labour was found in rural areas, although child labour in urban areas is more intensely exploited. The study revealed that 14.7% of the children in 6—15 age group was employed. Though there were roughly 3 earning members in each household, as many as 52% of the families earned only between Rs. 251 and Rs. 500 a month, children contributing as much as 23% for the family income. And yet as many as 47.3% of the families are in debt, the average amount of debt being Rs. 97.00 per borrowing family.

The study showed that 45.5% of the children had either not attended school or dropped out. The survey team found that 7.4% of the child-workers were keen on education. The keenness was particularly marked among self-employed children, 66% of whom would attend school if their work schedule was not disturbed. The institute pleaded for (i) a net work of formal and non-formal education centres in slums, and (ii) vocational education for children of age group 11—14.

The *panacea of non formal education* has been prescribed as a cure. It is well known to anyone posted with facts that nothing tangible has yet been done or achieved in this field, excepting the holding of costly national and international seminars, conferences and workshops. But the publicity microphone blares loudly. In January, 1979, a Commonwealth Conference on "non-formal education for development" was held in New Delhi which was attended by delegates from 26 commonwealth countries. A press briefing after the conference gave it out that "there was pressure from the developing countries that *India should do something for the rest in the field*, and it should take the lead. They would like to have a clear commitment on the part of India in this respect". (comments are surely unnecessary !)

The conference, however, made 61 recommendations of which 19 are most important ! These dealt with adequate budgetary allocation for non-formal education projects ; proper monitoring of their implementation ; encouragement to voluntary agencies and private enterprise specially commerce and industry ; adequate non-formal education opportunities to school dropouts with special emphasis upon employment skills ; maximum participation of women by saving them the medium of household labour through labour-saving devices ;

(comments unnecessary!) and readjustment of *recruitment and selection policies of public and private enterprises* to give equal opportunities to those who received non-formal education.

Purpose of non-formal education programme in different countries will vary depending upon the stage of development and literacy rate prevailing in a country. In India, it has been visualised as a supplement to formal schooling so as to achieve the target of universalisation of elementary education. There appears to be inverse relationship between quality of formal schooling and magnitude of non-formal education required.

Non-formal education programme may be developed as a supportive, complementary or independent system alternative to formal schooling. The curriculum should keep in view the broad general frame work of curriculum adopted in the formal system and should be centred around essential learnings expected of all children.

The programme should be target group oriented, decentralised and flexible in regard to content, course duration, methodology of instruction and assessment of attainment. The curriculum should be relevant to the needs of the learners, environment oriented, problem centred, workbased and directed to the attainment of essential learning outcome envisaged.

There should be parity in terms of essential learning outcomes in the case of both formal and non-formal channels. This will allow for linkage with formal system at suitable stages in order to enable children to move into the formal system at appropriate stages and to have horizontal and vertical mobility.

This calls for—

- (a) admission of children of any age in any part of the year.
- (b) Provision of teaching-learning materials and equipment necessary for this special type of education, including special text books, if necessary.
- (c) Special training of teachers who are expected to be competent to teach all subjects, to all students, in all classes.
- (d) Stream lined system and practice of assessment and evaluation.
- (e) Regular link with formal system.

There are at present about 6 lakh N.F.E. Centres in India (17000 of them in West Bengal) and as many teachers. The cost is shared

between Central and State Govts on 50 : 50 basis. Some projects are financed totally from central funds. Much hope is pinned upon it, from the end of the constitutional directive. The age at present is 9—14 years. The first 2 years (9—11) are expected to be sufficient for 4 year primary education and the 3 years (12—14) are expected to be sufficient for classes V—VIII of the formal system.

There is however, a danger signal in our thinking. It is said that the 7th plan must provide for 64 million places in primary education of which the formal system will provide only 24 million. The rest will be provided by N. F. E. This betrays the fact that we have accepted N. F. E. not as a supplement but as an alternative to regular compulsory elementary education. This will mean escapism and an injustice to the poorer classes who may at best be huddled into N. F. E. centres.

I. Vocationalisation of Secondary Education

There had once been a time when education had meant only academic and intellectual education. A gulf was, therefore, created between theory and practice, between head and hand, between economic productivity and elitist exercise.

Early changes began to be felt from the 18th century under the impact of naturalism and realism in educational thoughts. The change became prominently evident from the 19th Century under the impact of industrialisation and democracy. Industrial and technological development required the education and training of the employees or would be employees. Democracy demanded that every one should get education in accordance with capacities and probabilities. These ideas were further strengthened by the pedagogical principles of "learning by doing" and activity curriculum and activity methods. Diversification of education was the outcome.

The first positive effects were seen in the U. S. A. and Germany. In the U. S. A. various types of special and technical schools began to prepare children for different avocations. In Germany, the semi-classical gymnasium and real gymnasium reflected developments in this direction. Compelled by needs of situation *i.e.* demands of economy and society, England also began to tread on the same road since the early years of the current century. Post-revolution Russia provided

special education for the peasant youth and young workingmen. In India too the Hunter Commission had recommended parallel and equivalent A and B schemes of secondary education. But, education in India in those days had been meant for a very narrow section of the population who had love for elitistic intellectual education.

The present position throughout the world is uniform in as much as thinking is concerned, although there are wide variations in the form and degree of implementation. There are at present two aspects of the concept of vocationalisation—(a) The curricula for secondary education should contain a considerable degree of vocational orientation and practices so that after the terminal point of secondary education, pupils may directly step into the world of work. (b) Every sort of vocational technical education for children belonging to the secondary age group should be treated as secondary education.

The programmes of vocationalisation, however, differ from country to country. The U. S. A. provides various types of agricultural, vocational and technical high schools in addition to various subjects of vocational nature in the curriculum of comprehensive schools. The U. K. established Technical High School on equal terms with Grammar School. Subsequently she started some bi-lateral schools. And at present, she has been encouraging Comprehensive Schools. France had been late in lining up. But she also reformed her Lycee to accomodate commercial and technical-vocational studies. Post war Japan has a thorough system of vocational education at the school level. The theory and practice of polytechnisation is unique from the point of view of vocationalised secondary education. China and other socialist countries are following the same method.

In india, the Sargent Committee Report of 1944 had proposed a thorough system of vocational education covering the secondary stage. The Mudaliar scheme had introduced a technical stream as an integral element of the 11 year multipurpose H.S. education. We cannot vouch that the scheme took roots and became successful. Kothari Commission recommended uniform and common general education upto Class X. But at the same time it recommended work-experience (on the pattern of polytechnisation) in keeping with chronological maturity for vocational orientation and ultimate vocationalisation. Proposal for

extensive and intensive work experience was also proposed for the H.S. stage.

The proposed targets were—

20% of children at the end of primary stage should be diverted to vocational courses ;

50% of children at the end of Madhyamik stage should be diverted to vocational courses. A variety of full/part time facilities will have to be provided for these intakes. Part time education should take charge of 20% at secondary stage and 25% at H.S. stage. Special emphasis should be placed upon education in agriculture. Vocational schools should be located near industries.

The commission recommended vocational education at secondary stage to the following extent.

	1955—56	
Class VIII—X	Boys = 19.8%	} Approx. 20 %
	Girls = 19.3%	
	1985—86	
Class XI—XII	Boys = 50%	
	Girls = 50%	

Systematic attempts ought to be made to introduce vocational courses, full/part time at **Madhyamik stage**, in the forms of

- (i) full/part time for drop outs after VII/VIII.
- (ii) further education for rural boys after elementary education.
- (iii) Home Science education for girls.
- (iv) Terminal courses in technical schools to prepare for jobs in industry.

At the H. S. stage—

Full time technical education in Polytechs.

Part time education in industry (on day release, sandwich, correspondence basis).

Large number of courses in I. T. I's after class X.

A wide range of courses in health, communication, administration, small scale industries of 6 months to 3 years duration leading to diploma.

Our experience for the last few years is not happy and encouraging. We have been producing skilled labourers and trained technicians only to face the grim reality of unemployment and wastage. The H. S.

Council in West Bengal had introduced vocational courses in five broad groups viz Agriculture, Technical education, Trade & Commerce, Paramedical and Industries.

The weaknesses will be apparent from the following data :—

- (i) No. of H. S. schools in 1984-85 = 1064
 - (ii) No. of colleges offering H. S. courses = 269
 - (iii) Total enrolment = 352000
 - (iv) No. of institutions offering voc. courses = 57
 - (v) No. of institutions which admit girls for voc. courses = 7
 - (vi) Enrolment in voc. courses (1983-84) = 2889
 - (vii) No. of candidates who appeared at the H. S. terminal exam. in the general courses = 250000
- No. of candidates in the voc. courses = 2300

The major causes of this failure as may be easily pointed out are—

- (a) Absence of wide provisions of voc. education (only 57 schools out of 2333 offer such courses, and that too for girls in only 7 schools).
- (b) Absence or defects in job analysis which throws light on the particular type of skill required in particular types of job.
- (c) Absence or defects in the analysis of job markets or job prospects and necessary forecast which may guide the work of the school by helping them make adoptions, adaptations and orientations.
- (d) The most ugly cause lies in the system of economy. In a profit making competitive economy, no amount of nationalistic platitudes will encourage the employer to provide employment for all and sundry. Moreover, the public sector of investment has been rapidly shrinking under the thrust of the private sector. And above all, there are lockouts, lay offs and closures in the industrial sector and there is very little effort for thorough land reforms and rapid modernisation in agriculture requiring the services of technically trained personnel in the agrarian sector. In short, the success of vocationalisation, must depend upon the nature and character of economy. In this regard, we are simply limping.

J. Selective Approach Vis a vis Population in Higher Education

There is no denying that there has been expansion of education at different levels, in course of the last 35 years. Expansion has been remarkable in vocational and technical education.

But, this expansion has not been an unmixed blessing. Expansion has been lop sided.

The following figures for West Bengal will show—

	Gross enrolment	1947-48	1984-85
Primary (I-V)	(in lakh)	10.44 lakh	77.04 lakh
Secondary (VI-X)		5.22 lakh	35.20 lakh
Higher Ed.		500 colleges and 18 univs.	5000 colleges 140 univs.

This gross estimate shows that there has been approximately a seven-fold expansion in both primary and secondary education, there has been approximately about ten-fold expansion in higher education, including higher technical and technological education. This sudden growth of higher education brought in its trail the problem of unemployment. Frightened by unemployment, a section of our citizens and the press have been raising an alarm against "over-expansion" of higher education and have been clamouring for higher education for the "selected."

The basic question is "have we have an over population in schools and colleges which calls for restrictions and curtailments?" Here we should note that, although we claim a 93% enrolment in primary education, the rate of wastage and stagnation being more than 50%, the real enrolment slides down to a lower level. We have a gross enrolment of about 38% in secondary education. There is heavy wastage here too. And at the higher level, not even 6% of the relevant age group are admitted now. Hence it cannot be admitted that unemployment is caused by "excessive" production of educated personnel. In fact, our present provisions cannot meet the present needs. This explains why there is a scramble for seats in schools, colleges and universities every year. A bleak future awaits even those who are blessed with admission.

The real causes of this hapless state are,

- (a) Absence of link between education and job opportunities.
 - (b) Absence of correlation between man power projection and various types of education and training.
 - (c) Absence of a scientific system of selection of students.
- In our country, a wrong concept of selection has actually come to mean that only the selected cream would be entitled to receive

education at highest stage and of highest quality. It may be admitted and is admitted throughout the world that democracy should not mean that every man will have the right to secure any type of education on demand, irrespective of merits and capacities. There must be selection.

But "selection" should not mean that the gates should be open to the handful and the vast majority of unselected "rubbish" should be pushed into the blind alley or left in the lurch. Actually in our present conditions when we have no method of scientific selection in the face of limited provisions, our young men and women try to get a berth, wherever possible without any reference to their tastes and possibilities. Again in our present conditions there is no guarantee that selection, if introduced, will be scientific and impartial. This explains why our youth have been alarmed at the recent talks of delinking service from degrees. The method of selection for service is not clear yet.

In fact, proper selection is possible only if there is scientific manpower projection and manpower planning. The need is to make manpower estimates for agriculture and different branches of industry and commerce over a period of time and to place the proper man at the proper place in the productive system with preparatory education and training.

Here comes the question of the basic malady of our socio-economic planning. Investment in education is not yet recognised as a genuinely productive investment, contributing to the production of wealth. The need is total planning of manpower as a part of total socio-economic planning and to adhere to "selection" providing room for everyone in accordance with the nation's needs and the individual's capacities. Only this may mitigate the so-called problem of "population" in higher education.

K. Education and Productive Employment

Although the history of unemployment of the educated in India is eight decades old, the problem attained a nefarious stature from the sixties and tended not only to scuttle our five year plans, but our social fabric too. The question of providing employment to the educated through planning became a stockword since the 5th. plan.

The said plan made some candid admissions and laudable propositions viz (i) It was admitted that the approach to the provision of

social consumption so far failed to have desired impact. Hence, the first step in Minimum Needs Programme was to identify priority areas in social consumption within the frame work of 5.5% growth of national income. (ii) It was admitted that education plays a crucial role in economic development and social modernisation. It supplies the requisite number and quality of persons needed for various tasks. Education ensures effective working of the basic institutions on which depends economic and social well being. Hence, a major policy instrument would be maximum utilisation and development of scientific and technological skill and involvement of higher educational institutions in research towards the solution of national problems.

(iii) The plan recognised that education plays an important role in improving distribution of incomes. 'Over the long run, one of the most important instruments of equalisation of income levels lies in educational planning. Hence, formation of human capital by equitable sharing of public goods, like education, should be aimed at.'

But very often, real purposes cut across professions. Never did the admission of education as a productive investment peep through the body of the draft. The concept of social service still had its stranglehold. The draft said, "programme of social services such as health, education, family planning and water supply have an important role to play in improving the distribution of incomes. Hence, the objective should be to form human capital by equitable sharing of public goods like education and health" Instead of 'sharing' public goods the concept of 'creating' public goods is seldom dominant. In fact, education is not yet considered as a 'productive investment.' That is why niggardly allocations were made and budgetary cuts were made at will. Educationists would not surely like to see education grouped equally with family planning and water supply. The covert attitude was more betrayed when girls' education was talked of. Curricular orientation was suggested with a view to meeting their special need as housewives. (Should we forget the 3 K's dictum in Nazi Germany?). It was explicitly said that 'education of girls can play an important role ensuring the success of family planning'. Obviously, women, who constitute about 50% of our population are kept out of economically productive education.

The plan, however, proposed a twofold method of solution.

(i) Raising the consumption level of the lowest 30% of population who mostly live in agroclimatic conditions and include the backward classes and areas. (ii) Ensuring employability of those who receive higher education. Higher education was said to have recorded a phenomenal expansion without being reflected in economic potentials. Higher levels of industrial growth combined with technological transformation in agriculture could ease the pressure of unemployment among the educated.

The proposed directions of development were (i) close link between pattern of education and employment market; (ii) linking professional education with manpower needs; (iii) integrating adult education with development programmes; (iv) Improvement of quality and (v) Involvement of academic community in socio-economic development.

A study of statistical data will bring out fallacies. Population projection showed :

In 1974 0-4 group constituted 14.9% of population.

„ 1979 „ „ would constitute 13.2% „

In 1974 5-14 „ constituted 25.7%

„ 1979 „ „ would constitute 25.2% „

„ 1986 „ „ constitute 22% „

Assuming consistent fall in birth rate, compulsory education upto 14+ may be possible by 1986. What, then, this so called emphasis upon elementary education amounted to ?

(1) Pattern of rural economy and supply of productive labour force was not expected to change appreciably. The vital question was land system and productive relationship in agriculture which at present shows consistent pauperisation of the rural poor. Increase of labour force among women would be negligible. Thus a vital section of population would be left out of productive employment. Increase of labour force would be more apparent in rural areas. Evidently, development in Industry and Technology was not expected to tone up our economy.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the U. N. O (F. A. O) points out that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the 100 crore hungry people of the world are Indians. 57% of rural population in India do not get food with the

required minimum of calorie value. The causes of such pauperisation were—

- (i) Failure to effect proper land reforms,
- (ii) Loss of purchasing power of the poor,
- (iii) Narrow export market for India's agricultural products.
- (iv) Low price of agricultural exports commanded by big purchasers.
- (v) High price of machinery and fertiliser.
- (vi) Increase of pauperised labour force would be more apparent in rural areas.
- (vii) Industries would not tone up to absorb the urban unemployed.

The much talked of bottom 30% of population come mostly from rural areas. Their per capita monthly income was proposed to be raised from Rs. 25. to Rs. 29. The skyhigh and consistently spiralling prices would make them consistently poorer. Wastage in education would be mounting. Our much vaunted emphasis upon universal primary education and adult education was sure to meet a tragic end unless socio-economic remedies were adopted. The proposed linking of adult education with development programmes would become a caricature. What extent of adult education must one expect when allocation for social education which was only 1% of total educational outlay in 4th Plan, was proposed to be raised to 2% only ?

Next comes the question of linking education with employment market. Break up of our National Income shows 50 : 50 ratio between agriculture and industry. In agriculture, investment and employment is mostly private. The present economic pattern shows unmistakable signs of concentration of rural wealth in the hands of a few sharks within a pattern of semifeudal relationships and creation of a large army of unemployed rural labour. And our industrial sector is at the mercy of private investors whose sole objective is margin and quantum of profit. They care little for the employment or unemployment of the educated or uneducated. The consistently rising quantum of unemployment shows (i) the narrowness of our economic base, (ii) its inability to provide more and more absorption consistently with growth of education, (iii) the weakness of the Public Sector and the domination of private profit motive. Close link between education and employment market would be impossible in such a set up.

Next comes the question of linking professional education with manpower needs. A healthy and growing economy *creates its own needs*. In other cases *needs are to be created*. In the absence of both, manpower production has to be *tailored to sterile needs*. It is not for nothing that the Govt. declared that higher education would be provided in accordance with employment prospects which, by no means, were bright. (Nowhere was it said that employment prospects *would be raised*, with which would higher education be synchronised). And it is crystal clear that unemployment of both educated and uneducated would be consistently growing. (For detailed data regarding (i) break up of National Income, (ii) Public and Private sector investments and job provisions and (iii) Extent of unemployment, the following may well be perused. (figures for 5th plan period. No appreciable change occurred since then).

Break up of National Income :

(a) Agriculture = 49.7%

(b) (i) Manufacture,

Mines, Gas,

Electric, Construction etc. = 19.9%

(ii) Transport ... = 15.3%

(iii) Banking and Defence

= 15.1%

} 50.3%

(c) Agricultural investment and employment is mostly private,
Industrial investment = 1/3 public ; 2/3 private.

∴ The economy is heavily controlled by private agencies.

Income in 1975 from Public sector = Rs. 496 crores,

" " Private " = Rs. 28440 "

But employment in public sector = 10339000 "

" " private " = 6696000 "

Thus, private investment takes the cream and returns the least.

It was revolting to see that *restricted production of specialised manpower* together with selective *brain drain* was suggested as a matter of policy, so that a balance between 'needs' and 'supplies' might be made at the end of the 5th plan, 'solving' thereby the 'problem' of unemployment. This policy still stands on the plea that such export of intellect would be beneficial to the nation in the ultimate analysis.

Registered unemployment—

End of 1st Plan	=	50 lakh
„ „ 2nd „	=	90 „
„ „ 3rd „	=	1 crore 30 lakh.
1974 „	=	About 2 crore.

In 1979=162000 Scientists, Engineers, Technicians, Medical men were unemployed together with 320000 others (22000 women did not seek employment). 385000 registered Arts and Commerce graduates had been unemployed.

In 1983=the figures rose to 21753000 registered unemployed—18500 Doctors (3700 women), 23000 graduate engineers (1400 women), 17000 Agricultural graduates. 1944500 Art. Sc. Commerce graduates or Matriculates and 19750000 non matrics.

In 1985=The figure has been about 3 crores. Emigration of trained personnel is very often accepted as one of the remedies. But, how far, may this measure mitigate the crisis?

More than 50 thousand of doctors, engineers, scientific workers and technologists are engaged in U. K., U. S. A., Canada, African Countries and Arab Countries. 30% of doctors in U. K hospitals are from India-Pakistan sub-continent. In some areas it is as high as 70%. India spends about two lakh rupees for the production of a doctor and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakh for an engineer. And the U. S. A makes an annual gain of 40 crore rupees by recruiting these prepared personnel. The C. S. I. R. Pool is gradually dwindling. None of the emigrants is ready to come back leaving behind an emolument as high as ten times that in India for the same qualifications. And those who are here, have often have to adopt the path of self annihilation under the pressure of bureaucratic games and red tape.

The future of emigration is also dark. The U. S. A. has been tightening immigration facilities. Canada has been following suit. Anti-Asian tirade in the U. K. is directed mainly against India. The developing countries of the African continent who had recruited a large number of technical and professional personnel are attaining self sufficiency in know how. Perpetuation or even re-newal of service contract is not expected for long. And in view of various malpractices and corruption, restrictions are now imposed upon emigration to petrodollar countries.

Last comes the question of integrating the Academic Community in socio-economic development. Leaving aside the question of socio-economic development, can we claim that the academic community is taken into confidence even in matters of educational development? The all-knowing bureaucracy was wiser than the academic community. How far could the academic community influence the State Govt's policy for reorganisation of school pattern, the curricular organisation and syllabi in those years? The direction of development as per official plans always failed and will again fail if the plan is drawn in a glass case. Amusing remedies are often suggested viz :

- (1) Granting stipends for higher studies (to keep the graduate engineers off the employment market).
- (2) Granting unemployment allowances.
- (3) Granting a fixed allowance for enrolment in C. S. I. R. pool.
- (4) Small scale co-operative units to run with a bank loan of 25/30 thousand rupees. (And everyone knows that in these days of competitive capitalist economy under the extending claws of "multinationals" such small scale efforts must wither away or must sing the tune of the bigs.

Our constitution does not guarantee the right to work. It does not also tie the hands of employers from adopting retrenchments, lay offs, lock outs, closures and *making* an industry seek. In India, at present, 8 lakh jobs are created annually whereas 14 lakh young men and women become job seekers every year. Where may this annual surplus of six lakh go?

Moreover, the numbers of registered unemployed do not include many educated housewives, rural labourers, semi employed and seasonally employed armies of labour force. The value of the rupee now stands at 16 paise. And there is no sign of the economy looking up. These people must queue up in the employment market. What then? And we have been selling the idea of automation and computerisation !! Automation may be beneficial when the economy is dynamic and expanding, because it may release work force from one area for employment in another. But in a condition of static and moribund economy, it may only enhance unemployment.

To ensure productive employment the need therefore is—

- (1) The acceptance of education as a productive enterprise.

- (2) To accept the expenditure for education as an economic investment for productivity.
- (3) To adopt the principle of economic planning from the grass roots.
- (4) To abandon the bureaucratic method of implementing and assessing the plan.
- (5) To make it sure that the plan targets are achieved.
- (6) To keep away from foreign loans with fastened strings.
- (7) To reduce dependence on private investment in industry, commerce and large scale agriculture.
- (8) Rapid expansion of economy.
- (9) Frieze of closure and lock out.
- (10) Hundred percent correlation between economic investment and educational investment.
- (11) Education and training of total man power on the principle of socially motivated scientific selection.
- (12) Establishment and maintenance of balance between education in the humanities, sciences, professions and technologies, because the nation cannot do without any one of them.
- (13) Proper note should be taken of the present craze for technical education which may undermine the cause of liberal and cultural education, while at the same time undermine the standard of technological education.
- (14) We need not bewail the loss of personnel who left the land to serve other lands in shere personal interest. We must make the best of what we have and may have.
- (15) A decentralised administration of education leaving initiative in the hands of the man at the working end may guarantee successful implementation of the plan of productive education for productive employment.

L. Physical Education and Social Service

The present system of physical education and examination is also defective. The schools are starved of play grounds, arrangements of gymnasium, equipment and good instruction facilities. Examination, in such a situation, is no more than a window dressing.

The same criticism applies to social service. Students' participation

in social service work should be viewed as a thorough process which continues throughout the year in school and out of school leading to social mindedness and socialisation. Kothari Commission had suggested students' participation in periodic social service camps with intensive programme and evaluation on the job. Evaluation without placing the students in concrete job situations must be arbitrary and unscientific.

M. Problem of Language

While discussing education for the different stages, we discussed language also. A consolidated statement is now made.

The Problem of Language has two facets, language as medium of instruction, and languages that should find place in the curriculum. The first question has by now been solved in favour of the *Mother Tongue*. It should, however, be noted that English medium secondary education has now been more frequent and extensive than it had been under British Raj. Commercial value and job worthiness of English, advantageous position of English in higher education of a technical nature, facilities of foreign tours with a command of English are some of the reasons thereof. Class distinction in education has made English a medium of education for the better off classes. It has become an insignia for social status. In fact, "English Education" has acquired more of an economic value than a cultural value. A reaction to this, however, is already evident.

The second question is related to the determination of the number of languages to be learnt and selection of those languages. Under British Rule, English had been the medium of instruction. The mother tongue and a classical languages had been given the second and third positions respectively. By the time of Provincial Autonomy, the mother tongue was given the first place, English the second and classical language the third. *Although mother tongue was made the medium, the importance of English remained as before.*

The situation was slightly altered after independence. The claim of an All India State Language was added to the claim of the earlier three. Controversies took no time to ensue and generate sufficient heat. The *Mudaliar Commission recommended a three language formula for secondary education* i.e. (i) Mother Tongue (or the Regional

language), (ii) English and (iii) Hindi. A classical language might also be taken on elective basis. This formula was, in general terms, applied with slight amendments in different States. In West Bengal, for example, the formula became (i) Mother tongue all through the school stage, (ii) English from Class V all through, (iii) Hindi at the Junior Secondary stage only, and (iv) Sanskrit (compulsory) in the two upper grades of junior secondary education. But controversies did not die down and the status of English continued to create rancour.

The *Kothari Commission* recommended a new and improved three-language formula with Mother Tongue, Hindi and English. It suggested—(a) Only mother tongue (or regional language) at the lower primary stage, (b) addition of Hindi or English at the Upper Primary stage, (c) Mother tongue, Hindi or English and one modern Indian language (other than the mother tongue) or any modern European language at the lower secondary stage, (d) Mother tongue and one of the other languages listed in (c) at the higher secondary stage. (e) A classical language might be electively taken from class VIII.

Evidently the Commission disfavoured English before class V, suggested only elective study of classics and recommended 3 languages at the lower secondary and 2 at the higher secondary stages. The language burden would gradually rise and then fall in the fashion—1—2—3—2.

This formula, after being discussed at the State Education Ministers' Conference, Central Advisory Board and Education Committee of the Parliament, was incorporated in the National Policy Resolution on Education with the suggestion that apart from Mother Tongue and English, the third language should be *Hindi in the non-Hindi regions and any other modern Indian language* (preferably a Southern one) *in the Hindi speaking regions*.

The application of this formula has however, been half-hearted. The importance of English is still considered dominant for practical purposes. The third language is seldom given any importance. Hindi acquired an unimpressive position, compulsory Sanskrit simply satisfied a fad.

It should be remembered that *monolingual education is seldom possible these days*. In most of the progressive countries two or

Three languages are offered compulsorily or optionally at the secondary stage. Language learning need not be frightful if the proper method of effective instruction in all the subjects, at all the stages, be available and followed. The crisis in our country may be greatly relieved through standard text books in the regional languages and if such languages are given due recognition in all official and non-official purposes and for all economic and social intercourses.

Language in Higher Education

Language problem is not confined to school education only. At the university stage, the problem has to be tackled (i) at the undergraduate level and (ii) at the post graduate level.

The question at the undergraduate stage is—whether any second or third language must be compulsorily learnt if the mother-tongue is accepted as the medium. At the post graduate level, there is no question of learning a second language compulsorily, because a student has to pursue only one discipline. The question then boils down to a problem of medium in non-language subjects viz. History, Philosophy etc, or the Sciences.

The Present Practice in West Bengal

In West Bengal, the regional language has been accorded equal status with English as the medium of instruction in colleges and also medium of University examinations. Non Bengalee students, however, have to use the alternative medium—English. At the post-graduate level also English still remains a medium of instruction. But here too regional language has secured equality of status with English if not a dominant status. (Calcutta University introduced Bengali as examination medium at the P. G. level with effect from 1975).

The possible modes of solution are—(i) Statutory acceptance of the regional language as the medium for undergraduate studies, (ii) English should be taught at the U. G. stage at two levels—(a) Ordinary level (common for all), (b) advanced level (Elective, and therefore of a higher standard) on a voluntary basis.

At the P. G. stage, the regional language should be accepted as medium in a process of graduation without enforcing a sudden change overnight. The argument of the aggressive lovers of English that higher education in Sciences, Technology and Professions is impossible

on account of the fact that these are disciplines of international character with terminology uncoined in regional languages, is not acceptable. If the Russians, Japanese, Germans or French may pursue these disciplines in their own languages, there is no reason why the same may not be possible in India. The solution lies in painstaking search for expressive terminology. An earnest endeavour in this respect must bear fruit. Of course when the regional language is accepted, the libraries should be well stocked with reference books in English, so that students may peruse freely if they so desire.

Kothari Commission's recommendation in regard to language in university are worth mentioning, viz (a) A time bound programme to accept the regional languages as media in a period of ten years, (b) For some years to come, English may continue as medium at P. G. stage, but charge-over must not unnecessarily be delayed, (c) Hindi or Urdu should be accepted as medium if there are sufficient numbers of students speaking these languages, (d) Teachers, in the long run, should pick up 2/3 languages. (The problem of languages will be better understood in the context of curricular pattern.)

Kothari Commission had explicitly stated that the imposition of language learning at the undergraduate stage undermined the learning of the combination subjects. Since the learning of the combination subjects should be the prime consideration at this stage, *there should be no compulsion in language learning*. Important national or foreign languages may be placed in the list of elective subjects so that students may elect languages also.

In fact, the domination of languages had so long been a stumbling block before the undergraduate students who had to devote disproportionate time and energy to the learning of languages. Moreover, the *language formula had been discriminatory against the Arts students* who had been obliged to study two languages while the science students had to study none. The new scheme equalises the Arts and Science students for both of whom the scope remains to elect one or more languages as combination subjects. Language remains compulsory through the 12 years of school education. For those who love languages, there remains wider and deeper scope to study languages—because such combination of three elective subjects will be possible as—Bengali, Sanskrit, English ; English, Bengali,

Persian. Evidently, a student belonging to any subject group but with a motivation towards language, may elect a language as the third elective or a student belonging to the Humanities-group may elect even 3 languages as his elected combination subjects. This will facilitate a genuine urge for language learning. Such were the propositions of the Calcutta University Council. The problem being extremely sensitive *the Govt. of West Bengal had to intervene*. Its decisions are that (i) Language should not feature as a compulsory subject of study. But it should feature as a *compulsory Additional paper*. The mother tongue should be made the medium of instruction up to the higher stages of education. But English need not be immediately abandoned as a subject of study. In order that all students, irrespective of subject groupings may acquire a better command of language, *each one must elect anyone of the five listed languages—Bengali, English, Hindi, Urdu and Nepali as a compulsory additional subject* and should pass in it with a credit of at least 20% marks. Marks obtained in excess of this minimum may be added to marks in any other combination subject to make good the short fall, if any.

This solution facilitates language learning in respect of all students without imposing an additional burden upon anyone. A lover of English will enjoy the scope to study English from Class VI through to Post Graduate stage and beyond.

The language scheme at present stands as —

- (a) Class I—V only mother tongue.
- (b) Classes VI—VIII, Mother tongue, English, and Sanskrit/Arabic/Hindi etc. (The third language may not be compulsive in Class VI).
- (c) Classes IX & X—Mother tongue (Regional language), English and a third language if elected as an additional paper.
- (d) Classes XI and XII—Mother tongue (Regional language) and English.
- (e) U. G.—One compulsory additional language out of a list of five. Language scheme in University education will be better understood in the context of the curricular scheme which underwent changes recently.

Recent changes in University Education

Consequent upon the adoption of the 10+2 scheme, the question did naturally arise whether the 3-year degree course (as it was after the 11 yr. H.S. course) should continue, or whether a restructuring was necessary. It became an all India debate. Most of the states favoured 2-year degree courses after 12-year school education. All the universities of West Bengal had to take a coordinated stand. The accepted restructuring will best be understood from the developments in Calcutta University.

1. Length of the degree stage : (a) *The Honours courses will be of 3 years duration and Pass courses of 2 years.* The system of 'grace', 'chance' etc. will be abandoned. (b) There will be a terminal examination for the pass students at the end of 2 years which will determine pass or failure. The minimum pass mark in each subject will be 30 and there will be no aggregate-pass. Successful students will be placed in first division (60% or more marks), second division (45 to below 60%) and 'P' division (30% marks). These certificate holders will be declared as graduates. A candidate securing 55% or more in the pass course examination may sit for the Part I Honours examination in the next year. (c) Students with 40% marks in the H.S. Exm. will be eligible for the honours course. The Part I examination in Honours will be taken at the 2nd year. A student with 33% marks in the first part examination will be allowed to continue with the honours course. Honours papers will be equally divided between parts I & II. 60% mark will make a first class honours and 45% to below 60% will fetch a second class.

2. Students will enjoy greater freedom in the selection of subjects. The gap between Arts and Science courses has been narrowed down for this purpose. With this objective, the *different subjects have been grouped under three heads* :—

(a) *Humanities and Social Sciences*—which will include Bengali, English, Economics, History, Education, Philosophy, Political Science, International relations etc.

(b) *Natural Sciences*—which will include Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Biophysics, Biochemistry, Micro biology etc.

(c) *Vocationally oriented group*—which will include Applied Electronics, Industrial Physics, Analytical Chemistry, Business Administration, Computer Programming, Community Development, Firm Management etc.

(d) A small group of *Home Sciences* for women students only.

3. An under-graduate student will have to study three subjects only. (i) A B.A. student will elect at least two subjects from the Humanities—Social Sciences Group, (ii) A B.Sc. student will be free to elect 2 subjects from the natural sciences group, (iii) Both B. A. and B. Sc. students will select one of the elected subjects for study at honours level, (iv) *the third subject may be elected from any of the three groups.* (Obviously such combinations will be possible—Bengali, English, Journalism ; History, Philosophy, Education ; Economics, Business Administration, Bengali ; Physics, Chemistry, Computer Programming ; Physics, Political Science, Education etc., (v) Of course a student may elect all of his three subjects from the same group, (vi) There will be three papers in each of the three subjects i.e. $100 \times 9 = 900$ in terms of marks). There will be 8 papers in an Honours subject ($100 \times 8 = 800$ marks). The same will apply to B. Com. also.

It is worthwhile to note that the Zonal Seminar (Eastern and North Eastern zone) on *Curricular Concerns* approved by N. C. E. R. T. held recently in Calcutta (July 1985) recommended : I—V only Mother Tongue.

VI—Introduction of English/Hindi.

VII—VIII, Mother Tongue, English/Hindi and a classical or any other third language.

N. The Problem of Student-indiscipline and Unrest

(The following is also a consolidated presentation of discussions made previously by parts).

Indiscipline has many causes, some of which are created in the school situation and some others are created by extraneous forces. In any case, *indiscipline occurs only when the educand is maladjusted with the educational environment.* The maladjustment may be spiritual as well as physical.

A student with decrepit health cannot but be inattentive and gradually indisciplined. The child who could never acquire good

habits since childhood, cannot be disciplined in school. If the subject-content is too heavy and stiff for the mental standard of the child, he will be indisciplined. If it is too easy, he will again be indisciplined, because he will take every chance to fritter away his extra energy. Gap between aspirations and capacities is a sure cause. Lack of scientific teaching, lack of activities, leisure and joy mingled with studies are sources of unrest. Excessive punishment is a sure cause. Handicapped and backward children may cause indiscipline among their fellows by allowing them a chance to tease. Even minor difficulties like lack of air and light in the class room, defects in sitting arrangements, invisibility of the black-board, inaudibility of the teacher's voice may cause indisciplined behaviour. Above all the examination system is an undoubted source.

Absence of cordial relation between teacher and taught causes indiscipline. Partial attitude of the teacher, injury to adolescent sensitiveness, lack of teacher's idealism will cause indiscipline among students. The student becomes self disciplined if and when education becomes purposive. The student feels an internal urge if the environment is free from maladjustment and the student finds ample scope for attentive self employment. *This is real discipline, not fetter.*

At present, however, there are *cases of indiscipline which invade the school from outside*. When the adolescent, by his nature, becomes conscious of the world, becomes socially minded and searches for ideals, it cannot be expected that he would remain unimpressed by unhealthy and unethical social, political and moral influences from the bigger society.

Group life is a character of adolescence. *Unhealthy group influence* is often super-imposed upon individual spirits. Gangsterism is a sure product of such unhealthy influence. The situation is made worse by unhealthy sex influences. Individual and group delinquency finds expression in adolescent hooliganism.

Although the bigger society is vitally responsible for student indiscipline, the role of the school and the teacher in ameliorating the situation cannot be belittled.

It should also be understood that *indiscipline of school children is not same as unrest among youth population at the higher stages of education.*

Student outbursts in examination halls had been a phenomenon for some year. This was but a partial and perverted expression of unrest. Explosions occurred in relation to national and international political questions, state policy in education, students' amenities, educational administration etc. Evidently, unrest has its ideological, political, economic, social, and cultural causes.

The basic truth is that war, famine, riots and partition of India destroyed many of our old values while new values were not created. Our present generation of youth was born and brought up in a vacuum in the value-system. Social anarchy could not but make them anarchic. In the days of freedom movement, a common goal had unified the nation. The ideal of service and sacrifice had inspired the youth. But the present social era is characterised by socio-economic corruption and erosion of values. In an environment of lawlessness, predominance of monetary aristocracy and illegally begotten social prestige, the youngman of today cannot be expected to be endowed with heavenly morality.

The young men of today are socially conscious. Exploitation, repression and assassination of humanism must stir up their plastic mind. They react immediately and violently.

Unrest has its material base also. We cannot expect blissful submission of the young man who suffers from mal-nutrition and consumptive diseases. We cannot expect young men to be contented when they suffer from lack of living space in the family, lack of counselling and advice, lack of scope for joyful cocurricular pursuits. One whose future is bleak cannot but be restless.

Educational administration is no less responsible for the sad state of affairs. Group interests play havoc and students are brought into power politics. And agencies with vested interest are consciously trying every means and method for degenerating students' morals.

Pedagogic reasons are similarly responsible. Provisions in colleges and universities cannot keep pace with the urge for higher education. Other avenues being closed, youngmen crowd at the universities. Those who are refused admission are actually left in the wilderness. And those who are fortunate to be admitted, find the courses uninteresting and ill-suited to their taste or calibre. Teacher-pupil relation is seldom healthy these days. The teacher whom the society does not

accord the due prestige, cannot claim the same from his pupil either. Even those students who are serious with their studies find the future dark. Unemployment reigns supreme. The purposiveness in education becomes the first victim in such a situation. The complete loss of purpose, and a philosophy of self-immolation had combined to degrade examination to a farce. The situation is aggravated by open or clandestine instigation of vested interest.

The following may be suggested as measures of remedy. (1) More expansion of higher education, its diversification and capacity-oriented pursuit of studies (2) Reform of curricula. (3) Provision of hostel or other types of accommodation. (4) Modernisation of higher education as well as improvement of library, laboratory and research facilities. (5) Counselling, (6) Health service, (7) More stipends and provisions for part time employment to make the needy students self-going, (8) Students, self Govt. and students' participation in university administration, (9) Wide scope of cultural activities, (10) Generation of confidence in future.

Achievement in these fields in comparison with the achievements in the advanced countries are not worth mentioning. Statistical survey of the health, living and economic conditions of university students conducted by the university itself gives a picture of darkness. Institutions like Youth Employment Bureau, Youth Hostels Association, Leadership training camp have been unproductive and practically still born. Some essay or debating competitions, publication of some magazines, annual recreation or social functions organised by students' unions constitute the students' leisure time pursuit. Day Home system and most of other devices and programmes suffer from endemic crisis.

It is obvious that students' unrest cannot be tackled by bureaucratic or repressive measures. Something constructive is an absolute need. The Kothari Commission recommended compulsory social service work in development projects and labour camps. It also suggested the institution of an office of whole time Dean of student-welfare in every university. It furthermore suggested university autonomy to safeguard students' self Govt.

The younger generation is mooringless. A conflict between the old and the new is obvious. This is perhaps natural for a society suffering from inner contradictions, and contradictions between professions and

practices, between aspirations and realities, between high sounding lectures on morality and actual prevalence of immorality and corruption. The younger generation desperately needs help and sympathy in a phase of social transition. Withholding such help will mean leading them down the precipice of anti-social delinquency. Such help must primarily come from the system of education itself, which, therefore, calls for a revolutionary change.

EXERCISES

Chapter I

1. Discuss the contributions of Early Christian Missions to education in India, with special reference to the Portuguese efforts.
2. Give an account of the circumstances which had favoured missionary work in India.
3. Give an account of the Anglo-Danish missionary work in 18th Century India.
4. Enumerate the different methods in which the E.I. Co. patronised the Danish and English missionary efforts. When, why and how was there a total reversal in the Company's attitude ?
5. Make an analysis of the important characteristics of the educational enterprise of early missions. How far were they responsible for the introduction of Western Education in India ?
6. Discuss the significance of early missionary educational enterprise.
7. Trace the origin of Orientalism and Occidentalism in Modern Indian educational thought.
8. Write an essay on the Asiatic Society.
9. Write notes on :— (i) Grant's Observations, (ii) Wilberforce Motion and its defeat, (iii) N.B. Halhed, (iv) Charles Wilkins, (v) Warren Hastings, (vi) Minto Minute.

Chapter II

1. How did the urge for English education grow in late 18th century ?
2. Discuss the educational and cultural contributions of the Serampore Trio.
3. Analyse the forces and circumstances which led to the adoption of the educational and missionary clauses in the Charter act of 1813.
4. How can you explain that the policy rejected in 1793 was accepted in 1813 ?
5. Discuss the nature and significance of the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.
6. Write a note on the origin, development and role of the Fort William College in the cultural history of Bengal.

Chapter III

1. Discuss the educational contributions of the Western Missions in India in the first half of the 19th century with special reference to women's education and the spread of Western education.
2. Analyse the nature of missionary educational enterprise in early 19th Century in comparison with the same in the 18th Century. What is meant by Duff Policy ? Why did it ultimately fail ?

3. Discuss the nature of the Bengal Renaissance and its impact upon education in India.

4. Make an estimate of the principles and the role of Raja Rammohan Roy in the field of education.

5. Trace the origin, development, and role of the Hindu College.

6. Critically discuss the work of Derozio as a teacher in Hindu College.

7. Write an essay on the educational and cultural activities of the Young Bengal.

8. Discuss the educational views of the conservatives in the first half of 19th century in Bengal.

9. Explain and comment upon the policy of the G.C.P.I. between 1823 and 1835.

10. What were the major questions involved in the Oriental- Occidental controversy. ? How did the outcome of the controversy influence later developments ?

11. Write a critique of the Macaulay Minute. What was Macaulay's part in the introduction of English Education in India ?

12. Give an account of the state of indigenous education in India in early 19th Century with special reference to the Bengal Reports of Rev. Adam.

13. What were the major recommendations of Rev. Adam ? How did the acceptance of Macaulay's opinion as against Adam's recommendations affect the fate of education in India ?

14. Trace the development of educational policies from 1793 to 1835. Why is the Bentinck Award considered a landmark in the history of education in India ?

15. Account for the differential educational developments in the Presidencies after 1835. How was uniformity ultimately achieved ?

6. Discuss the administrative measures which facilitated the expansion of Western Education. Account for the growth of a parallel non official thinking in favour of mass education.

17. Write notes on the educational thoughts and activities of the Pandits of F.W. College and Sanskrit College.

18. Write notes on the educational thoughts and activities of (a) Debendranath (b) Akshoy Datta.

19. Make an estimate of the contributions of Iswarachandra Vidyasagar to the cause of education and culture.

20. Discuss the genesis of Wood's Despatch. Why was a change of Govt's policy called for ?

21. Analyse the major recommendations of the Despatch of 1854 (as supplemented by the Despatch of 1859).

22. Write a critique of the Wood's Despatch. How far is it true that it established a State System of Education in India ?

23. Make an assessment of the Despatch of 1854 and discuss its significance with special reference to its effect upon later educational developments.

24. How was the system of English Education established in India ? How were the obstacles to the expansion of Western education removed ?

25. Give an account of the growth of English education in and around Calcutta even before an official policy was adopted.

26. Write a note on the history of the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.

27. Make a critical estimate of non-official and non-European educational enterprise in Bengal in the early decades of the 19th century.

28. Attempt an estimate of Rammohan with special reference to some observations made on him by other men of letters.

29. Write critical estimates of (a) David Hare and (b) Alexander Duff.

30. Write a note on the educational experiments made in Bombay, North Western Province and Bengal prior to 1854.

31. Discuss the effects and historical significance of the Educational Despatch of 1854.

Chapter IV

1. Discuss the circumstances which led to the institution of the Hunter-Commission. What were the major questions the Commission had to deal with ?

2. Make an analysis of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 in respect of— (i) Missionary educational enterprise, (ii) Secondary education, (iii) Primary education. Discuss their importance and effects upon subsequent developments.

3. 'The foundation of modern primary education in India was actually laid in 1882'. Discuss.

4. Make an assessment of the recommendations of Hunter Commission and their effects upon subsequent developments.

5. Make a critical analysis of the Aligarh Movement.

Chapter V

1. Make an estimate of Lord Curzon as an educational reformer. Is a revaluation of the Curzon policy justified in view of our present educational problems ?

2. Analyse Curzon's educational policy and account for nationalist resistance to it.

3. Trace the origin and development of the National Education

Movement in its different phases.

4. Discuss the nature and characteristics of the National Education Movement, particularly bringing out the differences between the phases.

5. How far did cultural revivalism and political extremism help to give shape to National Education Movement ?

6. Why did the National Education Movement fail to establish a permanent national system of education ?

7. Discuss the significance and far reaching effects of the National Education Movement. Is it correct to say that the Movement opened up a new vista and irrigated the educational field for subsequent development ? Can it be characterised as 'watershed' ?

8. Discuss the philosophy and Scheme of Basic Education.

9. How did Sir Ashutosh defy the Curzon policy ?

10. Write notes on the influence of Revivalism and Extremism upon education in Bengal.

11. Discuss the educational thoughts and activities of (a) Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, (b) Arya Samaj and R.K. Mission, (c) Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra. (d) Nivedita.

12. Write an essay on 'Satish Chandra, The Dawn and the Dawn Society in relation to Education in Bengal'.

13. Write notes on the educational thoughts of (a) Annie Besant, (b) Sir Gurudas, (c) Aurobinda Ghosh, and (d) Rabindranath. What were the special contributions of G. K. Gokhale and D. K. Karve ?

14. State and estimate Curzon's education policy.

15. Write an essay on Simla Conference of 1901 and Universities Commission (1902).

16. Make a critical estimate of Curzon's Universities Act, 1904.

17. Discuss Curzon policy in regard to Secondary and Primary education.

18. Discuss Curzon policy in Higher Education.

19. What was the relation between anti partition agitation and National Education Movement?

20. Discuss the activities of the National College.

21. Why was the National Education Movement divided ? Why and how were the two groups re-united ?

22. Discuss the causes of failure of the N. Education movement.

23. Discuss the impact of National Education Movement upon subsequent developments.

24. Write notes on— Swadeshi, Carlyle Circular, Boycott, Anti Swadeshi Circular, Field and Academic Club.

Chapter VI

1. Analyse the defects in the system of higher education in India in early 20th century as recorded in Sadler Commission report. What remedial measures were proposed by the Commission ? What was the significance of the report ?

2. How did the Sadler Commission influence the concept and structure of education in India ?

Chapter VII

1. Critically discuss Radhakrishnan Commission's Recommendations on :

- (a) Aims of University education.
- (b) Curricula of higher education,
- (c) Researches,
- (d) Teachers,
- (e) Agricultural education.

2. Write an essay on Radhakrishnan Commission's "Rural University" scheme. How was the scheme implemented ?

3. Write notes on Radhakrishnan Commission's recommendations on--

- (a) Engineering and Technical education,
- (b) Religious education,
- (c) Woman's education,
- (d) Medium of instruction in higher education,
- (e) Examination reforms,
- (f) Students' welfare.

4. What defects of secondary education were discovered by Mudaliar Commission ?

5. Discuss the aims of secondary education as per Mudaliar Commission's view.

6. Discuss the structure of school education as recommended by Mudaliar Commission.

7. Discuss the curricular organisation proposed by Mudaliar Commission with specific reference to Core-Periphery principle.

8. Write notes on Mudaliar Commission's views on-- (a) Guidance and Counselling, (b) Service Conditions of teachers.

9. What objectives were set forth by Kothari Commission for secondary education ? What was the basic structure of the education system proposed ?

Chapter VIII

1. Give a connected account of the progress of education in India, under the plans, including the financial involvements.

2. Find out the basic weakness and imbalances in the series of 5 year plans.

3. Is it correct to say that the importance of the Sadler Commission lay more in its impact upon subsequent development than in its immediate effect ?

Or, 'The Sadler Commission initiated a reform movement which developed increasingly since then'. Discuss.

Or, 'The report of the Calcutta University Commission has been a constant source of suggestion and information. Its significance in the history of Indian Education has been incalculable.' — Discuss.

4. How did the constitutional reforms of 1919 and 1935 influence educational development in India ?

5. Write notes on (i) Hartog Committee Report, (ii) Sapru Committee Report, (iii) Abbot-Wood Committee Report.

6. Make an evaluation of the major tenets of Sargent Plan in the light of our present state of Education.

7. 'The period between 1917 and 1947 was characterised more by aspirations than by achievements in educational reforms'. Discuss.

8. Discuss Hartog Committee's findings on and recommendations for (i) Primary Education, (ii) Secondary Education, (iii) University Education, (iv) Women's Education, (v) Education of Muslims and Harijans.

9. Make a critical study of Abbot-Wood Committee's recommendations about (i) General education and (ii) Vocational education.

10. Write an essay on Nai-Talim, its application and effects.

11. Discuss the recommendations of the first Narendra Dev Committee.

12. Make a critical estimate of Sargent Committee report.

Chapter IX

1. Make a retrospective study of the growth and expansion of Primary Education in modern India before 1947.

2. What attempts were made to introduce compulsory and free primary education in India ? Account for the failure.

3. Trace the development and expansion of Basic Education. Why was the expansion not satisfactory ? What was its fate ?

4. Make a critical analysis of the problems of primary education and offer suggestions for improvements.

5. Write a critique of the Kothari Commission scheme of Primary Education.

6. Write an essay on 'the Features of Primary Education'.

7. Write notes on (with reference to primary education) — (a) Aims, (b) Child centricism, (c) Curriculum, (d) Learning by doing, (e) Place of

English in primary education in India, (f) Teaching methods for primary education, (g) Examination and evaluation at the primary school stage, (h) Need for guidance at primary school stage, (i) Problem of maladjustment of primary school children, (j) Value and types of Co-curricular activities at primary school stage, (k) Progress of Primary education under the Plans.

Chapter X

1. Discuss the meaning and nature of secondary education.
2. How and why did the concept of Secondary Education in India change in course of the last 100 years ?
3. Write an essay on the aims and curriculum of Secondary Education.
4. Make an analysis of the major recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission (1953) and the effects thereof. How were the recommendations implemented ? Was review of the Higher Secondary system called for ?
5. Discuss the problems of (a) languages at secondary school level, (b) curriculum and teachers, (c) standard of secondary education, (d) student indiscipline (with special reference to West Bengal), (e) Administration of secondary education (f) types of secondary school, (g) examination at secondary level, (h) individual difference at secondary school level.
6. Discuss the general problems of secondary education with special reference to provision, administration and financing.
7. Give a critical account of the suggestions made by the Kothari Commission in respect of secondary education and discuss their significance. Why was Kothari Commission required only 10 years after the Mudaliar Commission ?
8. Give your opinion in respect of the 10+2 year school education scheme. Should the + two years be treated as an independent stage ? If so, where should it be located ?
9. Critically analyse the secondary school curriculum, by stages, proposed by Kothari Commission.
10. Discuss the needs and characteristics of adolescence. Why is secondary education called education for the adolescent ?

Chapter XI

1. Discuss the evolution of modern Higher Education in India.
2. Give an account of the expansion of Higher Education since independence and point out the general problems.
3. What are the aims of Higher Education ? How far have we achieved those aims ? Why and how did the objectives change from phase to phase in our country ?
4. Point out the defects in our system of Higher Education. What

attempts were so far made to remedy the defects and with what effect ?

5. Write notes on (1) Medium of Higher Education with special reference to Kothari suggestion and solution in West Bengal. (2) The present student unrest.

6. Discuss the objectives of higher education as propounded by Radhakrishnan and Kothari Commissions. Account for our failure to attain the objectives.

7. Throw light on the expansion of higher education and the problem of academic standards.

Chapter XII

1. Trace the development of technical and vocational education in modern India. Why was such education delayed ?

2. What are the different types of technical and vocational institutions existent in India ? What purpose do they serve ?

3. Discuss the problems of technical education in India and suggest remedies. Why is there a crisis in the field ?

4. Write a short note on Kothari Commission's recommendations in respect of technical and vocational education.

5. Give a synoptic idea about the development of teacher education in modern India.

6. Discuss the meaning and aims of technical, vocational and professional education. What is the socio-economic basis of educational specialisation ?

7. How is Technical Education related to General Education ? Throw light on the General Education Movement.

8. How does technical education differ from general education in terms of nature and objectives ?

9. What is maladjustment in technical education ? Discuss the role of Guidance to guard against maladjustment.

10. Discuss the present state of technical education in India.

11. Discuss the nature and role of technical education in a country's life.

12. Discuss the relation between technical education and employment. Why is there unemployment amongst technically trained persons ?

13. Discuss the interrelation between different stages of technical and vocational education.

14. Discuss the problems of teacher education in India and refer to Kothari Commission's suggestions.

Chapter XIII

1. Trace the development of Women's Education in India since early 19th Century. Why is it still lagging behind ?

2. Discuss the development of women's education in India since independence, with special reference to the recommendations of different expert committees.

3. Estimate the contributions of the Missions, the Young Bengal and reformers towards women's education in Bengal.

4. Discuss the present state of women's education in West Bengal.

Chapter XIV

1. What is Social Education ?

2. What are the problems of adult education in India ? Suggest measures to augment literacy in the light of the existing conditions.

3. Trace the development of adult education in India since the early part of the 20th Century.

4. Trace the process of the development of our concept of Adult Education in the years after independence.

5. Discuss the aims and purposes of Social Education. How should the Curriculum and Methods of Social Education be organised ?

6. Discuss and comment upon the progress of adult education in India under the plans.

7. Write notes on —

(a) Need for universal literacy.

(b) Constitutional provisions in India to facilitate mass education.

8. "Mass education and universal literacy depend upon social system." — Discuss.

Chapter XV

1. Discuss the development of primary education in West Bengal under the Plans.

2. Discuss the defects and drawbacks of primary education in West Bengal.

3. Write a critique of the 1981 syllabus of primary education in West Bengal, with special reference to language and medium of instruction.

4. Discuss the problems of primary education in West Bengal and suggest solutions.

5. Discuss the development of the concepts of secondary education in West Bengal till 1966.

6. Give an account of the structure of the system of secondary education in West Bengal.

7. Give an account of the progress of secondary education in West Bengal under the plans, with special reference to the education of scheduled castes and tribes. What is the present state of secondary education in W.B. ?

8. How is secondary education administrated in West Bengal ?
9. Discuss the problems of secondary education in West Bengal and suggest solutions.
10. Write notes on -
 - (a) Sanskrit education in West Bengal, (b) Madrasah education in West Bengal, (c) Financing of secondary education in West Bengal, (d) Secondary schools in West Bengal unaffiliated to the Board of Secondary Education, (e) Language scheme in secondary education in West Bengal.
11. Give an account of the expansion of university education in West Bengal since 1947.
12. Discuss the defects and problems of higher education in West Bengal and offer suggestions for remedy.
13. Write notes on -
 - (i) Non-formal education in West Bengal.
 - (ii) Library services in West Bengal.

Chapter XVI

1. Discuss the constituents of a national system of education, clearly bringing out the differences between national education and colonial education.
2. Write notes on the National Education Policies, 1968 and 1979 with your comments on the differences between the two.
3. Make an objective analysis of the 6th education plan. Discuss how far this and other follow up measures were conducive to the fulfilment of the objectives of 6th Plan.

Chapter XVII

1. Write a critique of the paper "Challenge of Education, 1985".
2. Write an essay on the National Education Policy, 1986.
3. Enumerate the important contentions of the National Education Policy, 1986 and add your comments thereon.
4. Write an essay in favour of the National Education Policy, 1986.
5. Write an essay against the National Education Policy, 1986.

Chapter XVIII

1. Discuss the needs and methods of achieving universalisation in primary education in our country.
2. Discuss the social and pedagogical basis of the 'concept of equal educational opportunities. Discuss the probable methods of equalisation.
3. "Wastage and stagnation is the worst problem in our education". Discuss and suggest remedies.
4. Discuss the concept of common school and its needs in the present era. Where does India stand in this matter ?

5. Why are problems of education different in the urban and rural areas in our country? Why should rural education be specially attended to? How may the difference be mitigated?

6. Discuss critically the problems of education of the S.C. and S.T. people in India. What has been done and what is required to be done? Should we redefine 'backwardness'?

7. Write a short essay on work education as it is and as it should be in the context of the concept of polytechnisation.

8. Discuss the concept and values of Non-formal Education. What is its value in the present context of Indian Education and how it should be organised?

9. "Vocationalisation of Secondary Education is no fashion". Discuss. What are our achievements in this field? Discuss the problems and suggest remedies.

10. Discuss the causes of the so called population-explosion in our higher education. How may "selective approach" be scientifically applied in higher education?

11. Discuss the relationship between education and productive employment. What are the causes of unemployment of the educated in India? How may the problem be solved?

12. Write a note on physical education and social service in the schools of W. Bengal.

13. Discuss the development of language problem in Indian education and the language scheme suggested from time to time. What is the current position in West Bengal—in primary, secondary and university stages?

14. Do you think normal indiscipline of young children and unrest of grown up students are the same in nature? How may "indiscipline" be mitigated? What are the basic causes of students' unrest? How should the problem be faced?

15. Write an essay on "Colonial Education Versus National Education".

SPECIAL EXERCISES FOR B.A. — Pass Course Students

(Full Length questions in addition to relevant exercises given earlier.)

1. Discuss the nature of militant nationalism and its impact upon educational thoughts in 19th-20th century Bengal.

2. Discuss how Satish Chandra Mukherjee and Gurudas Banerjee prepared the field for the national education movement.

3. How did the National Council of Education and the National College come into being? Who were the leading personalities associated with them? How far should the credit go to the students for the establishment of these organisations?

4. Write notes on —

(a) Aims and organisation of National Education and National College ; (b) Departments and curricular pattern of National College ; (c) The implications of inspection, affiliation and grants in-aid introduced by the N.C.E.

5. What were the basic differences between N.C.E. and S.P.T.E. ? What was the programme of the latter ?

6. Discuss the recommendations of Sadler Commission in respect of (a) the line of demarcation between school education and university education ; (b) administration of school education ; (c) curricular improvement and administration of university education.

7. Attempt an analysis of the structure of education system (a) Upto 1955, (b) After 1955 (c) After 1974.

8. Write notes on (a) Work Education in West Bengal, (b) Evolution of language policy since the days of British rule, (c) Language in school education (primary and secondary) in West Bengal at present, (d) Wastage and stagnation in education, (e) Non-formal education, (f) 1981 curriculum of primary education in W. Bengal.

Short Answer Questions

(Answer in one or two small paragraphs)

1. Discuss the characteristics of Ramamohan Roy's Anglo-Vedic college. What subjects were taught here ?

2. Discuss the differences between the views and activities of Ramamohan Roy and the Young Bengal.

3. What is meant by Calcutta culture ?

4. State and critically comment upon Macaulay's views.

5. What aims of education were incorporated in the Despatch of 1854 ?

6. Discuss how educational evolution occurred in tune with industrial development.

7. Write notes on — (i) David Hare, (ii) Derozio, (iii) Duff, (iv) William Jones, (v) G.C.P.I.

8. Discuss the points of strength and the points of weakness of the Young Bengal Movement.

9. Give a short life sketch of Scottish Churches College.

10. Discuss the nature of missionary educational activities in the 19th century.

11. Why and when did the E.I. Co. adopt a policy of benevolent neutrality in regard to educational and cultural affairs in India ? When and why was the policy abandoned ?

12. Discuss the arguments of the two sides in the language controversy in the G.C.P.I.

13. Mention the recommendations of Rev. William Adam.

14. Discuss the nature, effectiveness and failure of the downward filtration theory. When and why was this theory abandoned?

15. Why is it so said that Western Education created a new caste division in our country?

16. When was the office of the D.P.I. created? What are the functions of the incumbent?

17. Discuss in brief the difference between national education and colonial education.

18. Why did the leaders of both the Hindu society and the Brahmo society place special emphasis upon ethics and morality in the middle of the 19th century?

19. Write notes :—

- (a) Vidyasagar and Sanskrit College.
- (b) " " Primary Education.
- (c) " " Woman's Education.
- (d) " " Collegiate Education.
- (e) " " The Press.
- (f) " " Bengali Literature.
- (g) " " Bengali Language.
- (h) The importance of Varna Parichay.
- (i) First Normal school and its head master.

20. Write notes on—

- (i) Jatiya Gaurab Sampadani Sabha.
- (ii) Patriots' Association.
- (iii) Hindu Mela.
- (iv) Bangiya Bijnan Parishad.
- (v) Patriotic Literature of mid-19th Century.
- (vi) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.
- (vii) Indian Association.

21. Write notes on :—

- (a) Movement on age limit for I.C.S.
- (b) Press Act and Arms Act (1878)

22. Write short essays on :—

- (i) Sir Syed Ahmed,
- (ii) Hunter Commission—Its' background and causes.

23. Why is it so said that English Education worked as a boomerang in our country?

24. Write notes on Hunter Commission's view on—(a) Religious

insruction, (b) Role of Missionaries, (c) Medium of instruction.

25. Write notes on—

Bhudev Mukherjee ; Iswarchandra Gupta, Kaliprosanna Sinha ; Akshoy Kumar Dutta ; Debendranath Tagore ; Akshoy Kumar's "Dream Sequence" ; Prarthana Samaj ; Govinda Ranade ; Gopal Krishna Gokhale ; Theosophical Society ; Annie Besant ; Arya Samaj.

26. Write notes on :— Moderation—Extremism ; Revivalism ; Problems of higher education as reflected in Sadler Report.

27. Enumerate the functions of the University Grants Commission.

28. What has been said about education in Articles 45 and 46 of the Constitution of India ?

29. What is meant by man power ?

30. What is the value and role of educational planning ?

31. Mention the basic features of Zakir Hussain Report.

32. Mention the central theme of Kher Committee Report.

33. Why did the Mudaliar Commission recommend Guidance and Counselling ?

34. What minimum features of a good system of education have been enumerated by Kothari Commission ?

35. Mention some significant recommendations of Kothari Commission.

36. Why did not Kothari Commission place much emphasis on Basic Education ?

37. Which do you think correct—Education for work, or Work for education ?

38. What is the educative value of social service ?

39. How does parents' illiteracy affect child's education ?

40. Write a short essay on Non-formal Education.

Objective Type questions

(Answer each in one/two sentences)

—Mention the names of some students of Sherborne Academy.

—In which year was the Asiatic Society established ? Who was the principal enthusiast in this work ?

—Mention 2/3 names of Europeans who had made valuable contributions to Asiatic Society.

—Point out Halhed's contributions to Bengali Language.

—Who is called the Caxton of India ?

—Who was the founder of "Bengali Type" printing press ?

—In which year was the Serampore Mission established ?

—Mention the first journal brought out in Bengali.

—Mention the names of at least two newspapers that were brought out

at Serampore in the early years of the 19th century.

— Mention the names of at least three Bengali Pandits who had been associated with Serampore Mission.

— In Which year was the Serampore College founded ?

— Mention the names of the main initiators of Serampore College.

— From where and in which year was the Samachar Darpan first brought out ?

— In which year was the Fort William College established ?

— What was the object behind the establishment of the F.W. College ?

— Where and why was the East India College founded ?

— Upto which year was the F.W. College existent ?

— Mention the names of some Bengalee Pundits of F.W. College.

— Mention the literary works of these pundits.

— Which three persons of Serampore are called the Trio ? Why are they called so ?

— In which year did Rev. May establish his girls' school at Chinsura ?

— Why was not Rammohan Roy included in the Governing Body of Hindu Vidyalaya ?

— In which year was the Academic Association established ? Who were the leaders of this association ?

— What were the activities of this association ?

— Mention the year of the foundation of Atmiya Sabha.

— What opinion was expressed by the Company's Board of Governors in 1824 about education in India ?

— In which year was the Brahmo-Sabha established ?

— Who was the author of Goudia Bangla Vyakaran ?

— Mention the names of some associates of Rammohan Roy.

— In which year was the Hindu Vidyalay born ?

— What were the objectives of this school ?

— Mention some of the specialities of this school.

— Who was the first principal of Hindu Vidyalaya ?

— What were the sources of Hindu Vidyalaya's income ?

— How and when did David Hare become associated with Hindu Vidyalaya ?

— Who was the first visitor of Hindu Vidyalaya ?

— How were the students of Hindu Vidyalaya graded ?

— In which year and with what objective was the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society founded ?

— In which year was the Ladies Society for Native Female Education established ?

— Quote at least two lines of a patriotic poem of Derozio.

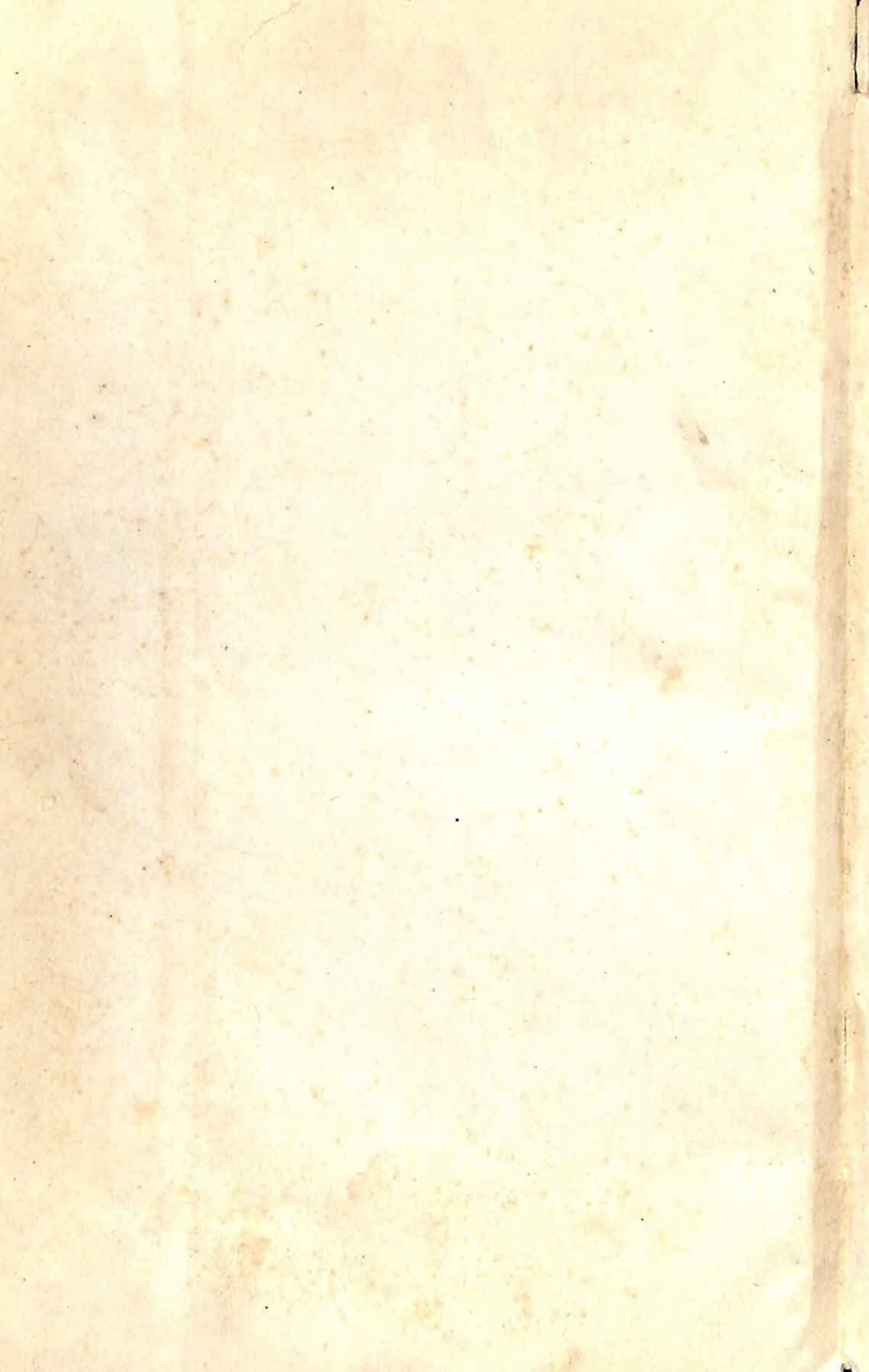
- Why was the Parthenon gagged and under whose orders ?
- Mention the names of at least three journals published by the Young Bengal.
- Who had opposed the decision to sack Derozio ?
- In which year and under whose initiative was the General Assemblies Institution established ?
- In which year and why was the Free Church Institution founded ? Who was the founder ?
- When did the name Scottish Church College come into being ?
- In which year and why was the G.C.P.I. formed ?
- In which year was English made the official language ?
- In which years did Rev. Adam submit his reports ?
- Data from which district were placed in Adam's third report ?
- Who were the participants in the controversy in the current century about the information continued in Adam's Report ?
- In which year was the Govt's decision in favour of English education announced ?
- In which year was the Zaminder Sabha established ?
- Mention the year of birth of the Bengal British India Society.
- What was described as Black Bill ?
- When was the Black Bill agitation waged ?
- Mention the year of birth of the British India Association.
- Mention the year of Stanley's Despatch. What was the special content of the Despatch ?
- In which year was the Bethune School founded ? How was the name of the school changed from phase to phase ?
- Who established the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh ?
- Mention the year of birth of Tattwa-bodhini Sabha. What were its Objectives ?

- What was the aim of Tattwa-bodhini Patrika ?
- In which year and why was the Hindu College Pathsala established ?
- In which year was the Tattwa-bodhini Pathsala established ?
- Why was the Hindu Hitrathi Vidyalaya founded ?
- In which year and why was the Society for Social Development founded ?
- In which year was the society for Development of Bengali language and literature established ?
- Mention the names of two Bengali primers of Madan Mohan Tarkalankar.
- Who was the founder of Dawn Society ?
- What were the activities of Bhagwat Chatuspathi ?
- Mention the names of at least two renowned persons associated with Dawn Society.
- Who was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University ? In which year was he installed ?
- What was the previous name of Sister Nivedita ?
- Mention the names of at least three renowned Bengalees who had become closely associated with Nivedita.
- Mention the year of the birth of Vivekananda Society.
- Who established the Bolpore Brahmacharyasram and in which year ?
- Mention the names of at least three men of learning who were used to addressing the Dawn Society.
- In which year was the Simla Conference held ?
- In which year was Curzon's Universities Commission instituted ?
- When and why was the National Council of Education established ?
- In which year was Curzon's University Act passed ?
- When was the decision taken about anti Simon Boycott ?

- What were the three items of Triple Boycott ?
- Who had issued the anti Swadeshi Circular ?
- What was done by the anti circular society ?
- Where was the first national school established ?
- Mention the name of the Governor of East Bengal as per Curzon's partition scheme.
- When and why was the society for the promotion of technical education formed ?
- Mention the year of birth of Bengal Technological College ?
- What is the present age of the Calcutta University Press ?
- Why had the Nationalist leaders characterised Calcutta University as a Golamkhana ?
- Where and in which year was the first Primary Education Act passed in India ?
- In which year was the first Primary Education Act passed in Bengal ?
- Where was universal compulsory and free primary education first introduced in India ?
- Mention the year of foundation – Benaras Hindu University; Aligarh University ; Osmania University ; S.N.D.T.
- When and with what object was the Sadler Commission formed ?
- Mention a particular thing for which the Hartog Committee report was very important.
- Which committees threw illuminating light upon Basic Education after the publication of Gandhiji's proposal ?
- In which conferences were the theories of Basic Education discussed ?
- What is meant by Nai Talim ?
- Write the title of Sargent Report.



- Which subjects were included in the core as per Mudaliar curriculum ?
 - Mention the names of the 7 streams of Mudaliar scheme.
 - Why did the Mudaliar report advise the appointment of Career Masters ?
 - In which year did Sir Ashutosh accept the Vice Chancellorship of Calcutta University for the first time ?
 - Mention the title of Kothari Commission report.
 - By whose name is Calcutta University Commission known and why ?
 - Mention the language scheme in Kothari Report.
 - What is meant by + 2 stage ?
 - What is the value of education ?
 - What is the value of physical education ?
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